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THE HISTORY
OF
THE MIDDLE AGES

BY
VICTOR DURUY

Of the French Academy

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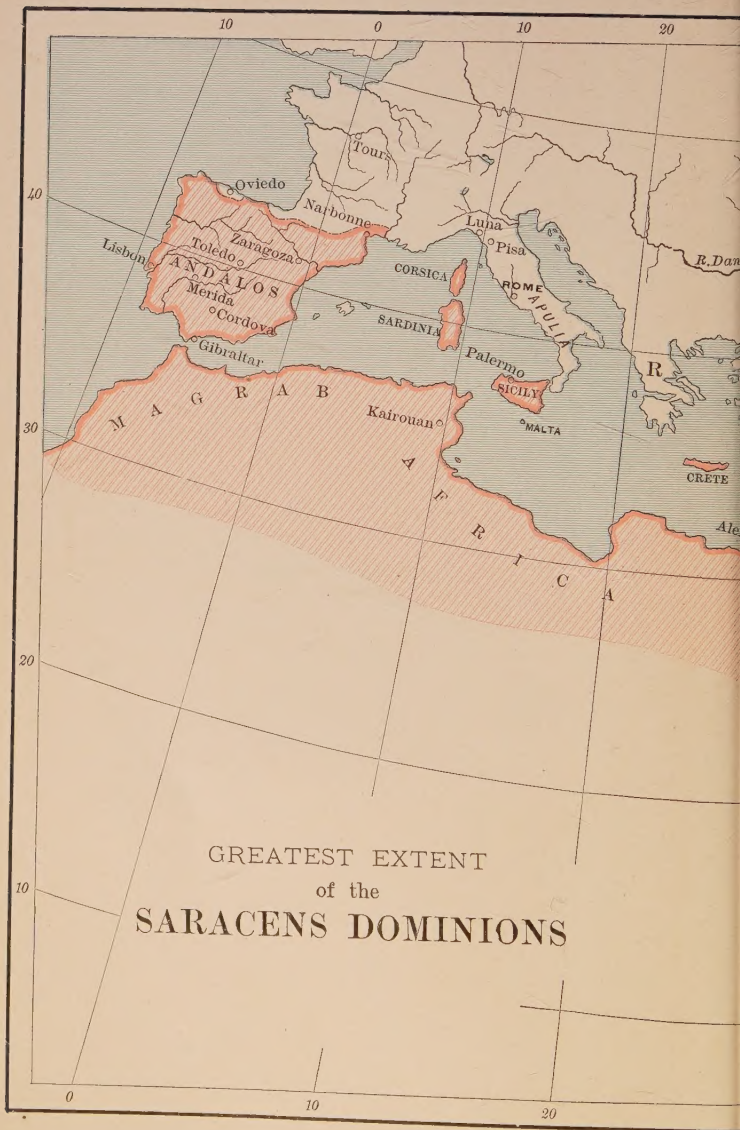
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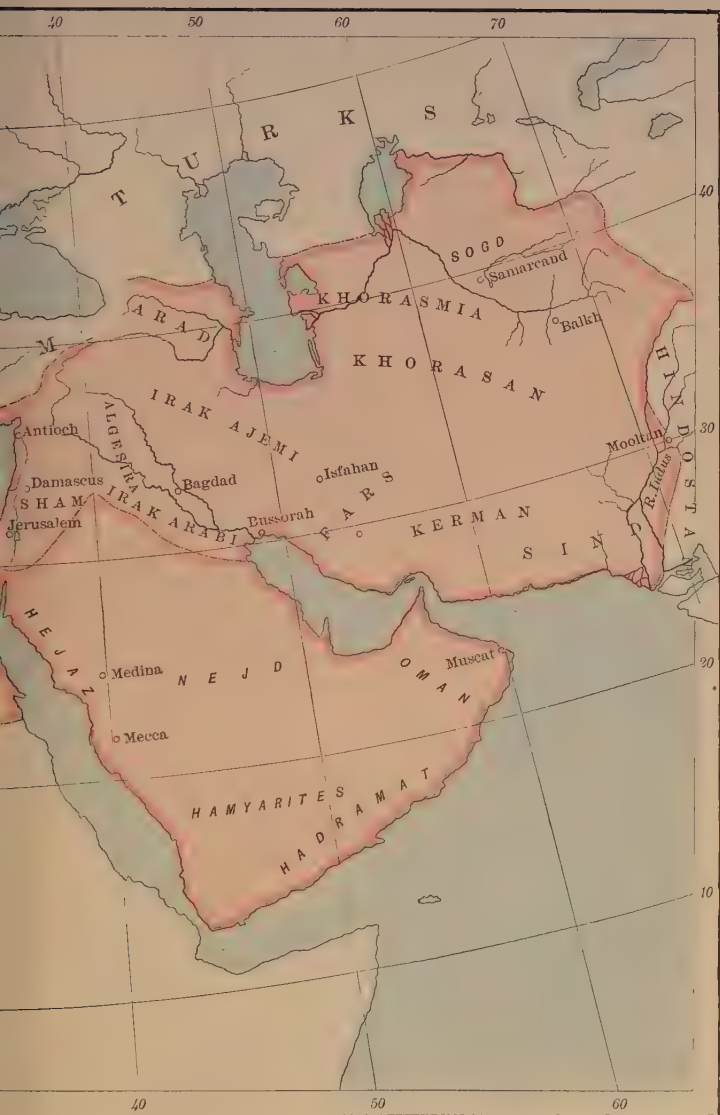


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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

It is generally considered that the most successful text-book on mediæval history in any language is M. Victor Duruy's *Histoire du Moyen Age*. Its great merit consists in the fact that while it gives a very clear conception of the general currents of the period, it also gives a sufficient number of the facts and details of the history to furnish a solid basis for such general views. Text-books on general history almost invariably fall into one or the other of two faults: Some of them deal in general views and afford no sufficient groundwork of fact, so that, however clear these general views may be, they are left hanging in the air in the student's mind, and though he may have learned a great many plausible explanations of history, he has learned very little history. Others crowd together such a mass of detail that the student cannot find his way and the work leaves in his mind only a jumble of unorganized facts. The author has followed the middle course between these two extremes with very great success. The reader can hardly fail to gain a clear conception of the general life and growth of the race during this time, and of the relation of the several lines of progress to one another, and yet these general views are continually anchored to the facts and given fixed and definite place.

This translation is published in the confident belief that it will prove as valuable a book for school use and general reading among us as it has proved itself in France.

Numerous slight revisions have been made of the author's text, which it has not been found possible to distinguish in any way from the statements of the original. Many of these are mere corrections of dates and of manifest typographical errors. Others are such modifications of statement as the author himself would no doubt have made in another edition. Some few omissions have also been made from both text and notes, chiefly for the pur-

pose of simplifying the narrative. Notes of the author's which are retained are left unsigned, while those of the editor are signed. In general, the intention has been to confine changes and notes to points of sufficient importance to justify notice, but in a book of this kind it is hardly possible that every statement in need of revision has been detected, or that no new errors have been made, and I am conscious to myself of unequal knowledge of the different subjects dealt with.

I wish to acknowledge my especial obligation to Professor E. T. McLaughlin, of Yale University, for valuable assistance rendered me in the portions of the book relating to literary history.

GEORGE B. ADAMS.

NEW HAVEN, *February 14, 1891.*

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE term Middle Ages is applied to the time which elapsed between the fall of the Roman Empire and the formation of the great modern monarchies, between the first permanent invasion of the Germans, at the beginning of the fifth century of our era and the last invasion, made by the Turks, ten centuries later, in 1453.

During this interval between ancient and modern times the pursuit of learning and of the arts was almost entirely suspended. Instead of the republics of antiquity and the monarchies of the present day, a special political organization was developed which was called feudalism: this consisted in the rule of the lords. Though every country had its king, it was the military leader who was the real ruler. The central power was unable to assert itself and the local powers were without supervision or direction. Hence this epoch was different in every respect from those which preceded and followed it, and it is on account of this difference in character that we give it a special name and place in universal history.

The history of the Middle Ages is generally disliked by those who are obliged to study it, and sometimes even by those who teach it. It seems to them like a great Gothic cathedral, where the eye loses itself in the infinite details of an art which is without either unity or system, or like an immense and confused book which the reader spells out laboriously but never understands. If, however, we are content to confine this history to the significant facts which alone are worth remembering, and to pass over the insignificant men and events, giving prominence and attention to the great men and great events, we shall find this period to be as simple as it is generally considered confusing.

In the first place, we must define its limits. The true history of the Middle Ages does not extend beyond the ancient Roman Empire and the provinces added to it by

Charlemagne when he brought the whole of Germany under one common civilization. Outside of these limits all was still barbarism, of which little or nothing can be known, and whose darkness is only occasionally relieved by a gleam from the sword of a savage conqueror, a Tchingis-Khan, or a Timour. The events which interest us and which exerted an active influence on the development of the modern nations took place within these limits. And even among these events we need only remember those which characterize the general life of Europe, not the individual, isolated life of the thousand petty States of which the historian as well as the poet can say :

“ Non ragioniam di lor ; ma guarda, e passa.” *

The Middle Ages were built on the ancient foundation of pagan and Christian Rome. Hence our first task is to study the Roman world and examine the mortal wounds it had suffered ; to pass in review this empire, with so many laws but no institutions, with so many subjects but no citizens, and with an administration which was so elaborate that it became a crushing burden ; and, finally, to conjure up before us this colossus of sand, which crumbled at the touch of paltry foes, because, though it contained a religious life, eager for heavenly things, it was inspired by no strong political life such as is necessary for the mastery of the earth.

Beyond the Empire lay the barbarians, and in two currents of invasion they rushed upon this rich and unresisting prey. The Germans seized the provinces of the north ; the Arabs those of the south. Between these mighty streams, which flowed from the east and the west, Constantinople, the decrepit daughter of ancient Rome, alone remained standing, and for ten centuries, like a rocky island, defied the fury of the waves.

With one bound the Arabs reached the Pyrenees, with a second the Himalayas, and the crescent ruled supreme over two thousand leagues of country, a territory of great length, but narrow, impossible to defend, and offering many points of attack. The Caliphs had to contend against a mighty force in the geographical position of their conquests, a force which is often fatal to new-born States, and which in this case destroyed their Empire and at the same time brought ruin to their equally brilliant and fragile civilization.

* Dante, *Inferno*, III., 51.

Many chiefs among the Germans also called into being States which were only ephemeral, because they arose in the midst of this Roman world, which was too weak to defend itself but strong enough to communicate to all with whom it came in contact the poison which was working in its own veins. To this fact we may attribute the fall of the kingdoms of Gaiseric, Theodoric, and Aistulf; of the Vandals, the Heruli, and the eastern and western Goths.

One people alone fell heir to the many invaders who entered the Empire by means of the Rhine and the Danube, namely, the Franks. Like a great oak, whose roots grow deep down in the soil which bears and nourishes it, they kept in constant communication with Germany and drew thence a barbarian vigor which continually renewed their exhausted powers.

Though threatened with an early decline under the last Mérovingians, they revived again with the chiefs of the second dynasty, and Charlemagne tried to bring order into chaos and throw light into darkness by organizing his dominions around the throne of the Emperors of the west, and by binding to it Germanic and Christian society. This was a magnificent project and one which has made his name worthy to be placed by the side of the few before which the world bows. But his design, which was incapable of accomplishment, not only because geography was against it, as it was against the permanence of the Arabian Empire, but because all the moral forces of the times, both the instincts and the interests of the people, were opposed to its success. Charlemagne created modern Germany, which was a great thing in itself, but the day when he went to Rome to join the crown of the Emperors to that of the Lombard kings, was a fatal day for Italy. From that time this beautiful country had a foreign master, who lived far away and only visited her accompanied by hordes of greedy and barbarous soldiers, who brought ruin in their train. How much blood was shed during centuries in the attempt to maintain the impossible and ill-conceived plan of Charlemagne. How many of the cities and splendid monuments of the country were reduced to ruins, not to mention the saddest thing of all, the ruin of the people themselves and of Italian patriotism.

After the ninth century the Carolingian Empire tottered and fell through the incompetency of its chiefs, the hatred

of the people, and the blows of a new invasion led by the Norsemen, the Hungarians, and the Saracens. It separated into kingdoms, and these kingdoms into seignories. The great political institutions crumbled into dust. The State was reduced to the proportions of a fief. The horizon of the mind was equally limited ; darkness had fallen upon the world ; it was the night of feudalism.

A few great names, however, still survived : France, Germany and Italy ; and great titles were still worn by those who were called the kings of these countries. These men were kings in name but not in truth, and were merely the symbols of a territorial unity which existed no longer, and not real, active, and powerful rulers of nations. Even the ancient Roman and Germanic custom of election had been resumed.

Of these three royal powers, one, that of Italy, soon disappeared ; the second, that of France, fell very low ; while the third, that of Germany, flourished vigorously for two centuries after Otto I. had revived the Empire of Charlemagne, though on a small scale. Just as the sons of Pippin had reigned over fewer peoples than Constantine and Theodosius, the Henrys, Fredericks, and Ottos reigned over a smaller territory than Charlemagne and with a less absolute power.

By the side of and below the kingdoms born of invasion there arose a power of quite a different character, and one which did not confine itself to any limits, whether of country or of law. The Church, emerging wounded but triumphant from the catacombs and the Roman amphitheatres, had gone out to meet the barbarians, and at her word the Sicambrian meekly bowed his head. She only sought a spiritual kingdom ; she also gained an earthly one. Power came to her unsought, as it comes to every just and righteous cause which aids the advance of humanity toward a better future. After establishing the unity of her dogma and of her hierarchy, her chiefs attained the highest eminence in the Catholic world, whence they watched, directed, and restrained the spiritual movements inspired by them.

The Church strove to teach mildness to a violent and lawless society, and, opposed to the feudal hierarchy, the equality of all men ; to turbulence, discipline ; to slavery, liberty ; and to force, justice. She protected the slave from his arrogant master, and defended the rights of

women, children, and the family against the fickle husbands who did not draw back even from divorce and polygamy. The only succession recognized by the States in their public offices was succession by right of inheritance ; the Church set the example of succession by right of intellectual superiority, by the election of her abbots, bishops, and even her pontiff, and serfs succeeded to the chair of St. Peter, thus attaining a dignity higher than that of kings. The barbarians had demolished the civilization of antiquity ; the Church preserved its fragments in the seclusion of her monasteries. She was not only the mother of creeds, but was also the mother of art, science, and learning. Those great scholars who taught the world to think again, those *maîtres ès pierres vives*, who gave Christianity its most wonderful movements, were sons of the Church.

The feudal princes and lords, when freed from feudal slavery, thought themselves above all law because they had put themselves beyond the reach of resistance ; but the Popes used the weapons of the Church against them. They excommunicated a usurper of the throne of Norway, a king who falsified the coinage in Aragon, the treacherous and foresworn John in England and in France Philip Augustus, when he repudiated his wife the day after his marriage. During the rule of force the Popes had become the sole guardians of the moral law and they recalled these princes, who transgressed against it, to their duty by releasing their people from their oath of fidelity. The pontifical power spoke in the name and place of popular right.

This great moral force, however, was not always mistress of herself. Until 726 the pontiffs had been the subjects of the Emperors of Rome, western or eastern. Charlemagne claimed and wielded the same authority over them. His successors, the German emperors, tried to follow his example. Henry III. deposed three Popes and in 1046 the council of Sutri once again recognized that the election of no sovereign pontiff could be valid without the consent of the emperor.

But after Charlemagne's death the Church constantly grew in power. Her possession of a large part of the soil of Christian Europe gave her material force ; while the fact that all, both great and small, obediently received her command, gave her great moral force ; these two forces, moreover, were increased tenfold by the addition of a third,

namely, unity of power and purpose ; at the time of the Iconoclasts and the last Carolingians, the sole aspiration of the Church had been to escape from the bonds of the State and to live a free life of her own. When she became stronger and, of necessity, more ambitious, she claimed the right, after the manner of all powerful ecclesiastical bodies, to rule the lay part of society and the civil powers.

Two powers, accordingly, stood face to face at the end of the eleventh century, the Pope of Rome and the German emperor, the spiritual and the temporal authorities, both ambitious, as they could not fail to be in the existing state of morals, institutions, and beliefs. The great question of the Middle Ages then came up for solution : Was the heir of St. Peter or the heir of Augustus to remain master of the world ? There lay the quarrel between the priesthood and the empire.

This quarrel was a drama in three acts. In the first act the Pope and the emperor disputed for the supremacy over Christian Europe ; in the Concordat of Worms (1122) they made mutual concessions and a division of powers, which has been confirmed by the opinion of modern times ; in the second act, the main question to be solved was the liberty of Italy, which the Popes protected in the interest of their own liberty ; in the third act, the existence of the Holy See was in peril ; the death of Frederick II. saved it.

The result of this great struggle and far-reaching ambition was the decline and almost the ruin of the two adverse powers. The papacy fell, shattered, at Avignon, and the Babylonian captivity began, while the German Empire, mortally wounded, was at the point of disappearing during the Great Interregnum, and only escaped destruction to drag out a miserable existence.

During the contest the people, recovering from their stupor, had turned to seek adventure in new directions. Religious belief, the most powerful sentiment of the Middle Ages, had led to its natural result ; it had inspired the crusades and had sent millions of men on the road to Jerusalem.

Though the crusade was successful in Europe against the pagans of Prussia and the infidels of Spain, and, accompanied by terrible cruelty, against the Albigenses of France, it failed in its principal object in the East ; the Holy Sepulchre remained in the hands of infidels, and

Europe seemed in vain to have poured out her blood and treasure in the conquest of a tomb which she was not able to keep. Nevertheless, she had regained her youth ; she had shaken off a mortal torpor, to begin a new existence, and the roads were now crowded with merchants, the country covered with fruitful fields, and the cities filled with evidences of her growth and power. She created an art, a literature and schools of learning, and it was France which led this movement. The Middle Ages had come to an end when the successors of Charlemagne and of Gregory VII. became powerless, when feudalism tottered to its fall and when the lower classes threw off their yoke ; new ideas and new needs arising proclaimed the advent of Modern times.

These new needs were represented by the two countries, where they were most fully met, namely, France and England. The England of to-day dates from the Magna Charta of King John, just as the royal power of Louis XIV. came directly from Philip Augustus and St. Louis. We find in these two countries three similar elements : the king, the nobles, and the people, but in different combinations. From this difference in combination resulted the difference in their histories.

In England the Conquest had made the king so strong that the nobles were obliged to unite with the commons in order to save their honor, their estates, and their heads. The nobility favored popular franchises, which they found necessary to their cause ; the people were attached to their feudal lords, who fought for them. English liberty, sprung from the aristocracy, has never been unfaithful to its origin, and we have the curious spectacle of a country in which the greatest freedom and the greatest social inequalities exist side by side.

In France, it was the king and the people who were oppressed ; they were the ones to unite in order to overthrow the power of feudalism, their common enemy : but the rewards of victory naturally fell to the share of the leader in battle. This two-fold tendency is evident from the fourteenth century. At the beginning of that century, Philip the Fair leveled the castles with the ground, called peasants to participate in his councils, and made every one, both great and small, equal in the eye of the law ; at the end of it the London parliament overthrew its king and disposed of the crown.

If these two countries had not fallen upon each other in the violent struggle which is called the Hundred Years War, the fourteenth century would have seen them fairly started in their new life.

Germany and France have a common starting point in their histories : each arose from the ruins of the great Carolingian Empire, and each was originally possessed of a powerful feudal system ; consequently their subsequent careers might have been the same. In one, however, the royal power reached its apogee ; in the other it declined, grew dim, and disappeared. There was no mystery in this ; it was a simple physiological fact for which no reason can be given. The Capetian family did not die out. After the lapse of nine centuries it still continued to exist ; by this mere fact of continuance alone the custom of election was not suffered to become established, as there was no occasion for its use. The dynasties on the other side of the Rhine, on the contrary, though at first abler and stronger, seemed to be cursed with barrenness. At the end of two or three generations they became extinct ; eighteen royal houses can be counted in five centuries ; that is to say, that eighteen times the German people saw the throne left vacant, and were obliged to choose an occupant from a new family. Succession by election, which had been one of the customs of Germany and which the Church had retained, became a regular system. The feudal chiefs were not slow to understand what advantages the system had for them : at each election, to use an expression of the day, they plucked a feather from the imperial eagle, and Germany finally counted a thousand princes ; while on the other side of her great river, the heir of Hugh Capet could say with truth, "I am the State."

Such were the three great modern nations, as early as the fourteenth century : Great Britain, with its spirit of public liberty and hereditary nobility ; France, with a tendency toward civil equality and an absolute monarchy ; Germany, toward independent principalities and public anarchy. To-day, the one is virtually an aristocratic republic, the other a democratic State, and the third was until lately a confederation of sovereign States ; this difference was the work of the Middle Ages.

In Spain, the Goths who had fled to the Asturias had founded there a Christian kingdom ; Charlemagne had

marked out two more, by forcing a passage through the Pyrenees at two points, Navarre and Catalonia. These three States, strongly protected by the mountains at their back, had advanced together toward the south against the Moors; but modern times had already begun on the north of the Pyrenees, while the Spaniards, in the peninsula, had not finished their crusade of eight centuries. They gave as yet no sign of what was to be their subsequent career.

The other Neo-Latin people, the Italians, had not been able to find in the Middle Ages the political unity which alone constitutes the individuality of a great nation. There were three obstacles in the way of this: the configuration of the country, which did not offer a geographical center; the thousand cities which ancient civilization had scattered over its surface, and which had not yet learned by bitter experience to surrender a part of their municipal independence to save the common liberty; finally, the papacy, which, owning no master, even in temporal affairs, laid down this principle, very just from its point of view and entirely legitimate* in the Middle Ages, namely, that from the Alps to the Straits of Messina there should never be one sole power, because such a power would certainly desire Rome for its capital. This policy lasted for thirteen centuries. It was the papacy which, as early as the sixth century, prevented the consolidation of the Italian kingdom of the Goths; and, in the eighth century, the formation of that of the Lombards; which summoned Pippin against Aistulf, Charlemagne against Desiderius, Charles of Anjou against Manfred; as well as later the Spaniards, the Swiss, and the Imperialists against the French; the French against the Spaniards; which finally entered into compacts with all the foreign masters of the peninsula in order to assure, by a

* Entirely legitimate, for at a time when force alone reigned, the Holy See would certainly have been at the mercy of one of those petty lords who, in feudal monarchies, were the real masters, rather than the king, and who would have renewed the scandals of the time of Marozia. But the great Catholic poet of the Middle Ages, Dante, saw no less the disastrous consequences of this policy:

Ahi Constantin di quanto mal fu matre
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre!

—*Inferno*, XIX., 115-117.

balance of influences and forces, the independence of her little domain and her authority.

Italy, having no central power, was covered with republics, most of which, after a time, developed into principalities. The life there was brilliant, but corrupt, and the civic virtues were forgotten. Anarchy dwelt in her midst, an infallible sign that the foreigner would again become her master.

In the North, utter darkness : Prussia and Russia are of yesterday. But in the East there appeared a nation, the Turks, which was formidable since it possessed what Christian Europe no longer had, the conquering spirit of religious proselytism, which had been the spirit of the crusades ; and also what Europe did not yet possess, a strong military organization.

Accordingly this handful of nomad shepherds, which had so suddenly become a people, or rather an army, accomplished without difficulty the last invasion ; Constantinople fell. But at the very moment when the last remaining fragment of the Roman Empire disappeared, the genius of ancient civilization arose, torch in hand, from the midst of the ruins. The Portugese were on the road to the Cape of Good Hope, while the artists and authors were opening the way to the Renaissance : Wycliffe and John Huss had already prepared the road for Luther and Calvin. The changes at work in the States corresponded to the change in thought and belief. Reform was demanded of the Church ; shaken by schism, she refused it ; in a century she had to deal with a revolution.

The important facts to be noted are :

The decline of the Roman Empire and the successful accomplishment of two invasions ; the transient brilliancy of the Arabian civilization.

The attempted organization of a new Empire by Charlemagne, and its dissolution.

The rise and prevalence of feudalism.

The successive Crusades.

The contest between the Pope and the Emperor for the sovereignty of the world.

We have here the real Middle Ages, simple in their general outline, and reaching their highest development in the thirteenth century.

But even before this period a new phase of the Middle

Ages had appeared in England and France ; which led to a new social organization of the two countries. Soon a few brave voices were heard discussing the merits of obedience, of faith, even, and pleading the cause of those who, until that time, had been of no account, the peasants and the serfs.

Humanity, that tireless traveler, advances unceasingly, over vale and hill, to-day on the heights, in the light of day, to-morrow in the valley, in darkness and danger, but always advancing, and attaining by slow degrees and weary efforts some broad plateau, where he pauses a moment to rest and take breath.

These pauses, during which society assumes a form which suits it for the moment, are organic periods. The intervals which separate them may be called inorganic periods or times of transformation. On these lines we may divide the ten centuries of the Middle Ages into three sections : from the fifth to the tenth century, the destruction of the past and the transition to a new form ; from the tenth to the fourteenth, feudal society with its customs, its institution, its arts, and its literature. This is one of the organic periods in the life of the world. Then the tireless traveler starts again : this time he again descends to depths of misery to reach, on the other side, a country free from brambles and thorns. When the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are crossed we already perceive from afar the glorious forms of Raphael, Copernicus, and Christopher Columbus, in the dawn of the new world.

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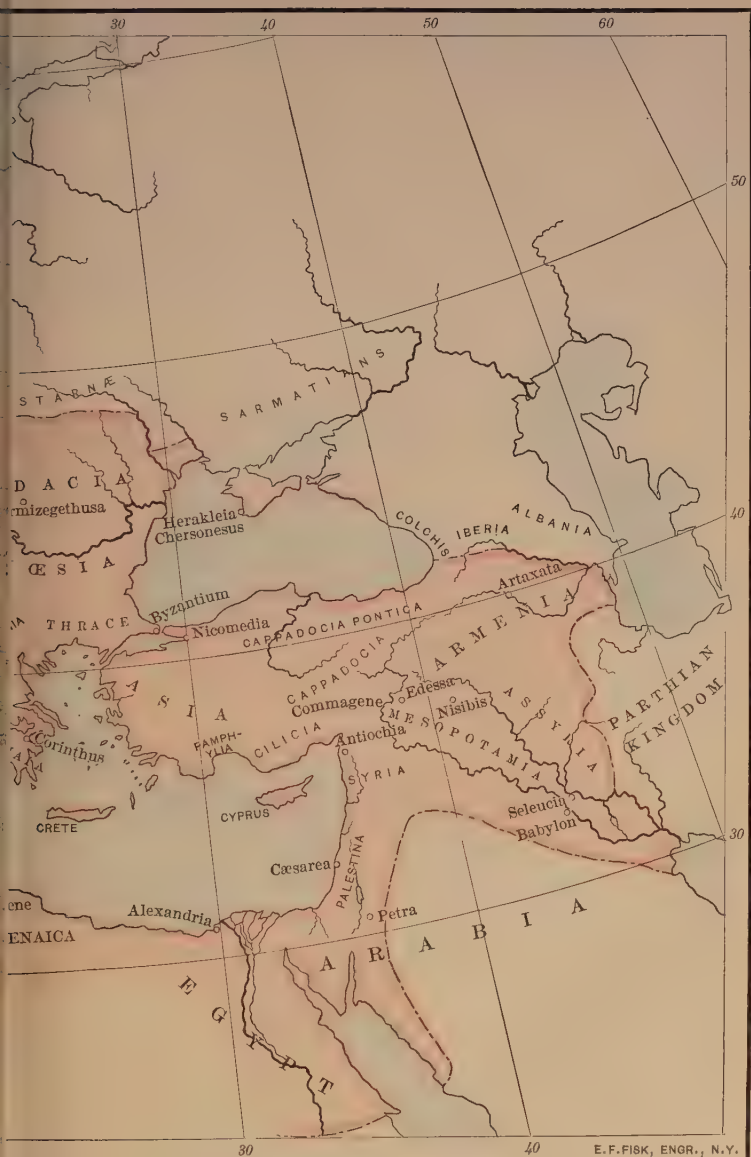
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THE
ROMAN EMPIRE
UNDER TRAJAN
A. D. 117.



HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

BOOK I.

THE GERMANIC INVASION.

CHAPTER I.

THE ROMAN AND BARBARIAN WORLDS AT THE END OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

The End of Ancient History.—New Form of the Roman Empire.—Municipal Government : Curials.—Taxes.—Condition of Persons.—The Army.—Moral and Intellectual Condition.—The Christian Church.—The Barbarians.—Germanic Nations.—Slavs and Huns.

ANCIENT History ends with the Roman Empire, which first absorbed all the peoples of antiquity and then involved them all in its ruin. Asia, Egypt, Greece, Carthage, Spain and Gaul had all been drawn into the vast embrace of Rome, the Rome which gave to its subjects unity of government, and to its western provinces unity of language.

This unity—the work of conquest—was maintained by a policy which, though liberal at first, ended by becoming oppressive. Then the chill of death crept over the great Roman society, the bonds were loosened, and, at the first shock of the barbarians, the colossal fabric fell to pieces.

The unity of government, enforced by conquest as early as the time of the Republic, was regulated under the Empire, by the organizing work of a wise administration. It was incorporated in one man, who was at first a military chieftain rather than a sovereign, who, after Diocletian and Constantine, became an actual monarch, the head of a vast hierarchy.

These two emperors tried to give more stability to the imperial authority by a considerable change in the character of the government. Whereas the fate of the empire had before depended on the rival and capricious desires of the legions or the prætorians, the Emperor was now seen to be suddenly raised to a mysterious height, sheltering his power under the doctrine of divine right and his person behind a pomp oriental in its magnificence and entirely unknown to the first Cæsars.

Below him, as if to keep the citizens and soldiers at a distance, grew up an interminable series of civil and military officers—the former held in greater esteem than the latter. At the head of this hierarchy stood, in respect to influence, the seven great officers who formed the ministry of the Emperor in his palace at Constantinople, the new capital of the Empire, which displayed on the banks of the Bosphorus a precocious corruption and a splendor born of yesterday.

The seven great officers of the court (to leave out the consuls, the prætors, and the senate, which still existed, though only for display), regarded less as public magistrates than as servants of the Emperor, were :

Civil & Military
Hierarchy.

(1) The count of the sacred chamber (*comes sacri cubiculi*), or great chamberlain, often influential because he was in constant attendance on the Prince.

(2) The master of the offices (*magister officiorum*), a kind of minister of state, on whom depended all the household of the Emperor, all the police of the Empire with its 10,000 officers (*curiosi*), the posts, arsenals, factories and store-houses of arms; an immense administration that comprised four departments, with directors and sub-directors, and one hundred and forty-eight clerks.

(3) The quæstor of the palace (*quæstor palatii*), a kind of chancellor, who was the mouth-piece of the Emperor and who drew up his decrees.

(4) The count of the sacred largesses (*comes sacrarum largitionum*), minister of finance, on whom the provincial counts of the largesses and all the financial officers of the Empire depended, and who acted as judge in proceedings of a fiscal nature.

(5) The count of the private estate (*comes rei privatae*), who administered the estates of the Emperor through agents, called *rationales* and *cæsariani*.

(6) The count of the domestic cavalry (*comes domesticorum equitum*). And finally,

(7) The count of the domestic infantry (*domesticorum peditum*). These two together had under their command 3500 men, divided into seven "schools," fine looking soldiers, for the most part Armenians, who presented an imposing appearance, as they formed in line in the porticos of the palace.

To these officers must be added, to give a fair idea of the court of Constantinople, an innumerable herd of door-keepers, pages (*pædagogia*), spies, servants of all kinds and eunuchs, "more numerous," said Libanius, "than the swarming flies in summer."

Leaving the central government, we now pass on to the provinces and find there, at the head of the hierarchy, the four prætorian prefects of the East, of Illyricum, of Italy, and of Gaul. This was the tetrarchy of Diocletian, but it existed without danger to the unity of the Empire or to the Emperor himself. They were no longer, in fact, those prætorian prefects of old times, who overthrew their masters; their claws and teeth had been drawn by taking away from them all military command. Their office was still a desirable one and their authority so great that its curtailment did not affect their administration. Their powers were: to publish the decrees of the Emperor, to make assessments, to watch over the collection of imposts, without being able, it is true, to add anything to them, to judge civil and criminal proceedings on appeal from the chiefs of the diocese, and to remove and punish the provincial governors at their will.

Their rich appointments, the number of people employed in their bureaus, the luxury of their existence, made them like kings of a second rank.

Each prefecture was divided into dioceses governed by vice-prefects; * there were sixteen of these: six in the prefecture of the East (the East, Egypt, the vicarship of Asia, the proconsulate of Asia, Pontus and Thrace); two in Illyricum (Dacia and Macedonia); three in Italy (Italy, western Illyricum and western Africa); three in Gaul

* Consult the list in Bury's History of the Later Roman Empire, vol. i. p. xv.

The divisions differed greatly at different dates.—ED.

(Spain, Gaul, and Britain). Rome, whose territory extended a hundred miles from its walls, formed a diocese by itself, as did Constantinople also.

Finally the four prefectures and the sixteen dioceses were divided into one hundred and twenty provinces, governed by consulars, correctors, and presidents, their degrees differing slightly in authority. By the side of this civil hierarchy we see the military hierarchy, and at its head the master of cavalry (*magister equitum*) and the master of infantry (*magister peditum*), offices which were increased in number after the division of the Empire. Under them were the military counts and the dukes, in the provinces and on the frontiers, who alone had control over the provincial troops, each in his own department. We have now examined the imperial hierarchy and the whole central government.

The despotism was of recent origin ; it had existed only two centuries and had been preceded by free institutions, institutions which still survived in the municipal government. Rome had scattered copies of herself everywhere. There was no town in the Empire which did not have its little senate, the curia, composed of proprietors or curials owning at least fifteen acres of land, who deliberated as to the affairs of the municipium and chose magistrates from their midst to administer them. The *decemvirs* recalled the consuls by their title and powers, namely, the presidency of the curia, the general administration of town affairs, and jurisdiction in matters of small importance. An *edile*, a *curator* (treasurer of the city), a *collector*, *irenarchs* (police commissioners) *scribes* and *notaries* complete the list of municipal officers.

The municipal government seemed to prosper, and a new magistrate had recently been added to it—the *defensor*, a kind of regular tribune chosen by all the municipality, to act in its defense before the Emperor. When the clergy were authorized by Honorius to take part in the election for this new magistracy, it fell under the control of the bishop.*

But the prosperity of the municipal government was more apparent than real, for local liberty lacked the securities

* The history of this office and its relation to the bishop are very uncertain.—ED.

which public liberty alone can give. The government, whose greed equaled its infinite needs, had turned for taxes to these municipal magistrates, these proprietors, whose land could be seized, and had ordered them not only to collect but also to guarantee the tax. This obligation became more and more burdensome with the waning prosperity ; the curials could bear it no longer and took refuge in the privileged orders, the clergy and the army. They were arrested and brought back, as the state could not bring itself to lose its taxpayers and the guarantees of its revenues. Then followed a struggle where the individual was easily defeated by the state. The curials were chained down to their service. That they might be within reach, they were not allowed to live in the country ; death itself did not deprive the state of them, for their children were devoted from birth to the same condition. Exemption from torture and from certain ignominious penalties could not secure them from ruin and misery, which are also forms of torture. Despair drove many of these miserable men to a wild life in the forests, or even over to the barbarians. The number of curials showed an astonishing decrease in all the cities.

Thus the last trace of free institutions had become an instrument of oppression in the hands of a government which

exacted rigorous payment of its imposts without caring for the happiness or unhappiness of its subjects—on whom these taxes fell with a crushing weight. There was, first, the *indiction*, a land tax which did not affect the property of the Imperial domain, and the rate of which the Emperor determined each year for each diocese by an edict signed by his own hand and in purple ink, which was posted up in the principal cities of each diocese in the month of July. The sums exacted were assessed according to the property accredited to each one in the census, which was made every fifteen years. This period of fifteen years, established in 312 by Constantine, is the so-called period of the *indiction*. To make matters worse, *superindictions* were often added to the *indictions*.

The other branches of the public revenue were : the *capitation*, paid by the country people ; the *follis senatorius*, exacted from all the senators, the *aurum coronarium*, paid by the towns under certain circumstances, the *chrysargyron* (*lustralis collatio*) levied on industry and commerce, and

finally indirect taxes, duties on sales and revenues of toll-gates, mines, race-courses, salt-works, and imperial manufacturers. It was a terrible moment when the swarm of fiscal agents spread over the whole Empire. To understand fully this tyrannical oppression, we must add to the taxes the furnishing of the food donations, the duty of harboring soldiers and magistrates in their circuits, and of keeping the posts and public roads in order, etc., etc.

These overpowering burdens weighed the more heavily on the poor and the men of moderate means, from the fact that the Empire had created privileged orders, which were necessarily made up, in greater part, of the rich. A hierarchy of titles had been established, often blending with the hierarchy of offices, and comprising numerous degrees : the *nobilissimi*, the *patricii*, the *illustres*, the *spectabiles*, the *clarissimi*, *perfectissimi*, *egregii*, *equites*, *ducenarii*, not to mention the title of count and those of magistrates, acting or non-acting (*ex-consul*, *ex-prefect*). In this way the Empire had tried to make a nobility, but even these titles, distributed at the caprice of despotism, were but masks of servitude.

The second class consisted of the curials, whose wretched condition we have already described.

The third class—that of common *free men*—included those who owned less than fifteen acres, and the merchants and artisans. Free labor was theirs by right, but free labor was already becoming a thing of the past. It had hardly existed in antiquity—the slaves were almost the only men who worked. Different circumstances had assisted to develop it for a time, and then new changes had brought back almost hopeless conditions. The artisans had formed themselves into corporations—especially since the time of Alexander Severus, in order to sustain each other, and to be able better to bear the *chrysargyron* and the competition of the imperial manufacturers ; but the Empire soon treated them as it had the curials. Alarmed by the decrease in production, it thought to obviate it by forbidding the members of corporations to leave them, and by obliging them to make their children members of the same. After that the corporations were no longer a benefit, but a servitude, very hurtful to industry. In the country, the lower classes of free men were no longer happy. They were despoiled of their little property by the violence or cunning of the great

land-owners, or by barbarian invasions, and were reduced to the necessity of becoming *coloni* of the rich—a service which held them down to a limited piece of land, and deprived them, if not of the title, at least of most of the rights of a free man. By this subjection and this “immobilizing,” so to speak, the moral life of the free man was destroyed.

The last class—that of the slaves, had gained a great deal, it is true. Stoic philosophy, and, after that, Christianity, had spread abroad new ideas on slavery, and had profoundly modified the spirit of the law in regard to the slave. He was at last regarded as a man; he was allowed to dispose of his *peculium* more freely; his murderer was treated as a homicide; he also was “immobilized,” and that which was a loss to the free man was an advantage to the slave, who, engaged in the cultivation of the soil, could not be sold to a distance or separated from his family.

Thus by lowering the free men and raising the slaves, the two classes were brought into an almost common condition. This may be regarded as the beginning of serfdom, and it was the general condition of the country people during the Middle Ages.

There was some good in this, but, also, much that was bad. The free man no longer had the heart to work or to fight. Laborers were lacking everywhere. The population diminished, and as life became more and more miserable, the idea of maintaining a family was given up. The government had recourse to the barbarians, and many of the emperors established colonies of them in the depopulated provinces, in this way making an opening for invasion.

It was much the same with the army. As the Empire had introduced there, also, the system of servitude, and of privilege, which prevailed everywhere else,

The Army. no man who was worth anything cared to enlist in its ranks. We have seen that some, like the curials, were not allowed to do so. Therefore the army was recruited partly from among the masses of men without occupation, without money, and without work, and partly from the barbarians, who joined the legions in crowds. Probus had said that they ought to be felt but not seen. They were both felt and seen, and that very quickly. The 40,000 Goths of Theodosius were less his servants than his masters: the Frank Arbogast had already

made an Emperor ; a barbarous mercenary, Odovakar (Odoacer), was soon to put an end to the Empire itself.

Degraded by the branding of their bodies, and discouraged by the unseasonable distribution of rewards and favors lavished on the idle guards of the prince, the *palatins*, the *comitatenses*, and withheld from the soldiers of the frontiers, the Roman legions had no longer anything to excite them to the defense of their country. They were even to a certain extent disarmed ; they had been allowed to give up the shield, the *pilum*, and the short sword, the powerful arms of ancient Rome, and to take the bow and the light shield, at the same time that their effective strength was reduced to 1500, one-fourth of the former number.* Thus the Empire was tottering to its fall, in spite of its hundred and thirty-three legions, its arsenals, its storehouses, and its girdle of fortifications along the Rhine, the Main, the Danube, the Euphrates, and the Arabian desert.

The moral and intellectual condition of this ancient society had fallen very low. No doubt it was well to see everything raised that before had been degraded, slaves, women and children ; but, on the other hand, all that before had been strong and brave was now brought low. There could no longer be courage and genius where there was no longer liberty. As there was a lack of soldiers, there was also a lack of writers and artists. In vain were the schools regulated and improved. In vain did Valentinian determine the number of professors, their appointments and their duties, and place the scholars under strict inspection ; discipline can regulate but not produce ; impulse may be directed but not forced. Instead of men of letters, there were sophists and rhetoricians like Libanius, and poets like Claudian, and the latter were by far the best—they have harmony and some exalted ideas ; but all the others, and with them those rich Romans who cultivated polite letters for a pastime, came to writing trifling verses—epithalamia—the weak literature of a degenerate age ; artists were no longer seen, and for the decoration of Constantinople Constantine was obliged to pillage the cities of the Empire that were rich in monuments of antiquity. Literature and art,

* Theoretically the number in the legion remained 6000. Gibbon's statement in chap. xvii. is incorrect.—ED,

in fact, were closely allied in antiquity to paganism, and they had not yet been freed from their dependence. And paganism, a worn-out creed, destroyed by philosophy and by Christianity, driven from the throne, and abandoned by almost all except the country people, who are longer bound by custom, paganism no longer inspired faith and would never again be the source of any great work.

But if the old religion was perishing, and the old order of things growing cold in death, a new religion and a new society were coming into being; guardians of that life which is never entirely extinguished in human communities.

The Christian
Church.

Christianity had developed and established itself, in spite of persecutions. The beauty of its ethical precepts and the courage of its apostles had won for it numberless victories. It had at last ascended the throne with Constantine, and this Emperor loaded the Church with privileges. He authorized the bishops, her chiefs, to constitute themselves arbiters in civil matters, with the consent of the two parties; he exempted the churches from municipal taxes, he yielded to them portions of the imperial domain, and allowed them to receive special legacies, so that the Church added the influence of wealth to that which had already been given her by her young and ardent faith, her spirit of proselytism, and the genius of her chiefs. Even heresy—which under several forms had already shown itself in the midst of the Church—had been but nourishment to her strength, a wholesome combat which kept her energies alive. While the literature derived from paganism hardly drew the breath of life, that which sprang from Christianity was impassioned, active, practical; it came from the soul and had to do with facts. It is only necessary to call to mind Tertullian, St. Anastasius, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, Lactantius, Salvian, and many others. The numerous councils held in the fourth century show the activity of the Church, the communication which she established between the provinces of the Empire, and the part which all her members took in her affairs. To necessity, the best source of all that is to endure, is due the hierarchical organization, which raised the bishops above the presbyters and the metropolitans above the bishops, and in virtue of which the See of Rome demanded a supremacy due

to the ancient capital of the Roman world, and to him who was called the heir of St. Peter.

It was in the new society, or, more properly speaking, the religious society, the Church, that life and hope and a future were to be found. Unmoved, she saw everything about her falling to pieces, even the imperial structure in which she had sought temporary shelter ; she survived its destruction ; she was not in the least unsettled by the shock, nor was she even distressed by it, being neither exclusive nor patriotic ; she had no love for the Roman Empire, and was little interested in its safety or its ruin. It was the saving of souls that occupied her thoughts, and her ambition was to lead into her own paths the people encamped about the Empire. She did not hate the barbarians—she loved them as her conquest and her future flock ; as children who would receive her words with greater submissiveness. She was already attracting them ; she went to meet them and converted them. The Goths of Dacia had an Arian bishop, Ulfilas, who had translated the Bible into their dialect, and the Burgundians were in like manner converted.

The barbarians might come, might overturn the worm-eaten barriers, and grind to powder all the structure of the Empire—the only institution that had life, the Church, presented no obstacles, but rose alone, in the midst of ruins, young and strong.

When Rome called herself the Mistress of the World, she knew well enough that it was an exaggeration, and that her bounds were not those of the earth also.
The Barbarians. Cruel experience had taught her that she had not one frontier that was not threatened by tribes hidden in the depths of the north, the south, or the west.

To the north lay three great peoples, arranged in the following order : the Germans, the Slavs, and the Asiatic nations. To the east dwelt the Persians, who had often made war on the Romans, and were long to continue to do it, for the sake of certain frontier towns—but who had no thought of invasion, not caring to change their abode. To the south the Arabs, who had not as yet inspired fear, wandered over the deserts of their great peninsula ; and in the African deserts dwelt the Moorish tribes, who were numerous enough to alarm the Roman officers and to aid in the dissolution of the Empire, but not numerous enough to make an invasion themselves.

At the death of Theodosius (395), serious danger threatened only from the north. Pushed on by the Slavs, who

The Germanic peoples—customs, government, and religion. were themselves pushed by Asiatic hordes from the banks of the Volga, the Germans crowded all along the Roman frontier. The

Suevi, the Alemanni, and the Bavarians occupied the southern country, between the Main and the Lake of Constance. The Marcomanni, Quadi, Hermunduri, Heruli, and the Goths, at the extremity of the Germanic zone, reached to the banks of the Danube. To the west, along the lower Rhine, lay the confederation of the Franks (Saliens, Ripuarians, Sigambri, Bructeri, Chatti, Chamavi, etc.), who had united to resist the Romans in the middle of the third century. To the north dwelt the Frisians between the Lake Flevo and the mouth of the Ems; farther to the east were the Vandals, the Burgundians, the Rugians, the Longobards or Lombards, and, between the Elbe and the Eider, the Angles and the Saxons; finally, back of all these peoples, the Jutes, Danes, and Scandinavians, who inhabited Denmark and Sweden, and who, in the ninth century, made the second invasion. The customs, government, and character of these nations formed such a contrast to those of the Roman world that the thought of it is said to have inspired Tacitus's book on Germany. Discipline and slavery, the principles of government in the Empire, were held in horror among the Germans. Love of individual independence and voluntary devotion were the basis of their character; war—not disciplined and scientific as among the Romans, but adventurous, carried on afar from home—for glory and booty, was their greatest delight. As soon as a young man had been presented before the public assembly, and had received from the hands of his father or of some famous chief his shield and javelin, he was a soldier and a citizen; he attached himself immediately to some chief of great renown whom he followed in peace and in war, with other warriors recruited in the same way. They formed the *comitatus* or *gefolge* of the chief, and were always ready to sacrifice their lives for his, always bound to him through every danger, but bound by an obligation entirely voluntary, by bonds of honor alone.

It was impossible to establish the despotism of a single man over such people, so the government of the Germans consisted of an assembly (*mall*) in which all took part, a

sacred institution founded, they said, by the Gods themselves. It was held in sacred places and on sacred days, at the new and at the full moon under the open sky, on heights or in groves. There the warriors gathered with their arms, the symbol of military sovereignty. The clashing of shields indicated the applause of the assembly—a loud murmur, their disapprobation. The same assemblies exercised judicial power, sometimes by a gathering of all the free men, sometimes by a delegation (*rachimburgi*).

Each canton or hundred had its magistrate, and usually the whole nation a king, chosen from among the members of one family, which had the hereditary possession of this title. The warriors themselves chose whom they would follow in battle—what *herzog*, as he was called.* Thence the saying of Tacitus: *Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt*.

The Olympus of these people corresponded to their spirit of pride and heroism, bloodthirsty passion and love of glory, but at times a certain charm mingled with their terrible fancies. Besides Woden, who gives victory and who comes down every night from his heavenly palace, whose windows open toward the east, to ride through the air with the dead warriors; besides Donar, the Hercules of the Germans, to whom lightning-struck trees are dedicated; besides the wild joys of Walhalla, a strange paradise, where the warriors fight and drink without ceasing—appear the gracious goddesses, who carry everywhere peace and the arts: Freya, the Venus of the North, who had the magic necklace, and Holda, beautiful and chaste like Diana, who flies through the air on wintry nights clothed all in white, and scattering snow upon her path. In this mythology we find again the worship of the stars; Hertha, the earth, is the first goddess of the Germans; they also worshiped Sunna, the sun, and her brother Mani, the moon, who is pursued by two wolves. These are not the fancies of Greece, but they, too, are poetry, and sometimes sublime poetry. The Song of the Niebelungen preserves the last reflection of their glory.†

* In the states where there were kings they were regularly the commanders.—ED.

† This poem, which tells of the struggle of the Burgundians against Attila, where the traditions and the great names dear to the memory of

The bards were held in great honor among them. "Everything dies," said the Germans; "one thing alone does not die, the memory of the famous dead." Such a thought made death easy; and how they defied it! how rashly and fearlessly did they brave the terrors of the deep! Who does not know the story of those Franks whom Probus had transported to the shores of the Euxine Sea, and who one day having seized several boats embarked, and sailed over the whole Mediterranean, pillaging as they went the shores of Greece, of Italy, and of Africa, and who returned by way of the ocean, after defying the tempests and the Roman Empire. It was their boast to laugh in the face of death.

The Germans paid little attention to the cultivation of land; they had no property in their own right, and every year the magistrates distributed to each village, and to each family, the lot it was to cultivate,* in order, as Cæsar said, not to divert the men from their taste for fighting, and to maintain an equality of fortune. For this reason their civilization made little progress. They had no towns either, a result perhaps of this same arrangement, but scattered huts of earth separated from each other, each one surrounded by the field which the owner cultivated. Their closely fitting dress formed another contrast to the full robes of the Greeks and Romans.

Purity of life was general among the Germans, polygamy was only allowed to kings and great men. But sobriety was not one of their virtues; they drank a great deal at their Homeric feasts; their cup of honor was the skull of a vanquished enemy, and often the feast ended in bloodshed and the death of some one of the guests. They also had a passion for gambling, and staked everything, even their own persons. Whoever lost himself at play became the slave of the winner; it was a debt of honor, and he would not think of breaking his word. Barbarians have their vices, as well as civilized races, but they are perhaps

the Germans of the middle ages are brought together, was arranged in its present form in the thirteenth century, but its origin is of a much earlier date.

* This is at most true of the Germans only in the earliest times, and in general it must be remembered that in all discussions of their civilization tribal differences and differences of date are vitally important points.—ED.

preferable because they spring from a coarseness that can be refined, and not from corruption and moral exhaustion, for which there is no remedy.

Such were the habits of the great Germanic race that was about to invade, and for some time to occupy, the best part of the Roman Empire. Behind them
 The Slavs and Huns. were two other barbarous nations, pushing them on, differing much more from the Roman world than did the Germans. These were the Slavonians and the Huns.

The Slavonians, who are to-day a race of one hundred millions of men in the family of European nations, were then scattered under the name of Venedi and Slovenes, near the Danube, the Borysthenes, and the Black Sea, at the source of the Volga and the Niemen, and along the Baltic as far as the Elbe, where they may have mingled with some of the Germanic tribes. Elsewhere they did not appear till later, and then divided into three branches,*—the southern Slavs (Bosnians, Serbs, Croats, modern Dalmatians), between the Danube and the Adriatic Sea; the western Slavonians (Lekhs or Poles, Czechs or Bohemians, Moravians, Pomeranians, etc.), between the Elbe and the Vistula, the Baltic and the Carpathian mountains; the northern or settled Slavonians, who joined with the Finns or Tchoudes of the eastern Baltic, formed the primitive Russian nation—among whom are included the Livonians, the Esthonians, the Lithuanians and the Prussians.

The Huns (Hiong-Nu), who belong to the Tartar-Finnish race, were objects of fear and horror to all the western peoples, whether Germans or Romans; their wandering life spent in huge chariots or in the saddle, their bony faces pierced by little eyes, their broad and flat noses, their great flaring ears, their brown and tattooed skin—were all peculiarities of manners and appearance entirely foreign to Europe. Ammianus Marcellinus called them “two-legged beasts,” and compared them to those grotesque figures which adorn the parapets of bridges. The Germans accused them of being the offspring of infernal spirits and Scythian sorceresses, from the boundless steppes which

*Consult the classification given in vol. xxii. of the *Encyc. Brit.*, article Slav.—ED.

stretched far away into the North and East, an unknown and dreaded region well fitted to harbor such beings.

This Tartar-Finnish family sent representatives many times into Europe, after the Huns—the Avars in the sixth century, the Bulgarians and Khajars in the seventh, the Madgyars or Hungarians in the ninth, the Mongols or Tartars in the thirteenth, and the Turks in the fourteenth. These last ended the invasions.

CHAPTER II.*

FIRST PERIOD OF INVASION (375-476). ALARIC, RADA- GAISUS, GAISERIC, AND ATTLA.

First Movement of the Barbarians Before the Death of Theodosius.—
Division of the Empire at the Death of Theodosius (395).—Alaric
and the Visigoths (395-419); the Great Invasion of 406.—Founding
of the Kingdom of the Burgundians (413), of the Visigoths, and of
the Suevi (419).—Conquest of Africa by the Vandals (431).—In-
vasion of Attila (451-453).—Taking of Rome by Gaiseric (455).—
End of the Empire of the West (476).

IN the end of the fourth century there came from the depth
of the Steppes which extend to the borders of Europe and
Asia, an impulse which shook the whole bar-
First Movement
of the Barbarians.barian world, and caused that great rising of
peoples which overturned the Empire of the
West. The Huns, who had been settled since the third century
B. C. in the great plains of Central Asia, beyond the Caspian
Sea, had advanced little by little toward the West. In
consequence of internal discord the nation divided itself
into two parts, and one part founded on the Oxus the
nation of the White Huns, or Ephthalites, which proved so
formidable to Persia, while the other, attracted by the re-
port of the wealth of Rome, which had penetrated even to
their deserts, pressed on toward Europe and crossed the
Volga. They carried along with them the Alani, who
were established between the Black and Caspian seas, crossed
the Don, and threw themselves upon the great Gothic
Empire in which Hermanric had united the three branches

* Of the recent studies of the period covered by this chapter, Hodgkin's
Italy and her Invaders (4 vols.) is the best detailed account in
English. Bury's History of the Later Roman Empire (2 vols.), is
more condensed, and in the main follows closely Hodgkin and the re-
cent German authorities. The best single volume account in English is
Emerton's Introduction to the Middle Ages, which covers the whole
period to the end of Charlemagne's reign.—ED.

of his nation—the Ostrogoths or Eastern Goths, on the east of the Dnieper, the Visigoths or Western Goths, to the west of it, and the Gepidæ or “Loiterers,” toward the Baltic, who had been left behind by the other two tribes.

The Gothic Empire fell: the Ostrogoths submitted, but the Visigoths retreated to the shores of the Danube and begged the Emperor Valens for an asylum on the lands of Empire. They were received into the Empire (376), but finding themselves ill-used by the Roman officers, they repaid the hospitality they had received with revolt, and marched against Valens, whom they killed at the battle of Adrianople (378). Theodosius stopped their progress, and by means of skillful treaties incorporated some of them into his army, and scattered the others in Thrace, Moesia, and Asia Minor. Those who settled in Thrace remained loyal and defended the frontier against the Huns.

The Empire had apparently admitted the Goths to its territory as a favor, but the truth is that it dared not refuse such formidable suppliants. Formerly it had formed the barbarians into colonies after subduing them; now it received them seemingly through generosity, in reality through fear, and as the boldness of the barbarians and the feebleness of the Empire increased, they broke through the barriers by force and became masters of the Roman soil.

The invasion had reached this point when the Empire of Theodosius passed to his two sons, and was divided between them never to be united (395). The boundary in Europe was the Drinus, tributary of the Save, and the Adriatic and Ionian seas; in Africa the end of the greater Syrtis.

Honorius had the west; Arcadius the east. The Empire of the East lasted 1058 years after this separation; that of the West, only 81 years. During these 81 years, though entirely independent of one another, the two empires continually combined their forces for their common defense.

The Empire of the East was saved by the double barrier of the Danube and the Balkan Mountains, by the general direction of the barbarian invasion, which was at first turned rather against the west than the south, and perhaps, also, by its greater vigor, being the younger of the two empires, and by the greater pains taken to defend Constantinople, which had become the real and living capital of the Roman world, while Rome was but the shadow of one. The Empire of

Division of the
Empire at the
Death of Theo-
dosius (395).

the West, on the other hand, was the object of all the great attacks, and in one half-century endured four terrible assaults : that of Alaric, with the Visigoths ; Radagaisus, with the Suevi, the Vandals and the Alans ;* Gaiseric with the Vandals, and Attila with the Huns. To be able to resist successfully such blows, falling in such quick succession, the Empire of the West would have needed far more power than it could command.

The Visigoths having chosen for their leader Alaric, chief of their most illustrious family, that of the Balthi, revolted again at the instigation of the Goth Rufinus,† a perfidious minister of Arcadius, who had neglected to pay them the bounty which the court of Constantinople allowed them annually (395). They ravaged Thrace and Macedonia, and passing Thermopylæ without encountering a Leonidas ; they spared Athens, but devastated Attica and the Peloponnesus. The Empire had, however, a protector in the Vandal Stilicho, to whose genius Theodosius had confided his two sons at his death. Stilicho hastened against the Visigoths and surrounded them on Mount Pholoe, in Arcadia, but either through neglect or policy he let them escape by the strait of Naupactus, and to prevent new ravages, Arcadius had no recourse but to appoint Alaric chief of the soldiery in Illyricum.

This peaceful honor could not satisfy a barbarian chief. Raised on the shields of his compatriots, that is, made their king,‡ Alaric led them to the conquest of Italy, and probably at Asti, besieged the Emperor, who had fled there from his capital at Milan. Fortunately Stilicho hastened thither from Rhætia, which he had saved from an invasion of barbarians, rescued Honorius, and defeated the Visigoths at Pollentia (Polenga on the Tanaro, 402). It was said that Alaric again received honors after his defeat in Italy, as after his defeat in Greece. Honorius appointed him general, and gave him the secret mission of conquering Illyri-

* See p. 19, note.

† That this revolt was instigated by Rufinus is extremely doubtful. It was probably an independent national movement which was sooner or later inevitable.—ED.

‡ This probably occurred in 395. Both chronology and the details of events throughout the whole period are very uncertain.—ED.

cum for the Empire of the West. After this treachery and meanness, the Emperor celebrated his victory in Rome, where the bloody games of the circus were held for the last time. He then retired to Ravenna, beyond the marshes at the mouth of the Po, as he scorned Rome and did not dare to live longer at Milan, where Alaric had so nearly taken him by surprise.

The Roman Empire did not have a long respite, for the Suevi, leaving the shores of the Baltic under the leadership of Radagaisus,* turned toward the South, carrying with them the peoples they encountered, the Burgundians, the Alans and the Vandals. These tribes joined them in the devastation of the Empire all the more readily, as they saw gathering behind them the threatening hordes of the Huns. Two hundred thousand of them, leaving the main body of their companions on the shores of the Rhine, crossed the Alps and, descending into Italy, penetrated as far as Florence. Stilicho again saved Rome and the Empire, by surrounding the barbarians on the rocks of Fiesole, where they all perished of hunger, or were sold as slaves. Radagaisus himself was put to death. The barbarians who had remained in Germany were terrified by the news of this disaster, and, changing their course, attacked Gaul. They crossed the Rhine (406), in spite of the resistance of the Ripuarian Franks, to whom the defense of the river had been confided by Rome. From this time for two years Gaul was a prey to frightful ravages, which did not cease till the Suevi, the Alans, and the Vandals turned to seek south of the Pyrenees the booty which had begun to fail them in the north.

Alaric had stopped on his retreat at the head of the Adriatic. His position, lying as it were between the two empires, allowed him to throw himself on the one or the other as the opportunity offered. He was again attracted toward the Western Empire. Though Stilicho had defeated the Goths, he had not ceased to maintain friendly relations with their chief, and also kept a body of 30,000 barbarians in Italy, in the pay of the Empire, either because he admired

* Except the main events this paragraph is wholly conjectural! The composition of the army of Radagaisus is entirely unknown. Most likely Goths formed the main body. The invasion probably began at the end of 404.—ED.

their valor or because he really wished to rely on their assistance to make his son emperor. Honorius, alarmed at this, had him assassinated (408), and abandoned all the barbarian auxiliaries in Italy to death. The latter took refuge with Alaric, and he returned with them to avenge their wrongs (408).

This is the most famous invasion of the King of the Goths. He crossed the Alps, passed over the Po and the Apennines, and appeared under the walls of the Eternal City. Deputies came to his camp with words of peace. They represented to him the size of the city and the number of the inhabitants. "The thicker the grass, the better the mowing," said he. Nevertheless he consented to a treaty which ransomed the ancient capital of the world on the payment of 5000 pounds of gold and 30,000 pounds of silver, and went into winter quarters in Tuscany. He soon perceived that he was being trifled with, and returned to Rome in great rage, receiving into his ranks the fugitive slaves who rushed to him from every side. The city, after having been surrounded, deprived of the supplies from Sicily and devastated by a terrible famine, opened its gates. The senate, obedient to the conquerors, bestowed the purple on the prefect Attalus and appointed Alaric himself master-general of the armies. The Goths assumed Roman dignities, and this same instinct led them at first to respect Rome. But Honorius, who preferred stratagem to force, secured the assistance of the Goth Sarus, and persuaded him to attack suddenly the camp of his compatriots. Alaric returned against Rome for the third time, and, says Bos-suet, "this new Babylon, imitator of the ancient city, like it elated by its conquests and triumphant in its luxury and wealth, fell with a great fall." The city endured the same disgrace which the Gauls had inflicted upon it eight centuries earlier, and was given over to all the horrors of pillage during three days. The barbarians respected only the Christian temples, which were a secure refuge for fugitives (410).

Alaric did not long outlive this triumph, which Hannibal and Pyrrhus had striven for in vain. He had gone down into southern Italy, meaning to take possession of Sicily and Africa, and died the following year at Cosenza, in Bruttii. The barbarians honored the remains of their great chief with a strange and unusual burial. To prevent the possi-

bility of the profanation of his body by the Romans, they had their prisoners turn from its course the Busento, which flows through Cosenza, dig a grave in the bed of the river, and bury Alaric there, surrounded by the rich spoils of his victories. The waters were turned back to their natural course, and the prisoners who had done the work were killed on the tomb so that no one might betray the secret (410).

Athaulf (Adolf), the brother and successor of Alaric, had a great admiration for the Empire and wished to re-establish it by means of and for the profit of his nation. He began by offering his services to Honorius, and in January, 414, he married the Emperor's sister, Placidia, whom the Goths had kept in their camp as a prisoner or hostage. He promised to drive from Gaul and Spain the usurpers who were there contending for the imperial throne.

As if there had not been attacks enough from without the Empire, three usurpers had assumed the purple in Spain and Gaul,—Constantine, Maximus, and Gerontius. They were easily overthrown, but there succeeded them Jovinus and Sebastian. These Athaulf conquered, and then passed into Spain to drive out the barbarians who had invaded it. He was assassinated at Barcelona, the first of the many Visigoth kings who were to meet a violent death, (415). His children were put to death by the Goth Sigeric, who was king for seven days and then also died by the hands of assassins.

Walia succeeded him. He tried to pass into Africa, but was unable to cross the currents of the Straits of Gibraltar, which proves that the Goths had had little experience of the sea. Having returned to the heart of Spain, Walia, in the interest of the Emperor of the West, disputed the possession of that region with the Alans, the Suevi, and the Vandals. He partly exterminated the first, drove back the second into the mountains of the Northwest, and the latter into Bætica.

The chief of the Suevi, though defeated, fell back upon the mountains of Asturia and of Gallæcia, where he founded a kingdom (419), which under its kings Rechila and Rechiarius, from 438 to 455, conquered Lusitania, and would have subdued the whole of Spain, if the Goths had not arrested its progress. These latter people had recovered from the Emperor Honorius (in 419),

Founding of the kingdom of the Burgundians (413), of the Visigoths and the Suevi (419).

as recompense for their services, the second Aquitaine with Toulouse as capital. Little by little they spread over Gaul as far as the Rhone and the Loire, and returned into Spain, this time on their own account. Theodoric II. conquered the Suevi there in 456, and Leovigild subdued them in 585. The whole of Spain then belonged to the Goths; by 507 the Franks had almost entirely driven them from Gaul.

The kingdom of the Burgundians came sooner into being, for in the year 413 Honorius had ceded to Gundicar territory on both sides of the Jura (Switzerland and the Franche-Comté).

Thus, in the first twenty years of the fifth century, three barbarian kingdoms were founded, which lasted for unequal periods but which all disappeared very soon; that of the Suevi in 585 under the attack of the Visigoths, that of the Burgundians in 534, and that of the Visigoths, to the north of the Pyrenees, in 507, at the hands of the Franks, and in Spain, in 711, at the hands of the Arabs.

Honorius died in 423, incapable of defending his empire, and leaving no glory behind him but that of having, like his father, protected the Church and the true faith.

Conquest of
Africa by the
Vandals (431).

Many of his edicts ordered the destruction of idols and of temples, and forbade public employment to pagans and heretics. His nephew Valentinian III., son of Placidia and of Count Constantius, whom she had married after the death of Athaulf, succeeded him. He was only six years old and remained under the guardianship of his mother. During the same time, Pulcheria was governing the Empire of the East for her brother Theodosius II., who had succeeded his father Arcadius in 408. New calamities assailed the two empires under the reign of these feeble emperors, who were controlled by women, and whose ministers and generals made use of the barbarians in their rivalries and court intrigues.

Count Boniface, ruler of Africa, jealous of the favor shown Aetius by the Empress Placidia, called the Vandals and their king, Gaiseric, into Africa.* He soon repented it, and tried, but too late, to resist the invasion, which was one of the most destructive that ever passed over the Ro-

* This is the traditional account, but it is probably incorrect. See the article by E. A. Freeman in the *English Historical Review*, vol. ii. p. 417.—ED.

man provinces. Gaiseric made an alliance with the nomad tribes of the Moors, defeated Boniface in a bloody battle, and besieged him at Hippo (Bona) fourteen months. Saint Augustine, who was bishop of this city, refused to leave it, and kept up the courage of its inhabitants by his exhortations and piety. His death in 430 saved him from the sight of a new defeat of Boniface and the fall of Hippo.* The Romans were obliged to abandon Africa (431), and four years later Valentinian recognized by treaty the establishment of the kingdom of the Vandals. This was the fourth state founded by the barbarians, and was destined to last no longer than the others. Its founder, however, had some remarkable ideas, and showed genius in seizing upon the advantages of his new position. He took Carthage in 439, and tried to revive the maritime power of which these cities had formerly been the seat. He constructed vessels, kept a marine force, though the Empire no longer did so, and took possession of Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and the Balearic Islands. He harassed the coasts of the Tuscan and the Ægean seas, and, in a word, defied Constantinople as he had done Rome, and became the master of the Mediterranean. At the same time he was conspiring with the barbarians in the North in order that they might press in at once from all sides upon the Empire, where Aetius was trying to restore a little authority and order.

Those whom Gaiseric had summoned were the Huns. They came at last, those barbarians, who were more terrible even than all the others whom we have seen setting the whole universe in commotion, and who had halted for half a century in the center of Europe, holding under their yoke the Ostrogoths, the Gepidæ, Marcomanni, and the southern Slavs. Attila, the son of Mundzuk, reigned over them. A dagger planted in the earth had been for all time the religious symbol of the Scythian peoples. A herdsman found a very rusty one in the fields where his flock was grazing, and carried it to Attila. It was believed that it was the dagger of the god of war, and that this find portended the conquest of the world by the King of the Huns. From this time, clothed in the eyes of his people with a divine character, Attila

* The siege of Hippo fails. The Vandals obtain it by the treaty of 435.—ED.

wished to reign alone and had his brother Bleda put to death. He called himself the *Scourge of God*, adding that the grass could not grow where once his horse had passed.

It is remarkable that this great conqueror accomplished so much by means of negotiation, and that we know of no victory gained by him, although his empire was immense. He first made a strong diversion against Theodosius II. to force him to recall the troops which he had just sent against Gaiseric. He crossed the Danube near Margus, destroyed seventy towns, and compelled the Emperor not only to pay a heavier tribute than the one he had already submitted to, but also to give up the right bank of the Danube to the Huns. Theodosius II. attempted to have him assassinated, and thought that he had succeeded in corrupting his minister Edecon. Attila, hearing of this perfidy, pardoned with contempt the Roman ambassadors who had come to find him in his wooden palace in Pannonia, and contented himself with reproaching Theodosius "with conspiring against the life of his master like a treacherous slave." But after the death of Theodosius II. (450) he found a bolder enemy in Marcian, a prince who declared that he had "gold for his friends and a sword for his enemies."

Attila was not a man to be stopped by menacing words, but as Constantinople was considered impregnable he decided to carry the wrath of heaven in another direction. He demanded of the Emperor of the West the half of his states, and pressing on Gaul with 600,000 barbarians, he passed over the Rhine, ravaged Belgium with fire and sword, crossed the Moselle and the Seine, and marched upon Orleans. The people fled before him in indescribable terror, for the Scourge of God did not leave one stone upon another where he passed. Metz and twenty other cities had been destroyed; Troyes alone had been saved by its bishop, Saint Lupus. Attila wished to possess Orleans, the key to the southern provinces, and surrounded it with his vast army. The bishop, Saint Anianus, kept up the courage of the inhabitants. While he was praying a cloud of dust was seen on the horizon; "'Tis the help of God" cried he, and indeed it was Aetius, who had united with the troops of the Romans those of the barbarians of Germanic race who were now inhabiting Gaul and who would be chiefly affected by the new invasion, the Visigoths under Theodoric, the Sax-

ons, the Burgundians, the Ripuarian and the Salian Franks. At first Attila retreated, but only in order to choose a field of battle more favorable to his cavalry. He halted near Méry-sur-Seine on a vast plain, where was fought the battle which saved the West from the dominion of the Huns. This was a terrible conflict of all the nations of the world, and the bodies of 160,000 men strewed the field of carnage. Attila was defeated and retired to his camp, which was surrounded by a wall of chariots, and "in the morning," says the Goth Jornandes, historian of the war, "the conquerors saw in the midst of this camp an immense funeral pile made of the saddles of horses. Upon it stood Attila, and below the Huns, torch in hand, were ready to set fire to it if their fortification should be forced. Thus a lion pursued by hunters to the entrance of his lair, turning, once more arrests and terrifies them by his roaring." The allies did not dare brave the despair of the Huns, and allowed Attila to return to Germany (451).

The following year he indemnified himself for his defeat by invading upper Italy. He destroyed Aquileia, whose inhabitants took refuge in the lagoons where their descendants founded Venice. Padua also was reduced to ashes. Vicenza and Verona, Pavia and Milan submitted. In the palace in Milan he saw a picture representing the Emperor sitting on his throne and the chief of the Huns prostrate before him. He ordered the painter to put the king of the Huns on the throne and the Emperor at his feet, and the picture thus came much nearer the truth. In the mean while the Italians had no soldiers to defend them. The Pope, Leo the Great, risked his life to save them. He came to the camp of Attila with deputies of the Emperor and yielded to the barbarian everything he desired, rich presents and the promise of a tribute. The approach of Aetius and a disease which decimated his army decided Attila to return to his forests.* The terror of Italy was so great that it was believed to have been saved only by a miracle, which the genius of Raphael has immortalized. Some months afterwards the Scourge of God died at his royal village near the Danube (453). The peoples he had subdued threw off the yoke; the chiefs of the Huns disputed over his crown by terrible combats which reduced their numbers;

* Exactly what induced Attila to retreat remains unknown.—ED.

and their power wasted away like those violent tempests which disappear and leave behind only the traces of their ravages.

Attila had never seen Rome, but Gaiseric, his ally, visited it with fire and sword (455). The Senator Petronius Maximus, who had assassinated Valentinian III., was then Emperor. Exasperated by his weakness the people slew him, but not before Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian, whom

The taking of Rome by Gaiseric (455). End of the Empire West (476).

he had compelled to marry him, had sent to the Vandals for help. Leo the Great had less success with the King of the Vandals than with the King of the Huns. During fourteen days Rome was pillaged with such barbarity, that since then the name of Vandalism has been given to all devastation where destruction is wrought for the mere pleasure of destroying. For twenty years longer Gaiseric ruled over the Mediterranean and defied the impotent rage of the two Empires. Indeed he survived the Empire of the West by one year, but the greatness of his people seemed to perish with him (477). His kingdom, torn by religious discord and the revolts of the Moors, fell under the attacks of Belisarius, fifty-seven years after his death.

After the death of the feeble Maximus the King of the Visigoths in Gaul gave the purple to the rhetorician Avitus. The Suev Ricimer transferred it to the Senator Majorian. The barbarians disposed of the Empire as they pleased, but a certain shame kept them from assuming the sceptre themselves. Majorian showed himself a noble character in the midst of general corruption. He wished to overturn the power of the Vandals, and assembled a fleet at Carthage, but his preparations were destroyed, betrayed perhaps by his generals. Disheartened he returned to Italy and died there under the sword of Ricimer (461). His murderer set up successively three Emperors who pass across the scene like shadows (461-472), Severus, Anthemius, and Olybrius, and he even left the throne vacant for a time. Glycerius and Julius Nepos reigned hardly two years (472-475). Finally the Pannonian Orestes gave the purple to his own son Romulus Augustulus, a child of six years, who, as if in bitter irony, united the names of the founder of Rome and the founder of the Empire. Odovakar, commander of the confederate barbarians (Heruli, Rugii, Scyri, Turcilingi, etc.) took Ravenna and Rome, and banished the last heir of the

Cæsars of the West to the country house of Lucullus. The imperial insignia were sent to Constantinople by the senate, a symbol of the fall of the Empire. Odovakar was proclaimed king by his Heruli and gave them a third of the lands of this country, and demanded the title of Patrician from Zeno the Emperor of the East, thus acknowledging the superiority of the imperial dignity and the majesty of the Roman name. This was the end of the Empire of the West (476), an event which appears more significant to the eyes of posterity than to those of its contemporaries,* who had been accustomed for more than half a century to see the barbarians in control of everything.

* In their eyes the Roman Empire still continued to exist as before.—ED.]

CHAPTER III.

SECOND PERIOD OF INVASION: THE FRANKS, THE OSTROGOTHS, THE LOMBARDS AND THE ANGLO-SAXONS (455-569).

A Second Invasion of German Barbarians Successful in Founding States.—Clovis (481-511).—The Sons of Clovis (511-561).—Conquest of Burgundy (534) and of Thuringia (530).—Theodoric and the Kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy (493-526).—The Lombards (568-774).—Foundation of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms (455-584).

WE have seen that in their first period of invasion, the German barbarians destroyed more than they built up. Some, like Alaric, Radagaisus, and Attila, left nothing but ruins behind them; others, like Gundicar, Hermeric, Walia, and Gaiseric, set up kingdoms which did not prove stable. We come now to a second period, a new incursion of barbarians, who founded more durable states on the ruins of the shattered Empire.

The Salian Franks are supposed to have been governed between the years 420 and 428, by a king named Pharamond; but there is some doubt of his existence, as Gregory of Tours did not know of him.* Toward 428 they raised on their shields—and thus made king—Clodion the Hairy, who led them as far as the Somme, where they were driven back by Aetius. To succeed him (448), they chose Mérovius, who fought with honor at the great battle of Châlons [Méry-sur-Seine] and from whom sprung the Merovingian dynasty. Nevertheless, his son, Childeric the First (456), was driven out for a time, on account of his excesses, and was replaced by Count Aegidius, who, with the title of Master of the Roman soldiery, took command of the Gallo-Roman forces between the Somme and the Loire. But the Franks were not con-

* Nearly the whole of the early history of the Franks as related in this paragraph is legendary.—ED.

tent with Aegidius and called back their national chief. Leading his warlike bands as far as the banks of the Loire, over which their descendants were to rule for ever, he joined the Saxon pirates who had disembarked at the mouth of that river. In 481 he died, and his son Chlodoweg or Clovis succeeded him.

Clovis was the founder of the first barbarian monarchy which was fully able to resist successfully the last shocks of invasion and to endure for many centuries. At first he reigned only over the country of Tournay, and had only three or four thousand warriors at his command. But the divided condition in which he found Gaul made easy for him a conquest which would have been impossible fifty years before, when the Empire of the West was still in existence. All the country to the south of the Loire belonged to the Visigoths; the Burgundians ruled from Langres to the Durance, and from the Loire to the Alps; Alsace and the country between the Rhine and the Vosges belonged to the Alemanni; Armorica, which was destined to receive from British emigrants the name of Brittany, was independent and had renewed the old federation of the Armorican cities; finally, Alans were encamped by the Vilaine; Saxons occupied Bayeux, and Frankish kings ruled at Cambray, Terouanne and Cologne. In this way the barbarians held almost the whole of Gaul divided among them; of the Roman power only a feeble remnant was left in Champagne and Picardy, where Syagrius, the son of Aegidius, called by the barbarians King of the Romans, held Beauvais, Soissons, Troyes and Rheims.

Clovis attacked Syagrius and defeated him near Soissons (486); from that time nothing was left of the Empire of the West, and the barbarians were at last fairly masters of the country. Three peoples, then, held dominion in Gaul; the Visigoths, the Burgundians, and the Franks. Alaric II., King of the Visigoths, sought an alliance with Clovis, who eagerly accepted it. Gundobad, King of the Burgundians, having just put to death two of his three brothers, so that he need only share his kingdom with one, * gave Clovis, at his request, the hand of his niece Clotilda; she was a Catholic.

* This story and that of Clovis's later vengeance are now considered very doubtful.—ED.

Clovis had no intention of confining his conquests to what he already possessed. He was resolved not to share at all with new invaders—that is, he was resolved to change the Franks into defenders of the soil of which they had just taken possession, and also to subjugate the barbarians who had established themselves in Gaul before him. In 496, he conquered the Alemanni on the left bank of the Rhine and pursued them as far as Swabia; he also drove the Thuringians, who were ravaging the right bank of the river, back to their forests.

In the heat of the battle against the Alemanni, he had called upon the God of Clotilda and vowed that if He would give him the victory, he would become a Christian. Soon after, he was baptized by Saint Remigius, Archbishop of Rheims; 3000 Franks followed his example, the others remained pagans. This conversion had great results; as he had become not only a Christian but a Catholic, as were also the Gallic bishops and all the Gallo-Roman population, he was considered as a protector throughout the country, while the Visigoths and the Burgundians were hated as Arians. This circumstance greatly helped him in subduing these two peoples.

When a quarrel broke out between Gundobad and his remaining brother Godigisel, Clotilda urged her husband to avenge her father's murder; and the bishops, too, made an urgent appeal to him as orthodox king of the Franks. He entered Burgundy, defeated Gundobad near Dijon (500), forced him to give up Vienne and Geneva to Godigisel, and made both of them pay him tribute. Thus he both divided and impoverished the kingdom of Burgundy. Hardly had he departed when Gundobad despoiled and killed Godigisel. Clovis did not return to attack him again, but sent against him from the south Theodoric, king of the Italian Ostrogoths, whom he had made his ally by giving him his sister in marriage.* This custom of strengthening political alliances by family ties had hardly been known to ancient history, and it may be considered a barbarian impor-

* The account of these events here and in the following paragraph is entirely wrong. Strange as it may seem, the alliance was between Burgundians and Franks against the Visigoths. Theodoric interferes to aid the Visigoths, checks the Franks, and compels the Burgundians to yield him a part of their territory.—ED.

tation. Theodoric occupied the passes of the Alps and seized the province of Marseilles. Gundobad relinquished it to him, and by this concession and by his political gentleness toward the Catholic clergy, he saved the remainder of his states.

The Visigoths had entered into alliance with the Burgundians, who were Arians like themselves, and, like them, were threatened by the ambition of Clovis. Clovis, attracted by the rich and beautiful countries of the South, made objections to this alliance; he also put forward the interests of religion, and said to his warriors: "I am much displeased that these Visigoths, who are Arians, should possess a part of Gaul. Let us go forth with the help of God, and when we have conquered them, we will take possession of their land, for it is very good." Accordingly, he marched against the Visigoths, gained a victory over them on the plain of Vouillé, near Poitiers (507), and finished the conquest of all the country as far as the Pyrenees, except, however, Septimania, which the Visigoths retained for three centuries longer.

In this way all the Gauls were either subject to Clovis or paid him tribute, with the exception of the Armoricans, who, though at first allied with him, afterward resisted his ambitious pretensions and remained independent under their king Budic. The other tribes of the Frankish nation had also kept their own chiefs; Clovis put an end to this by means which show the crafty and cruel spirit of the barbarians. He caused Sigibert, king of the Ripuarian Franks, to be assassinated by his own son, and had the son killed afterwards; then presenting himself before the warriors of the tribe, he said: "I am in no way an accomplice of these doings; it would be wrong for me to spill the blood of my relations. But since this thing has happened, my advice is this; if it pleases you, follow it; turn to me, put yourselves under my protection." The Ripuarians lifted him on their shields and proclaimed him king. The other chiefs ruling at Tournay, Cambray, and at Mans, suffered the same fate as Sigibert. "Then," says Gregory of Tours, "Clovis, gathering his people together, spoke thus of the relatives he had killed: 'Unhappy am I to remain like a wayfarer among strangers! I have no kinsmen to aid me if adversity should come.' But this he said, not from grief at their death, but out of cunning, if perchance he might still discover some

relation whom he might kill. Having done these things he died (511)."

Clovis was the first to unite all the elements from which the new social order was to be formed,—namely, the barbarians, whom he established in power; the Roman civilization, to which he rendered homage by receiving the insignia of Patrician and of Consul from the Emperor Anastasius; and finally, the Catholic Church, with which he formed that fruitful alliance which was continued by his successors. The Council of Orleans had sanctioned this alliance by recognizing Clovis as protector of the Church, whose immunities he confirmed in this same council. The Pope had already written to him: "The Lord has provided for the needs of the Church by giving her for defender a prince armed with the helmet of salvation: be thou always for her a crown of iron, and she will give thee victory over thine enemies."

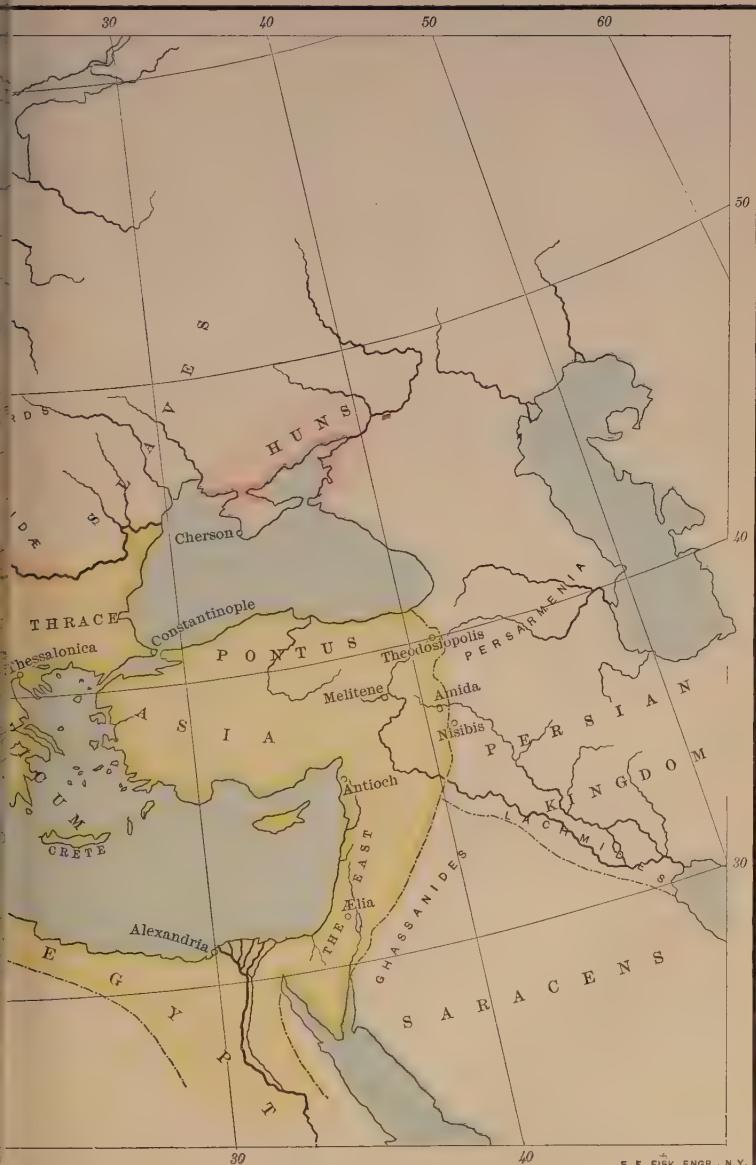
The sons of Clovis, following the Germanic custom, divided his states. Theodoric [Theuderic] the eldest, became king of Metz; Lothaire [Chlothacher], of Soissons; Childebert, of Paris; and Chlodomer, of Orleans. Each of them had also a part of Aquitaine.

The sons of Clovis (511-561). Conquest of Burgundy (534), and of Thuringia (530).

From this time, for half a century, the history of the Franks lacks unity and continuity. Being masters of almost the whole of Gaul, they satisfied their adventurous spirit by expeditions in all directions, against the Burgundians, the Thuringians, the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths. They rarely acted in accord, which resulted in a separation between the Austrasians, or eastern Franks, and the Neustrians, or western Franks, a separation which continued to increase.

In 523, the sons of Clovis attacked Sigismund, son of Gundobad, conquered him, and threw him with all his family into a well. But soon afterwards Chlodomer fell into an ambushade and perished. He left three sons; his brothers Childebert and Lothaire stabbed two of them and divided his states; the third, Chlodobald, who became Saint Cloud, only escaped by taking refuge in a monastery. Ten years afterwards Childebert and Lothaire again attacked the Burgundians, whom they conquered, deprived of their national kings, and forced to embrace Catholicism (534); this completed the work of Clovis.





Between the two expeditions against Burgundy there was a war with the Visigoths. Their king, Amalaric, had married Clotilda, sister of the Frankish kings; as he was an Arian, and she a Catholic, he maltreated her. Outraged by this, Childebert and Lothaire entered the country of the Visigoths, defeated Amalaric near Narbonne (531), crossed the Pyrenees, and brought back Clotilda. They appeared again in that country in 542, and penetrated as far as Saragossa, but the new Visigoth king, Theudis, drove them back.

During this time Theodoric had waged war elsewhere. He subdued the Thuringians (530), thus extending the power of the Franks as far as the mountains of Bohemia. When his brothers started for Burgundy, his warriors said to him: "If you will not go against the Burgundians with your brothers, we will leave you and follow them instead." He replied to them: "Follow me and I will lead you to the country of Auvergne, where you will get as much gold and silver as you wish, and whence you may bring back slaves, flocks and clothing." Auvergne, which was very hostile to the Franks, had revolted against them, and was now pillaged and devastated. The Austrasians brought back lines of chariots and of chained prisoners whom they sold at auction all along the road.

Under Theudibert, son of Theodoric, the Austrasians descended upon Italy, over which enticing country the Greeks and the Ostrogoths were struggling (539); they promised their aid to both sides, attacked each in turn, and gained a rich booty. But they did not all return, diseases and excesses caused the death of a great number. They made two more expeditions into Italy under the generals Leutharis and Buccelin.* The latter penetrated the first time, in 546, as far as Sicily; but descending again into Italy in 554, he was defeated by Narses, near Capua, and the Franks left the peninsula, not to return for two centuries.

In the mean time, Theodoric, the son of Theudibert, died, and Lothaire I. took his kingdom of Austrasia. This did not add to Lothaire's strength, for he was vanquished by the Saxons, whom his warriors had forced him to attack against his will. He also received the inheritance of Childebert, King of Paris, and so found himself sole king of the

* These seem to have been independent expeditions undertaken against the will of the king and to have been unsuccessful.—ED.

Franks (558). But at his death (561) this transient unity was again broken.

We come now to another founder of a great kingdom, Theodoric, who was an even more remarkable man than Clovis. It is, however, not astonishing that the Goths were distinguished from the other barbarians by a singular readiness to adopt the Roman civilization, for they had lived for a long time in immediate contact with the Empire. And in the case of Theodoric, who seems utterly different from the barbarians in his civilizing genius and in his policy, there is still less cause for surprise, as he was brought up at Constantinople, whither he was taken as a hostage when eight years old.

Theodoric and
the Kingdom of
the Ostrogoths
in Italy (493-526).

When at the death of Attila all the nations which had been subject to the Huns threw off their yoke, the Ostrogoths also became free. Three princes of the family of the Amals ruled over them: Walamir, Widemir, and Theudemir. Theudemir had a son Theodoric, who was born in 454, and succeeded his father in 474. His sojourn at the court of the East had attached him to the Emperor Zeno, whom he defended against a rival. When obliged by the turbulence of his subjects to undertake some warlike expedition, he diverted their attention from Constantinople, which they had planned to attack. Zeno authorized him to descend upon Italy where Odovakar was reigning, for the Emperor of Constantinople cared nothing for the Kingdom of the Heruli.*

Theodoric carried his whole nation with him. Old men, women, and children followed the warriors in chariots, with the flocks and all the wealth of the tribe. There were 200,000 in all. This movement began in the autumn of 488, and in the following February he first overwhelmed in the Julian Alps an army of Gepidæ and Sarmatians, and then defeated Odovakar at Aquileia and Verona (489). In spite of these three victories he was surrounded by a force from Pavia and placed in a critical situation, from which he was rescued by a relief force sent him by the Goths of Toulouse. Thanks to this aid, he conquered the whole Cisapline region, and Odovakar took refuge in Ravenna. During the

* The fidelity of Theodoric to Zeno was not quite so perfect as here represented.—ED,

two years' siege of this city, all Italy submitted, and the Goths made the valuable acquisition of Sicily. Odovakar surrendered on the condition of dividing his kingdom, but Theodoric had him assassinated at a feast, and reigned alone (493). The new Emperor Anastasius recognized him as king in Italy.

Without going to war Theodoric added Illyricum, Pannonia, Noricum, and Rhaetia to Italy, and after some hostilities with the Burgundians gained also the province of Marseilles. The Bavarians paid him tribute, the Alemanni invoked his aid against Clovis, and finally, at the death of Alaric II., the Visigoths recognized him as their ruler for the time of the minority of Amalaric, grandson of Alaric. He defeated a Frankish army near Arles in 508, thus returning to the Goths of Aquitaine, who had been subdued by the Franks, the aid they had given him when conquering Odovakar. The two branches of the Gothic nation which had been separated so long, and whose territories near the Rhone were adjacent, were now united, and the dominion of Theodoric extended from the depths of Spain across Gaul and Italy as far as Sirmium on the Save. He was united by family alliance with almost all the barbaric kings; he himself had married the sister of Clovis, and he gave the hand of his own sister to the King of the Vandals, his niece to the King of the Thuringians, one of his daughters to the King of the Visigoths and the other to the King of the Burgundians. He seemed to be the chief of the barbarians who were established in the Empire of the West, and even Germany showed deference to her glorious representative, who had become the heir of the Cæsars. Theodoric was really anything but a barbarian in his political ideas. He showed a consideration for the Emperor of the East which proved his respect for this ancient empire, still so imposing in its ruins, and only waged war when forced to do so. For this chief of the Goths was a pacific king, and made the best use of peace. "Let other Kings rejoice in ravaging cities and burdening themselves with huge spoils," said he, "but I wish my dominion to be such that vanquished nations shall only regret that they were not sooner made subject to it."

The new-comers needed lands, and as each Italian city had given up a third of its territory to be distributed to the Heruli of Odovakar, the Goths of Theodoric merely substituted

themselves for the Heruli, a substitution which caused no suffering, as there were many abandoned estates. A common law was established for the two peoples, except in regard to a few of their own customs which the Goths preserved. The barbarians paid a tax for their lands like the Romans, and cases of dispute between men of the two races were decided by a mixed tribunal. Theodoric did not wish his Goths to be privileged before the law, and would perhaps have preferred to have them mingle freely with the vanquished population, but the barbarians reserved the profession of arms for themselves, and forbade their children the study of literature and the arts. The Romans alone resorted to the schools, and they held only civil offices. Nevertheless Theodoric was supreme over his kingdom, and we do not find among the Ostrogoths assemblies such as the other barbarians had, but the king governed alone with the aid of a council.

Theodoric professed a great reverence for the Roman civilization. He had asked for and obtained from the Emperor Anastasius the imperial insignia that Odovakar had disdainfully sent back to Constantinople, and he gave up the dress of the barbarians for the Roman purple.* Although he lived at Ravenna he was accustomed to consult the Roman senate, to whom he wrote: "We desire, conscript fathers, that the genius of liberty may look with favor upon your assembly." He established a consul of the West, three prætorian prefects, and three dioceses,—that of northern Italy, that of Rome, and that of Gaul. He retained the municipal government, but appointed the decurions himself. He reduced the severity of the taxes, and his palace was always open to those who wished to complain of the iniquities of the judges. Faustus, a prætorian prefect, and Theodahad, a nephew of the prince, were in this way forced to make restitution. A poor woman had been begging for years to have her process decided. Theodoric summoned the judges and they despatched the affair in a few days. He then condemned them to punishment for not having done in three years what could have been done in three days. Royal

* It is impossible to tell what was the exact relationship between the two governments. Theodoric does not seem to have recognized any real subordination to the Empire. Mommsen in recent studies holds that he did.—ED.

envoys armed with his full authority traversed the provinces, that the king's justice might be accessible to all, and in order to establish a vigilant police.

Thus a barbarian gave back to Italy the prosperity which she had lost under the emperors. The public buildings, aqueducts, theatres, and baths were repaired, and palaces and churches were built. The uncultivated lands were cleared and companies were formed to drain the Pontine marshes, and the marshes of Spoleto. The iron mines of Dalmatia and a gold mine in Bruttii were worked. The coasts were protected from pirates by numerous flotillas. The population increased greatly. Theodoric, though he did not know how to write, gathered around him the best literary merit of the time,—Boethius, the bishop Ennodius, and Cassiodorus. The latter, whom he made his minister, has left us twelve books of letters. Theodoric seems in many ways like a first sketch of Charlemagne.

Though himself an Arian, he respected the rights of the Catholics from the first, confirmed the immunities of their churches, and in general left the free election of their bishop to the people and the clergy of Rome. He ever protected the Jews and wrote to their rabbis: "We cannot enforce religion, for no one is obliged to believe anything in spite of himself." When, however, the Emperor Justin I. persecuted the Arians in the East, he threatened to retaliate, and as a great commotion was observed among his Italian subjects, he believed that a conspiracy was being formed against himself. He forbade the Catholics to carry any sort of arms, and accused several men of consular rank of criminal relations with the court of Constantinople. The prefect Symmachus and his son-in-law, Boethius, were implicated. Theodoric confined them in the tower of Pavia, and it was there that Boethius wrote his great work, *The Consolations of Philosophy*. They were both executed in 525.* Theodoric, however, finally recognized their innocence, and felt such great regret that his reason is said to have been unbalanced and that remorse hastened his end (526). His tomb, of which the cupola is formed of a single stone twelve metres wide and one and a half thick, is still to be seen at Ravenna. It is the only monument raised by the Goths that we possess, and it is readily seen that this

* Boethius was probably executed in 524.—ED.

structure has nothing in common with the architecture so improperly called Gothic.

After the death of Theodoric the supremacy wielded by his nation over the barbarian world disappeared. The Ostrogoths and the Visigoths were again separated. The first recognized as king Athalaric, son of the beautiful and learned Amalasuntha, and grandson of Theodoric; the second, a son of Alaric II. The kingdom of the Ostrogoths degenerated rapidly, and survived its founder but a short time. Nevertheless, Theodoric showed too high a degree of the genius of civilization to be ranked with the barbarians who have left nothing durable behind them.

Though the Ostrogoths left few traces on the soil of Italy in spite of their great king, Theodoric, the place on the peninsula was filled, after some years of Greek dominion, by a people who planted Germanic institutions there. The Lombards, or Longobards, a people originally from the banks of the Elbe, had long wandered on the left bank of the Danube between the Theiss and Moravia, and had finally settled in Pannonia and Noricum at the invitation of Justinian. Reinforced by an army of Avars from Asia, and under the leadership of Alboin, they utterly destroyed the kingdom of the Gepidæ, and forced the beautiful Rosamund, daughter of the King Cunimund, who was slain in the battle, to marry the victor (566). Two years later summoned by Narses,* Alboin crossed the Julian Alps, conquered the whole valley of the Po without a combat, and had himself proclaimed king in Milan. Pavia, which he took after a long siege, became his capital. He entered Umbria and established a Lombard duke in Spoleto, but Ravenna and Rome escaped him, as well as the coasts of Liguria and Venice, and all the southern part of the peninsula and the islands. The Greek Empire retained these, and they were governed by an exarch who lived at Ravenna and was supreme over the dukes established elsewhere as subordinate governors.

Alboin was assassinated in 573 by Helmichis, his shield-bearer, at the instigation as the legend goes of Rosamund, whom he had forced at a feast to drink from her father's skull. His successor, Klef, carried the dominion of the Lombards into the southern part of the peninsula. He

* This story is now commonly rejected.—ED.

took Beneventum, but did not gain Naples, Gaeta, Amalfi, Calabria, or Bruttii, which were kept by the Greeks. He died in 575 by the hands of one of his great nobles. Alboin had divided the country between thirty-six dukes, who each ruled over his territory and one great city.* Following the Germanic custom the nation came together in a general assembly, and even the king was then subject to its decisions.

After the death of Klef the thirty-six dukes let the throne stand vacant and each one ruled over his own territory. This division of power encouraged the enemies of the Lombards, and after being attacked by the Greeks and the Franks they reestablished the office of king in 584. Autharis, the son of Klef, recovered the lost provinces, subdued Beneventum, which had become the seat of a powerful duchy, and by regulating the laws confirmed the Lombard conquest. He settled the conditions of the ownership of land and the rights of the victor and the vanquished; the latter sank to the condition of tributaries, and were obliged to pay to their new masters one-third of the product of the fields they had retained. He compelled the dukes to surrender half their revenues to the king, but promised not to deprive them of their offices for anything short of felony.

The Lombards were pagans at the beginning of the conquest, and though soon converted to Arianism, they did not become Catholics till the reign of Agilulf (602), and then through the efforts of the Pope, Saint Gregory, and the queen Theudelinda.†

Rotharis gave them their first written laws. In a diet held in Pavia in 643, by "the faithful people and fortunate army" of the Lombards, the law which bears his name was published, and differed from other barbarian laws in being territorial rather than personal.‡ The only ones of his successors who are worthy to be rescued from oblivion are Grimoald (662) one of the most energetic of Lombard kings,

* The Lombard dukes, probably thirty-five in number, correspond more nearly to the counts than to the dukes of the Frankish kingdom. Counts very rarely appear in the Lombard kingdom, though the kings appoint over smaller subdivisions judicial officers like the *Judex* and the *Sculdahis*, or administrative officers like the *Gastaldus*.—ED.

† The process of conversion was a slow one. It cannot be called complete before the reign of Grimoald.—ED.

‡ That is, German and Roman were subject alike to the Lombard law, with the possible exception of cases arising between Romans.—ED.

and Luitprand (712) who united very nearly the whole peninsula under his laws. It was then that the Pope Gregory III. sent a suppliant letter to Charles Martel, and instituted that policy in pursuance of which the Holy See to preserve its independence so often contended against the masters of Italy, and so often summoned against them the aid of foreigners. When Charlemagne assumed the crown of the Lombards in 774, their race, which had been supreme over a great part of Italy for 206 years, had established customs there which gave rise to Italian feudalism, the Cisalpine region even retained their name, and is still called Lombardy.

In the same period as the reigns of Clovis and Theodoric, Britain, separated by the sea from the continent, had its own particular invasion, or rather a series of successive invasions by two peoples from the shores of the lower part of the Elbe, the Angles and the Saxons.* These invasions lasted a century and resulted in the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy.

Great Britain, which had been partly conquered by the Romans, had under their dominion preserved entirely distinct its three peoples,—the Caledonians (Picts and Scots) in the north, in what is now called Scotland where the Romans, had not penetrated; in the south and east the Lœgrians, who had felt the influence of the Roman civilization; and at the west beyond the Severn the Cambrians or the Welsh, a people unconquerable in their mountain fastnesses.

The Picts continually descended from the highlands of Scotland and made disastrous expeditions against the South. As long as the Romans held the island they kept them in check, but when Honorius, menaced by Alaric and Radagaisus, recalled his legions,† the wall of Severus and the *vallum* of Adrian were no longer of any use. The Lœgrians and the Cambrians were harassed by these attacks and

* This history of the English conquest takes little account of the more recent investigations. The chronology and nearly all matters of detail are very uncertain. The account given by J. R. Green in his shorter or longer History of England or in his Making of England should be read.—ED.

† It seems certain that only one legion, the 20th, was recalled to meet Alaric, and this in 402, and that the other two, the 2d and 6th, formed the army of the usurper Constantine, with which he took possession of Gaul in 407.—ED.

decimated by famine, and, unable to gain the assistance of Aetius "by their groans," were reduced to defend themselves. They chose a *penteyrn* or *pendragon*, a common chief, who was to live at London and take charge of the defense of the whole country. The choice of the *pendragon* often proved to be an occasion of discord, as the Lægrians and Cambrians quarreled as to which people should receive the office. While Vortigern filled this office, they could think of no other means of safety than to summon against the Picts the barbarians from beyond the sea, the Saxons, the Jutes, and the Angles. These were bold pirates, who, finding the way toward the Rhine barred by the Franks, had taken the ocean for their domain, and continually set sail from the coasts of Germany and the Cimbric peninsula to scour the North Sea and the British Channel. Two Saxon chiefs, Henghist and Horsa, defeated the Picts and received as recompense the Isle of Thanet on the coast of Kent, with the promise of tribute. Such protectors soon change to masters; the white dragon of the strangers devoured the red dragon of the Britons. These were the banners of the two peoples. In 455 Henghist took possession of the country between the Thames and the Channel with the title of King of Kent, and made Canterbury his capital.

From that time it was the ambition of all the chiefs of the Saxon pirates to gain a firm footing in Great Britain as the Frankish tribes had done in Gaul. In 491, in spite of the efforts of the *penteyrn* Ambrosius, Ælla founded at Chichester the kingdom of Sussex (Southern Saxons). In 516 Cerdic founded at Winchester that of Wessex (West Saxons). Here the Saxons came into collision with the Cambrians, who proved to be formidable adversaries. Arthur,* prince of Caerleon, the hero of Gaelic legends and the Achilles of the Cambrian bards, defeated them, it is said, in twelve battles, of which the most celebrated is that of Badon-Hill (520). According to tradition he killed with his own hand in a single day 400 of his enemies. When wounded he was borne to an island formed by two rivers and died there, at what date is not known. His tomb has never been found. The Cambrians, whom he had defended so long, refused to believe in the death of their national

* Consult the article on Arthur in vol. ii. of the Dictionary of National Biography.—ED.

hero, and for many centuries looked forward to his coming as the time of their deliverance. He had saved the Cambrian independence for the time being. When stopped at the west, the Saxon invaders founded in the east in 526 still another kingdom, Essex (East Saxons), with the capital of London (Lon-din, the city of vessels), on the Thames, which made four Saxon kingdoms.

In 547 the Angles made their appearance. Ida, or the man of fire, took possession of York and the region which is called Northumberland (land north of the Humber). In 571, Offa, chief of a tribe of Angles who were settled on the eastern coast of Great Britain, took the title of King of East Anglia, with Norwich for his capital, and in 584 Crida founded between the East Angles and the Cambrians the kingdom of Mercia (frontier, March), with Lincoln or Leicester for capital.

When these three kingdoms were added to the four Saxon kingdoms the heptarchy was complete, and the country which had been held by the Romans was divided into seven little barbarian kingdoms, which later were united into one. The new-comers formed a large element of the English population, which is still considered to have a Saxon foundation.

The invasion did not reach Scotland, which was still held by the Picts and Scots, whom the Romans had been unable to conquer, nor did it reach Ireland, which escaped the German dominion as it had the Roman, except for a few points on the coasts where the Danes had settled. The Celtic population of Ireland, which was divided into a great number of clans and little states, kept its independence till the twelfth century. Saint Patrick carried the Catholic religion there as early as the fourth century, and the Church of Ireland early became a center of light. Saint Columban, whom we shall find among the Franks, was one of her sons.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GREEK EMPIRE FROM 408 TO 705; TEMPORARY REACTION OF THE EMPERORS OF CONSTANTINO- PLE AGAINST THE GERMANIC INVADERS.

Theodosius II., Marcian, Leo I., Zeno, Anastasius, Justin I. (408-527). Justinian I. (527-565).—Wars against the Persians (528-533 and 540-562).—Conquest of Africa from the Vandals (534); of Italy from the Ostrogoths (535-553); Acquisitions in Spain (552); Justinian's Administration of the Interior; Code and Digest.—Justinian II., Tiberius II., Maurice and Phocas (565-610); Heraclius (610-641); Decline of the Greek Empire.

While the tide of barbarian nations swept over almost the whole of Europe, the Greek Empire* remained intact; it dragged out an existence which was for the most part miserable, though it was more glorious at times than might have been expected from so corrupt a society. Under

Theodosius II.,
Marcian, Leo I.,
Zeno, Anastasius,
Justin I. (408-527).

Justinian and Heraclius it had been able to take the offensive against the invaders, to regain Italy from the Ostrogoths, Africa from the Vandals, and a part of Spain from the Visigoths, at the same time driving back the Bulgarians and Avars beyond the Danube, the Persians beyond the Euphrates, and extending its protectorate over all the Christians in Asia. But it was exhausted by this last effort, and unable to defend and keep its southern provinces when the invading barbarians from the south, the Arabs, appeared.

This Empire was governed for the most part by women and eunuchs, who swayed at their will the degenerate emperors. Thus Theodosius II., the successor of Arcadius (408-450), allowed himself to be ruled throughout his reign

* The titles Greek Empire, Eastern Empire, and Western Empire, as used here and elsewhere, are, strictly speaking, incorrect, at least till we reach the time of Charlemagne. The Empire throughout the whole period was considered as one and undivided, whatever arrangements might be made for the government of different parts of it.—ED.

by his sister Pulcheria, who succeeded in keeping him in a long minority. When the Empire was attacked under this emperor, he paid tribute; he had the good fortune not to be attacked at the East and even gained half of Armenia, which King Arsaces divided with him, himself taking the lion's share.* In the reign of Theodosius a new heresy sprang up—that of Nestorius, whom he appointed bishop of Constantinople, and the Empire was long troubled by it. The Theodosian Code must be mentioned here, too, which supplemented the inadequate Gregorian and Hermogenian codes and contained the collected decrees of the Christian emperors. This code was drawn up by a commission of lawyers in 438, and was the first body of laws which was given to the Empire with the imperial sanction; it was very popular, especially in the West, among the Goths of Italy and Spain.

Marcian (450–457), whom Pulcheria married for his courage, showed more firmness toward Attila than his predecessor had done; but after his death Constantinople was given over to misfortune. The Thracian Leo I. (457) received the crown at the hands of a barbarian. Zeno (474) owed it to the revolt of the Isaurian guards, who, like the old prætorian guards, made everything bow to their caprice and violence. A rival Basiliscus troubled the Empire, and religious quarrels, a chronic malady at Constantinople, brought the Catholics and the partisans of Eutyches into such violent conflict that Zeno's endeavors to calm them by his Henoticon, or Edict of Union (481), were without success.

In 491 Anastasius, who had been earlier proposed for the patriarchal see at Antioch, was made Emperor through the intrigues of a woman. To protect Constantinople, he built a wall from the Euxine to the Propontis, 70 kilometers (40 miles) long, strengthened with towers and bearing his name; he mixed in the religious quarrels and only inflamed them the more—blood even flowed in the tumults. However, he freed Constantinople from the Isaurians, abolished again the chrysargyron, the detested tax, and strictly forbade the combats in the circus between men and wild beasts. These emperors were not, as a general rule, wanting in knowledge,

* The division of Armenia between Rome and Persia takes place in the reign of Theodosius I.—ED.

humanity, or even good intensions ; but they were petty and weak. What they, as well as the whole nation, lacked, was dignity and force of character, strength and elevation of mind, rather than mere intelligence.

Anastasius waged an unsuccessful war against Persia (502-505), which cost him Colchis.* At his death (518), a dynasty began in the person of the Thracian Justin I., who had bought the throne from the Imperial guards. He was an officer of the guard, and had before that been a shepherd and a soldier. He did not know how to read, and he signed his edicts by means of a tablet, in which the first four letters of his name were cut like a stencil. Nevertheless, he was not without merit, and he reigned till 527.

At this time his nephew Justinian mounted the throne, having made his way to it by humoring all the vices which distracted Constantinople, by corrupting the soldiers and lavishing gold on the circus games, which held in the affections of this degenerate people a place equal to that of their gravest interests. If his reign was great it was not due to moral excellence, but to his wars, his works of legislation, and the monuments he erected.

Justinian carried on wars in four directions,—in the east with the Persians, in the southwest with the Vandals, in the west with the Ostrogoths, in the north with the Bulgarians.

The war against the Persians, though often interrupted, was the first to begin—in 528—and the last to end, in 562. It did not have the same character as the others; there were no countries conquered by the barbarians, to be recovered from them, like Italy and Africa, nor an invasion to be repelled, as upon the Danube; it was the sustaining of an old and equal struggle—the defense of a frontier from the regular attacks of an established people, as old as the Empire itself; who did not come rushing on, a whole people in masses, but who sent armies—which constitutes the real difference between barbarian invasions and ordinary wars.

After the hundred years of good understanding, the old hostilities between the Roman Empire and Persia had

* Colchis was not involved in this war. The conquests which the Persians had made were restored at its close —ED.

broken out again under Anastasius and Justin. King Kobad had seized several Roman towns, and had subjugated all Armenia, always an object of desire to both empires. There had also been a few quarrels during the reign of Justin on the occasion of the conversion of the Lagi, who, on becoming Christians, had renounced the protection of the Persians to put themselves under the Greek Emperor. Justinian had reigned for a year (528), when Kobad finally opened hostilities by dispersing the workmen engaged in fortifying the town of Dara in Mesopotamia. The defense of the provinces in Asia was confided to Belisarius, whose name has become inseparably connected with Justinian's and immortalized by his great deeds as well as by his misfortunes. They were associated in debauchery before they were associates in glory—a fact very characteristic of the Greek Empire. Belisarius was first victor in two battles, and then vanquished at Callinicum. Nevertheless he saved the Asiatic provinces of the Greek Empire by his skillful maneuvers, and Kobad's successor, Chosroes Nushirvan, wishing to strengthen his position by peace before undertaking the vast designs that filled his head—consented to negotiate. Justinian paid down 11,000 pounds of gold (533). For this price they swore an eternal friendship; it lasted less than eight years.

In 540, Chosroes, uneasy at the increase of Justinian's power, and urged on by Witiges, King of the Ostrogoths, invaded and ravaged Syria, took possession of Antioch, and was stopped only by Belisarius, whom Justinian called back from Italy in all haste. The great general prevented new conquests of the Persians by his maneuvers, but he could neither conquer Armenia nor bring back the Lagi under Roman protection. They had had to suffer so much from Roman extortioners, that they no longer wished to be separated from Persia. In 545, a truce was signed, after Chosroes had besieged Edessa in vain. Ten years later, the Lagi rebelled and the war began again in Colchis, whose population was in great part Christian. The treaty of 562 secured this province to the Empire. Justinian, at the same time, obtained liberty of conscience for the Christians of Persia, but agreed to pay a tribute of 30,000 pieces of gold, so that, in the East, his reign was marked by the humiliation of a material loss and by the honor of obtaining a moral advantage in the empire of his enemy.

On the other three sides, his military glory was less doubtful.

Victory had been fatal to the barbarians. Those men of the north, carried suddenly from the damp and gloomy forests of Germany to the scorching plains of Italy, Spain, and Africa, had two enemies that brought them sure death, the sun and dissipation. What happened to the English soldiers in India, happened to them too.

They were enervated by the climate, and their intemperate habits, harmless on the banks of the Elbe, became fatal at the foot of Atlas. Add to this their small numbers, their intestine wars, the hatred of the populations toward their savage and political masters; finally, the sudden contact with civilization which is so often fatal to barbarians, and it will be readily seen that at the end of two or three generations nothing remained of a power which at first had seemed irresistible. In after years the crusaders established in Palestine had the same experience. Seeing this quick decline, it seemed to Justinian natural to profit by it, and he began with the Vandals.

It was after the first Persian war that the expedition against the Vandals took place. Gelimer had just assassinated Prince Hilderic—a relation of the Emperor Theodosius I. by his mother. Under the pretext of avenging him Justinian decided to attack that enervated nation, which was still torn by religious conflicts. Belisarius set out for Africa with a fleet of 500 ships manned by 20,000 sailors and 15,000 soldiers. The departure was an occasion of great solemnity at Constantinople; and the success of Belisarius fully repaid the importance of the preparations. Three months after he landed he gained the decisive victory of Tricameron and took possession of Africa, Sardinia, and the Balearic Islands (534). Gelimer, closely besieged, sent to Belisarius for bread, which he had not tasted for three months, a sponge with which to bathe his aching eyes, and a lute wherewith to sing his woes. When led before him he burst out laughing; and when he was presented to the Emperor he cried with Ecclesiastes, "Vanity of vanities—all is vanity." He was given estates in Galatia, where he quietly spent the rest of his life.

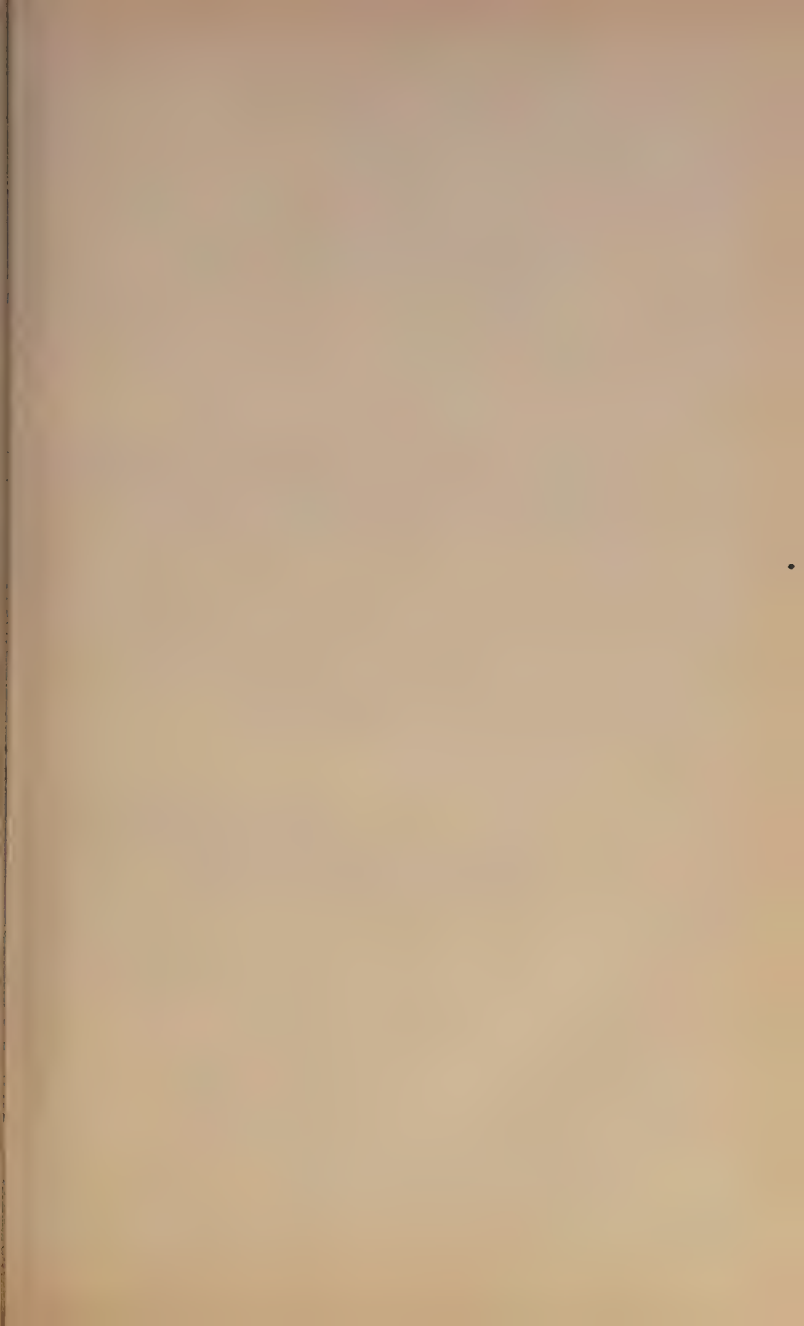
Belisarius hardly had enjoyed his triumph at Constantinople, for the conquest of Africa, when he was sent to

Italy. In Italy the Ostrogoths retained more vigor, from the fact that they had come there in greater numbers and more recently. Theodoric had kept them separated from the Italians. His daughter Amalasuntha, reigning in the place of Athalaric, wished to refine them, but the Goths, who clung to their barbaric rudeness, forced her to name her cousin Theodahad king, and soon after Theodahad assassinated her. Justinian appeared as the avenger of Amalasuntha in Italy, as he had of Hilderic in Africa. Belisarius conquered Sicily (535), and took Naples and Rome (536). In vain did Witiges, the new king of the Goths, assemble all the forces of the nation, newly inspired by his courage, take for an instant the offensive, and shut up Belisarius in Rome; he could not capture him there and was obliged to fly to Ravenna, where he suffered the same fate as Gelimer (540). But envy and the Persian war called Belisarius back; the Goths, under Totila, took advantage of that and gained a great victory at Faenza which gave them Rome (546). Belisarius came back, but with insufficient forces, and only succeeded in reëntering the old capital of the world. What the court refused him, it gave to the eunuch Narses. He had an army in which barbarians predominated—Huns, Persians, Herulians, Lombards and Slavs—and fought at Lentagio* in the Apennines against King Totila, who died of his wounds (552). Teias, succeeding Totila, had a like fate; and the Ostrogothic monarchy ended with him. The bands of Franks, though called upon at the same time by the Goths and the Greeks, did not assist either of the two parties. Those of the Ostrogothic warriors who still remained in Italy were allowed to retire with their possessions, after promising on oath never to return.

Thus the Greek Empire seemed to have avenged the Empire of the West. When it had seized Valencia in Spain and the Eastern Baetica, which Athanagild yielded to Justinian in order to obtain his help against a rival, Agila, it seemed to have regained its sovereignty over the two basins of the Mediterranean. But the increase of power was too much for its weak condition, and lasted but a short time.

Conquest of Italy from the Ostrogoths (533-553).
Acquisitions in Spain (552).

* The exact place where this battle was fought is unknown.—ED.





A new invasion, in the north, was repelled at the same time. The Bulgarians who are believed to be of Tartar blood, came from the region of the Volga about this time. They settled in Dacia, and while the imperial armies were fighting in Asia, Italy, and Spain, they crossed the Danube on the ice and appeared under the very walls of Constantinople. The capital of the Empire was saved by Belisarius, who expelled them with the aid of the guards of the palace and the inhabitants of the town, and drove them back beyond the Danube* (559). Another Tartar people, the Avars, the remains of a great nation destroyed in Asia by the Turks and the Chinese, approached the Danube in 558. Justinian persuaded them to stop in Dacia. He hoped to make them defenders of the Empire; but they became its most terrible enemies.

Justinian's greatest claim to the memory of posterity is, however, less in his transient victories than in the works of legislation which are connected with his name. They were executed under the direction of Justinian's Administration, Code & Digest. Tribonian, a lawyer and a man of universal knowledge, but mercenary and without conscience, according to Procopius, who said: "He trafficked in laws—making and unmaking them according as it was asked of him." With nine other lawyers for associates, Tribonian made in fourteen months (528–529) a collection of the constitutions and imperial edicts, divided into twelve books; this is the Code. Justinian brought out, some time after, a new edition of it, in which were two hundred laws and fifty decisions delivered by himself. In the year 533 the Institutes appeared, a summary of the principles of Roman jurisprudence, which was intended for the schools of Constantinople, Berytus and Rome, and the Digest, called, as in Greek, Pandects (general collection). This is an immense compilation, made in three years time by seventeen lawyers, though Justinian had allowed them twelve years for the task. All the previous codes and two thousand books on jurisprudence were summarized, and three million lines were reduced to one hundred and fifty thousand. To avoid further confusion, it was forbidden to make commentaries

* This invasion was by a branch of the Huns, not by the Bulgarians. It may have been in 558. The home offered by Justinian to the Avars was in Pannonia.—ED.

on them, and even to interpret or cite the old laws; in a doubtful case the Emperor himself could be appealed to for an interpretation.

Finally, the fourth great work includes, under the name of *Novellæ*, the laws made by Justinian after the publication of the Code (534-565). All this legislation was the last will and testament, as it were, of Roman jurisprudence, but animated by new principles of humanity in the civil law and of despotism in the government.

For the defense of the Empire, Justinian built or restored eighty fortresses along the Danube and six hundred in Dacia, Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace; he rebuilt the wall of Anastasius, which had been thrown down by an earthquake and had let the Bulgarians through; he even fortified all the isthmuses of the Empire, and covered the frontier of the Euphrates with forts as he had the Danube. Other structures were for the adornment of the capital—as, for instance, the magnificent basilica of St. Sophia, which is now a mosque. The importation, in his reign, of silkworms, by two Nestorian monks coming from China, must also be mentioned.

From every point of view that we have taken, the reign of Justinian is worthy of praise. It is contemptible, if we consider the inner factions, the bloodthirsty quarrels of the *greens* and the *blues* (the colors of the circus charioteers), the *Nika* sedition, which for five days gave Constantinople over to devastation—murder and conflagration. The danger was so great for the Emperor himself that he was on the point of departing on a ship held in readiness for him, when his wife Theodora stopped him, saying: “I shall remain, and I shall console myself with that thought of the ancients, that the throne is a glorious tomb!”

Belisarius, with 3000 veterans, surrounded the rebels in the circus and killed, it is said, 30,000 of them. This brave Theodora had been only a comic actress, daughter of the keeper of the bears in the amphitheater, and notorious for every kind of licentiousness before Justinian married her. Virtue was nowhere seen, and without this strength is weakness, for it alone can give to states as well as to individuals a wholesome confidence in themselves. The innumerable fortresses proved only that the Romans of the lower empire felt their own powerlessness, and had a lively fear of the ruin which they knew themselves unable to avert.

Justinian died in 565, after withdrawing his favor from Belisarius.* He was succeeded by three emperors, the two last of fine character who form an exception to the general degradation; first his nephew, Justin II. (565), then Tiberius II. (578), and Maurice (582). The two last gained the throne by the right of adoption,

Justin II. Tiberius II. Maurice & Phocas (565-610). Heraclius (610-741). Steady decline.

which proved almost as successful in their case as when it gave the Empire to the Antonines. The splendor of Justinian's reign was continued under these three Emperors. If Italy was conquered by the Lombards (568), the Avars, on the other hand, were turned back from the East by Justin's courageous attitude. The Persian war was waged with success by Tiberius II., and under Maurice the Greek Empire became the protector of Chosroes II., who was driven from his states by the revolt of Varahan (591). Unfortunately at the end of this reign, the Avars, led by their Khan, the terrible Baïam, raised the annual tribute to 100,000 pieces of gold, took Sirmium† and Singidunum, and ravaged everything from Belgrade to the Black Sea. Maurice had nothing to oppose to these formidable troops but a degenerate army attracted only by the hope of gold, and generals who had no more force of character than Commentiolus, who always fell sick when the barbarians arrived, and who never lost blood but by the surgeon's lancet. Maurice wished to make a reform in the discipline, but the attempt cost him his life. A revolt broke out in the European and Asiatic camps, and Phocas, who was proclaimed Emperor, had him strangled with all his children (602). Fortunately the terrible tyranny of Phocas defeated itself by its own excesses. Heraclius, the son of the exarch of Africa (610), was called upon to overthrow him.

The reign of Heraclius was a struggle against the Persians and the Avars, admirable for its courage and spirit. For a long time war had not been waged on so grand a scale as it

* The tradition that Belisarius had his eyes put out by the order of Justinian and was obliged to beg his bread, a story popularized by Marmontel's romance and David's picture, does not go farther back than Tzetzes, an author of the twelfth century, in whom little faith can be placed. The portraits of Justinian and Theodora are still to be seen in the mosaic of the apse of St. Vitalis at Ravenna, which contains so many memorials of the Lower Empire.

† Sirmium was captured in the reign of Tiberius.—ED.

was now in Asia. The extremities of distress to which the Emperor was first reduced only made his success thereafter the more remarkable. The Avars invaded the North, and pursued the Emperor as far as the outskirts of Constantinople (619). The Persians, led by the Satrap Shahan, invaded Syria (613), Palestine, Egypt, and even Cyrenaica, where they destroyed all the Greek towns, and returning to Asia Minor, suddenly pushed as far as Chalcedon. Here they settled for ten years in sight of Constantinople, which the loss of Egypt had reduced to starvation. The limits of the Empire at that time hardly reached beyond the walls of Constantinople and Heraclius was already thinking of transferring the capital from there to Carthage, when the patriarch Sergius restrained him and placed the possessions of the Church at Constantinople at his disposal. The war which was going on had assumed almost a religious character; Chosroes had strangled the Christian priests in Jerusalem, and had sworn that he would not make peace with Heraclius until he should "renounce his crucified Lord, and take up the worship of the Sun." Heraclius carried the war into the enemy's country. He attacked Asia Minor first from the south (622), landed in Cilicia, and gained a victory at Issus. He then attacked it from the north, landing at Trebizond, and enlarged his army with many auxiliaries collected from the tribes of the Caucasus—dragged Armenia into an alliance with him, and penetrated into Azerbiyan, destroying the town of Thebarmis, which is regarded as the birthplace of Zoroaster, the religious legislator of the Persians. This bold enterprise saved Asia Minor and Egypt, as formerly that of Scipio in Africa had saved Italy. The Persian armies were withdrawn across the Euphrates. The Persians allied themselves with the Avars, Heraclius with the Turkish Khazars from the Volga, who stood to Persia in the same position as did the barbarians from the Danube to the Greek Empire. While the Avars were suffering defeat in an attack on Constantinople (626), Heraclius, strengthened by 40,000 Khazars, went so far that the king of Persia himself trembled for his capital (627). The Emperor, victor in a battle near the ruins of Nineveh, pillaged the towns and palaces of Persia, and penetrating as far as Ctesephon, which, however, he did not besiege, he regained 300 Roman flags. Chosroes was dethroned and put to death by his own son Siroes, and the treaty then concluded (628)

gave back to the two empires their old boundary lines, and to the Christians the wood of the True Cross, which Heraclius bore back in triumph to Jerusalem (629).

Here the successful period of the reign of Heraclius ends, as well as the transient prosperity of the Greek Empire, which was exhausted by the attacks of the Persians and even by its own victories, overwhelmed by taxes and ruined in its commerce and industries. The Empire was in great need of repose after such disasters and exertions, but it was now overwhelmed by the sudden rush of a nation from the depths of Arabia, much more formidable than the Persians—a veritable torrent—destroying everything in its path. Ten years had hardly passed when Heraclius, after new and useless efforts, released his Syrian subjects from their oath of allegiance, and set sail crying: “Farewell, Syria, farewell forever!” (638). * Before he died he saw Egypt lost, Alexandria captured (641). His dynasty continued on the throne for seventy years, unfortunately for the Empire. Blood and madness and unprecedented refinements of cruelty give an awful character to this period: Constans II. (641) had his brother killed, and thought he saw him in his dreams offering a cup of blood and saying: “Drink, brother, drink.” Constantine IV. Pogonatos (668) had the noses of his two brothers cut off, whom the troops of the Anatolic district in Asia Minor wished to force upon him as associates in the Empire, “because,” said they, “just as there are three persons of equal power in heaven, so ought there to be—in all reason—three persons of equal power on the earth.” Justinian II. (685) had two favorites, a eunuch and a monk; the first of whom is said to have had the Emperor’s mother scourged, and the second of whom caused insolvent debtors to be hanged head downwards and roasted over a slow fire. Tiberius III. † stained with blood, was fortunately the last of this terrible lineage: he was first mutilated, and then decapitated (705).

Then it was that the Greeks of the Lower Empire ‡ sank into such extremes of vice, of folly, and low bloodthirstiness that they are quoted as one of the most deplorable types of human nature that history can show.

* This date is a matter of dispute. It should probably be 636.—ED.

† Tiberius was not of the lineage of Heraclius.—ED.

‡ The strong defense which the Empire makes against the Saracens shows that it was not as degenerate as it has been often represented.—ED.

CHAPTER V.

THE RENEWAL OF THE GERMAN INVASION BY THE FRANKS. GREATNESS OF THE MEROVINGIANS. THEIR DECADENCE (561-687).

Power of the Merovingian Franks. New Character of their History.—Lothaire I., Fredegonda, Brunhilda.—Lothaire II. Sole King (613-628).—Dagobert I. (628-638).—Preponderance of Franks in Western Europe.—Customs and Institutions introduced by the Germans among the Conquered Peoples.—Laws of the Barbarians.—Decline of the Royal Authority: The “Rois Fainéants.”—Mayors of the Palace.—The Mayor Ebroin (660) and Saint Leger: Battle of Testry (687).—Heredity of Benefices.

THE reaction of the Greek Empire against the barbarians did not go farther than Italy and Africa, in which countries

Power of the Merovingian Franks. New Character of their history. it meted out justice to a people who had already yielded to the enervating effects of civilization. It did not extend to Gaul, where it would have encountered a people which had better retained its Germanic vigor. We have seen the Franks under the sons of Clovis dividing their warlike energy among a crowd of different enterprises, but none the less strengthening and extending their dominion. Again we have seen them gathering around their chiefs according to the German custom and demanding adventures and booty, though already less submissive and devoted to these chiefs, less worthy of the name of “*fideles*,” which had been given them. At one time they threatened to leave Theodoric if he would not lead them into Burgundy, at another they brutally ill-treated Lothaire I., who refused to lead them against the Saxons. Their devotion changed to antagonism. The leudes* became an aristocracy hostile to the king, a class of powerful men who were united by common interests, and whose power came at once from the sword, always

* See below, p. 63.—ED.

terrible in their vigorous hands, and from the possession of the soil which they held either through conquest or through the generosity of the king.

This aristocracy of the leudes thrived especially in Austrasia, which remained less civilized than Neustria, and where there was less of the Roman element to lend its support to the king and temper the violent customs of the leudes. This distinct difference in their characters separated the two portions of the Frankish kingdom more and more, and, as we have already seen, they rarely acted in concert under the sons of Clovis. They soon became enemies, each one representing an opposing principle. This struggle between royalty and aristocracy, between Neustria and Austrasia, lasted for a century and a half, and absorbed all the activity of the Franks within their own territory and in civil war.

After three years of unity under Lothaire I. (558-561), the kingdom of the Franks became again a tetrarchy, and the four sons of Lothaire divided it between them. Charibert was King of Paris ;
Lothaire I.
Fredegonda.
Brunhilda.
 Gunthramn, King of Orleans and Burgundy ; Sigibert, King of Austrasia ; and Chilperic, King of Soissons ; and each had also a portion of the southern part of the territory as in the division of 511. At the death of Charibert in 567, who left no sons, his states were all divided excepting Paris, into which no one of the Frankish kings might enter without the consent of the two others.

While Chilperic, the Neustrian king, was making Latin verses and receiving a smattering of Roman education, which merely refined the cruelty of his character without softening it, Sigibert, the Austrasian king, unacquainted with this superficial culture, which is more pernicious than useful, was repelling with his warriors the last waves of barbarian invasion, which were again dashing against the Austrasian barriers, and was thus keeping alive the vigor of his people. He defeated the Avars in 562. Three or four years later he fell into their hands, but paid a ransom, and these barbarians withdrew toward the south.

Chilperic took a mean advantage of his absence and seized his city of Rheims. Sigibert as soon as he was free again conquered and pardoned him. Reasons for a more bitter hatred were soon added to this first act of rivalry. Sigibert had married Brunhilda, daughter of Athanagild,

king of the Visigoths, a beautiful, learned, and ambitious woman and a friend of civilization. Chilperic wished also to have a wife of royal blood, and gained the hand of Gaileswintha, the sister of Brunhilda. This passing caprice yielded soon to the influence of his beautiful and imperious mistress Fredegonda, who completely ruled the king. One day Gaileswintha was found smothered in her bed, and Fredegonda took her place as queen (567). Brunhilda vowed to avenge her sister, and a war broke out between Neustria and Austrasia. Gunthramn then assumed the office of mediator, which he kept throughout his reign. He brought this first quarrel to an end by causing the cities which Gaileswintha had received as dowry to be restored to Brunhilda.

A second war, which was kindled by the perfidy of Chilperic, was ended through the same mediation.* Finally, when a third war broke out, Sigibert, less disposed to clemency toward his treacherous brother, seized all his states and had himself proclaimed king by the Neustrians. But at the very moment when he was being raised on their shields, adherents of Fredegonda, "bewitched by her," stabbed him on either side with poisoned knives (575). Brunhilda found herself a prisoner in Paris with her only son Childebert II., but an Austrasian noble succeeded in rescuing the young prince. As Childebert was a minor, the Austrasians were governed by a *mayor of the palace*. This was the first important appearance of this office, which increased in power during the civil wars and played so great a part in the next century. Its origin is uncertain, but it either grew out of the office of steward of the king's house (*major domus*), whose influence increased, as is often the case,† or of a criminal judge (*mord*, murder; *dom*, judgment), whose powers became greatly extended. In either case the mayor of the palace became a personage of the first importance, chosen by the nobles among themselves, and in consequence devoted to their interests and powerful through their support. He ruled the royalty, especially the weaker kings, or "Rois fainéants," and his authority grew so that he finally supplanted the king himself.

* There was no real peace between the wars here called the second and third.—ED.

† This is now the accepted opinion.—ED.

We shall merely indicate here the confused events of this epoch, the alliances first formed and then broken, and in the midst of all the death of Chilperic, which was possibly due to Fredegonda (584).

The incursions into Provence by the Lombards, who were at first unsuccessful and were repulsed by the Patrician Mummolus, are more worthy of our attention (572-576). We have seen the Franks victorious both in the South and the East over the invaders who were trying to wrest from them the prizes of their victory, and becoming more and more secure in the possession of the soil of their conquests. We shall particularly notice the usurpation of Gundovald in the South, because it is one of the first symptoms of the hostility of this country, which remained Roman, toward the North, which became German, and toward the Franks. This illegitimate son of Lothaire I., who had withdrawn to Constantinople, was recalled by several nobles of the South, by the Duke Gunthramn-Bozo, by Mummolus, the victor of the Lombards, and by Desiderius, Duke of Toulouse, who proclaimed him king. He fell through the treachery of the nobles, who returned to their allegiance to Gunthramn the king of Burgundy (585). But he had hardly been defeated when the royal power had to contend against a much more formidable coalition, for just as the nobles of the South had united against it, now also the great nobles and the bishops of the North were conspiring to arrest its growth.

The royal authority was indeed gaining strength and gathering up the traditions of the imperial government, which still lingered among the Gallo-Romans, and striving to model itself upon this type of despotism. For example Chilperic * had established imposts in spite of the murmurs of the Franks; and being displeased with their spirit of independence, he persecuted the bishops, who had become powerful through the profound faith of the people and the rich endowment of their churches, and who, often chosen from the barbarians, were united by their interests with the great nobles. Brunhilda, the daughter of a Visigoth king, endeavored to make the Roman principles which had ruled at the court of her father prevail even among the Austrasians,

* The despotism of Chilperic was rather a purposeless tyranny than any clearly formed plan.—ED.

a much more difficult task. The leudes and the bishops in Austrasia and in Neustria formed a plot to seize the power of these two kingdoms and of Burgundy as well. This plot was frustrated at the moment of consummation. The principal conspirators were put to death, and Ægidius, the bishop of Rheims, was judged and exiled by a council of bishops.

Gunthramn and Childebert were alarmed and hastened to put an end to their difference and renew their alliance, by the treaty of Andelot (in the Haute-Marne, 20 kilometres northeast of Chaumont). Childebert was made heir to his uncle, who had no children, but so great was the power of the nobles that at the very moment when the royal power, after a signal victory, was trying to gain strength by this alliance, they obtained the possession and the hereditary transmission of the lands which had been granted to them.* In return they promised not to change their allegiance from one king to the other according to their caprice (587).

Gunthramn died in 593. His states were united with those of Childebert, but only for a short time, as the latter prince died in 596. His oldest son Theodebert II. received Austrasia; his second son Theodoric II., Burgundy.

Brunhilda ruled her two grandsons. She urged them against the son of Fredegonda, the king of Neustria, who, though at first victorious at Latofao between Soissons and Laon (596), was afterwards defeated at Dormelles Seine-et-Marne (600), and again near Étampes in 604. This would have been the end of Lothaire II., if the king of Austrasia had not saved him by making a treaty with him. Brunhilda was furious at seeing a vengeance which she had pursued for thirty years escape her, and incited Theodoric to attack his brother. In a second war Theodebert was defeated and put to death with all his children (612). She then governed two-thirds of Gaul, encouraged the arts, had roads constructed, and built monasteries and destroyed what remained of the worship of idols. She gave aid to the missionaries who went to preach Christianity to the Anglo-Saxons, and

* The treaty provides simply that the kings will respect the terms of any grants which they have made and not arbitrarily violate them. It relates to no special class and has no bearing on the development of the feudal system.—ED.

Pope Gregory the Great wrote to congratulate her on this step. But all these works of civilization did not please the nobles, whom she treated with a growing rigor. The clergy also was exasperated at the persecutions suffered by Saint Columban, whom she drove from the monastery of Luxeuil, when this bold apostle of Christianity reproached her without reserve with plunging her grandson into licentiousness that she might have the more power over him. When Theodoric died in 613, the nobles of Austrasia and Burgundy approached Lothaire II. secretly, and offered to recognize him as king if he would relieve them of Brunhilda. He marched against her, and, abandoned by her armies on the banks of the Aisne, she fell into the hands of the son of her rival, together with the four sons of Theodoric. Lothaire had the four princes killed, and Brunhilda was bound to the tail of a furious horse, who dashed her body to pieces in his course (613).

We find in 614, under the name of the Council of Paris, an assembly in which 79 bishops and a great number of the laity took part. This assembly seems to mark the time when the ecclesiastical aristocracy, mixing more and more with the lay aristocracy, was admitted with it to the great political assemblies.* The "perpetual constitution," carried by this assembly, commemorates the victory of this double aristocracy, of which Lothaire II. had been but the tool. This constitution enacted the abolition of any unusual imposts established by the four sons of Lothaire I.; the restitution to the nobles and the churches of the property which had been taken from them; the giving of the election of the bishops to the clergy and to the people of the cities, the simple right of confirming them being left to the king; the extension of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction to which alone the clergy were to be subject; the regulation that the judges of the counties [the Grafen] were to be chosen from among the great proprietors of the county; and finally the penalty of death for any one who should disturb the public

* This statement is certainly incorrect. This assembly and others like it seem to have been primarily church councils, but what was the exact relation to them of the laymen, who assembled at the same time, whether they were admitted as members of the council or held a separate assembly, is a matter of dispute.—ED.

peace. When they gave up Brunhilda, the mayor of the palace had made Lothaire II. swear that he would not take away their powers, and that he would not interfere in the election to this office which was made by the great nobles. This perpetual constitution which completed and established the results of the treaty of Andelot, which had been partly overthrown by Brunhilda, is almost the only important event in the reign of Lothaire II. In 622 the Austrasians, tired of having the same king as the Neustrians, asked him for a king of their own. He sent them his son Dagobert, who united the whole monarchy again in 628.

The reign of Dagobert I. was the highest point of the Merovingian dynasty, and gave to the Franks
Dagobert I. a marked preponderance in western Europe.
 (628-638).

Dagobert put a stop to the incursions of the Wends, a Slavic people over whom Sama, a Frankish merchant who traded among them, had become king after delivering them from the Avars.* To resist the incursions of the Slavs, who were ravaging Thuringia, he made use of the Saxon tribes, remitting the tax of 500 oxen which they had been paying. He delivered Bavaria from a band of Bulgarians who had demanded his protection, and whom he caused to be put to death, not knowing what else to do with them; it was the policy of the age.

At home he was practically the master of all Gaul. At the death of his brother Charibert, to whom he had ceded Aquitaine, he left his nephews in possession of the duchy of Toulouse, but received the submission of the Gascons. The Bretons had again become entirely independent, and frequently ravaged the frontier. Their Duke, Judicaël, had assumed the title of king. Dagobert sent Saint Eloi [Eligius] as ambassador to him, and invited him to come to his court, where the Duke of the Bretons was received with honor and loaded with gifts (635).

The administration of affairs was confided by Dagobert to able ministers: Pippin of Landen, mayor of the palace of Austrasia; Cunibert, bishop of Cologne, and Arnulf, bishop of Metz. He himself went through Austrasia and Burgundy giving audience alike to great and small, restraining the nobles, and trying to put a stop to abuses and to vio-

* The Franks were really defeated, and the incursions of the Wends continued.—ED.

lence. He busied himself in improving the laws, and made corrections in those of the Salians, the Ripuarians, the Alamannians, and the Bavarians. Commerce prospered, favored by these extended foreign connections. Dagobert formed an alliance with the Lombards of Italy and the Visigoths of Spain; he sent two ambassadors to Heraclius. The industrial arts had illustrious representatives in the goldsmith, Saint Eloi, who became bishop of Noyon, and in his pupils. Dagobert built the Abbey of Saint Denis, to which he presented 27 estates or villages at once. He himself lived near by, at Clichy, where he displayed the luxury of his court, and but partially concealed his debauchery. His renown was spread abroad through all Europe.*

He died in 638, and with him departed the greatness of the Merovingians, who abandoned themselves to a degree of ease and inertia which proved fatal to their dynasty.

It is by the study of the laws of the barbarians that we learn to understand the new state of society which resulted

**Manners and
institutions of
the Germans.
Laws of the
Barbarians.**

from the introduction of their customs and institutions among the conquered peoples.† We possess the laws of almost all the peoples who invaded the Empire, and who promptly felt the necessity of putting into writing their old customs and at the same time of adapting them to their new needs. All were at once drawn up in Latin, except the Salic law, or that of the Salian Franks, which was first written out in the German language on the other side of the Rhine; later it was put into Latin, and amended successively by Clovis, Theodoric I., Childebert I., Lothaire I., Dagobert I., and Charlemagne. These two last editions are the only ones which we possess. The law of the Ripuarians, closely resembling that of the Salians, was published by Theodoric I., as well as those of the

* As Dagobert was the last of the strong Merovingian kings, later legend naturally exaggerated somewhat the good results of his reign.—ED.

† Many points concerning these early laws are still in dispute, but these seem fairly certain: that the *Lex Salica* was not originally composed in German; that the supposed share of any given Merovingian kings in its formation and revision rests, so far as proof goes, upon later and doubtful tradition, and that the work of Charlemagne went no further than to provide more accurate texts. It exists in five more or less widely differing groups of texts.—ED.

Alemannians and the Bavarians. The law of the Burgundians, published by Gundobad (474-516) and completed by his son Sigismund, is known by the name of the *Lex Gundobada* or *Gombata*. That of the Visigoths, begun by Euric and continued by most of his successors, was only finished in the 7th century and the final revision published in the Council of Toledo, in 693, under the name of *Forum Judicum*, the *Fuero Juzgo* of the Spaniards.

These laws are more barbarous in proportion as the people who formed them were more distant from the countries of the South and the center of Roman civilization. Thus Theodoric the Great, by his edict, made his people subject to the almost unaltered Roman law. Next to this, the law of the Visigoths is that which borrows the most from Roman legislation, traces of which are to be found on every page; then come those of the Burgundians, etc. The least Roman is that of the Anglo-Saxons, who were also the people most cruel to the conquered.

These laws are in no sense political constitutions, for of these the barbarians had no idea, but civil and above all criminal codes, especially aimed at punishing personal violence, thefts of domestic animals, etc., and which well show the state of society of the times. Far the larger part of the Salic law is concerned with penalties.

The barbarians who occupied Italy (the Heruli and the Ostrogoths) took but a third part of the lands. The Burgundians who occupied the eastern part of Gaul, and the Visigoths who held the middle, took two-thirds of the land. The Anglo-Saxons took the whole. It is not known what course the Franks, the Vandals, and the Suevi took in this respect. It is probable that they took possession of vacant domains and of those which pleased their fancy, without any fixed rule, feeling that they had not conquered the country in order to be restrained by conscientious scruples from taking any fine domain which suited them.* It is probable that among themselves they drew lots for these domains.

All the grants made by the Merovingian kings up to the eighth century seem to have been grants of land in full ownership and to have constituted what was called allodial

* It is now the accepted opinion that the Franks took only the Roman state domains and other unoccupied lands.—ED.

land (all-od., freehold land).* The king did not till the eighth century give temporary grants, which were limited either to a certain number of years or more frequently to the life of the donee or donor. These grants, which were made in imitation of the ecclesiastical *precaria* (usufructs for five years), to which certain conditions and pecuniary dues were sometimes attached, came gradually to be called *benefices*, and this custom extended from the kings to private individuals as well as to the churches.† Lands which were called tributary, subject to a tribute in money or in kind, had generally been granted to men of an inferior rank, bordering on servitude. The class distinctions were as follows :

1. The free men, who owed nothing to any one, but were under obligation to the king, to make him certain gifts and to perform military service in the national wars. All classes of freemen were called *leudes*, but this name was soon used with special reference to the men who were richest and of the highest rank among the free men. The king chose from them the dukes and the counts whom he sent to command the armies or to govern the provinces and cities. These royal leudes, who, living in intimacy with the king, had obtained great domains from him, and the chiefs who had had enough lands to allow them to distribute some among their own followers, formed an aristocracy whose pretensions were continually increasing.

2. The *litus*, who, like the Roman *colonus*, could not be torn capriciously from the land that he cultivated as farmer, and for which he paid a fixed rent to the proprietor.

3. The slave, who no longer possessed the personal liberty which the *litus* and the *colonus* still retained.

The fine or *wergeld* for murder, if not taken too literally, gives an approximate idea of the value placed by the barbarian law on the different classes. In most cases the murder of a barbarian was taxed double the amount of the murder of a Roman ; the murder of a noble double that of

* This has long been a subject of dispute. The weight of authority seems at present inclining to the view that the grants of the Merovingian Kings were in some cases of a temporary character.—ED.

† It seems almost certain that the practice was first developed by the churches and private individuals and was afterwards borrowed by the Kings.—ED.

a simple free man; the murder of a Roman proprietor, double that of a Roman colonus, etc.

The political status, like the social status of the Germans, remained after the conquest for the most part as it had been before, but was modified to suit the new circumstances. The monarchy still existed, and the king continued to be chosen from a family which was higher in rank than all the others; *reges ex nobilitate sumunt*, says Tacitus. But there was still attached to this hereditary principle a sort of popular confirmation in the ceremony of the shield, the King being lifted on a buckler and proclaimed in the great assembly of the free men.

This assembly always met to decide the great state questions. It was called in France the *Champ de mars* or *de mai* [Maifeld] in England the Witenagemot (meeting of the wise men); in Spain, the council of Toledo. Little by little it ceased to include all the free men, who being dispersed over the country often feared the expense and difficulty of a long journey; then the great nobles and the bishops assembled alone. In the local administration the barbarians still kept the provinces and the cities, and also established divisions into counties, and hundreds, perhaps a hundred families, from which comes *canton*. The counts [Grafen] held in their counties inferior courts where all the freemen were supposed to meet to judge offenses; later they were assisted by a committee of free men.

We have said that the barbarian laws were personal and not territorial,—that is, that each barbarian carried his law about with him, and that, for example, the Salian Frank who found himself among the Visigoths was judged by the Salic law and not by the Visigothic. This was important, for there were grave differences between the procedure and penalties of the different laws: for instance, among the more civilized barbarians, we find written evidence from the beginning regarded as important, while among the less civilized such proofs were less sought for than other kinds of evidence.

These other kinds of evidence were the witnesses who had some notion of the facts, and the *conjurators*, who affirmed by oath not the innocence of the accused, but the confidence they had in his words, and finally the judicial tests or *ordeals*, and among the latter the trials by fire, by water, and by the cross, and the judicial combat, which, by

the way, was not in the Salic law, but which was generally used. The penalties were death, which is also not mentioned in the Salic law, the *compositio* or *wergeld*, paid to the injured party or his family,* and the *fredum* [Friedensgeld] a fine paid for having disturbed the public peace.

The army remained on nearly the same footing as the earliest times. When the country was attacked, when the *landwehr* was needed, the king published his *ban* or proclamation, and all the freemen were obliged to come, under the leadership of their respective counts, to render him gratuitous military service.

This kind of organization spared the treasury of the king the only possible expense at a time when the civil administration cost little or nothing to the central power, and in this way the revenues of the royal domains and the presents from the free men, together with the imposts of the Roman cities, which were the only resources of the king, were sufficient for its needs. Nevertheless, when the needs of a rather more complicated government and the luxury of a less primitive court increased the expenses, we find the kings, as Chilperic and Dagobert, trying to establish a system of taxation. †

These taxes were perhaps what most wounded the pride of the barbarians. These leudes, accustomed to lead a free and irresponsible life in the forests near which they loved to dwell, and to bind themselves only by the ties of an entirely voluntary devotion, and to consider their chief as a man, not as a power, could not understand why this man, who possessed the largest, the most beautiful, and the most numerous domains, should still demand something from them ; they could not make up their minds to submit to

* A few examples of the wergeld are given from the Salic law :

The free Frank, 200 solidi ; the Graf, 600 solidi ; one of the King's comitatus, 600 solidi ; one of the King's comitatus in time of war, 1800 solidi, the highest wergeld of the Salic law ; the free Roman, 100 solidi ; the litus, 100 solidi ; the slave, 30 solidi. Other barbarian codes made similar distinctions between the classes but with different amounts of compensation. Reference should be made to the valuable chapter in Emerton's *Middle Ages*, entitled *Germanic Ideas of Law*.—ED.

† This can relate at most only to certain kinds of taxes or to certain parts of the country. The Roman taxes were continued and were in general paid by the Franks.—ED.

demands made without their consent to pay imposts which seemed to them strangely to resemble the tributes which were exacted from conquered peoples ; in a word, they had no conception of the state, that abstraction of which they made so little and of which modern societies have made so great a thing. Much time must elapse before the first notions of political metaphysics could find a way into these stubborn minds, that is to say, before society could be changed from its foundations, a work which meant nothing less than the initiation of the barbarians into the Roman ideas.

After Dagobert the Merovingian race fell into decay. We no longer distinguish the periods of the confused history of the Franks by the names of their kings, but by those of the Mayors of the Palace, who were formerly the judges of the disputes which arose in the royal dwelling, but who now directed public affairs. In their hands the long-haired princes became only tools whom they used to give authority to their acts. The Mayors kept the young kings strangers to the affairs of the kingdom and relegated them to the country, to the depths of some estate whence they brought them once a year to show them, poor phantoms of authority that they were, to the public assemblies. Nevertheless they hesitated to despoil entirely this Merovingian family, which was protected at the same time by popular prestige and by jealous rivalries. Woe to the Mayor of the Palace who should touch this crown, protected by an ancient nimbus of respect !

The two sons of Dagobert, Sigibert and Clovis II., reigned, the first over Austrasia and the second over Neustria and Burgundy, each of the kingdoms having a Mayor of the Palace. When in 656 Sigibert died, Grimoald the Mayor of Austrasia tried to place his own son upon the throne. The nobles of Austrasia, not wishing to give themselves new kings more powerful than the old, united with those of Neustria and put to death the usurper and his father. This lesson was understood by the mayors who succeeded Grimoald, and before his attempt was renewed a century elapsed, during which they rendered great services, gained brilliant victories, and produced a series of eminent men whom the Franks became accustomed to see standing from father to son at the head of affairs. Meanwhile they remained the chiefs

The decline of
the Monarchy.
Mayors of the
Palace.

of the Austrasian aristocracy in its struggle with the Neustrian monarchy.

This monarchy found an able and energetic defender in Ebroin, who succeeded Erchinoald (660) in the mayoralty of Neustria and Burgundy.*

Mayor Ebroin
(660), and Saint
Leger; battle of
Testry (687).

In these two countries, Ebroin ruled the nobility with a rod of iron, and when Lothaire III. died he did not consult them in the choice of his successor:

by his own authority he placed upon the throne Theodoric III., a son of Clovis II. As it had always been the part of the nation to confirm the hereditary succession of the sovereign by a show of election, the nobles saw in the action of Ebroin a blow aimed against their traditional rights. They combined in the three kingdoms under the leadership of Wulfoald, Mayor of Austrasia, and of Saint Leger, bishop of Autun, overthrew the audacious Mayor, and imprisoned him in the abbey of Luxeuil.

Childeric II., King of Austrasia, was recognized in the three kingdoms, with Wulfoald and Saint Leger as his mayors of the palace. He was not so easily resigned to the diminution of his authority as the other kings, and, not content with the way in which Saint Leger favored the nobles, he sent him to join Ebroin in the prison at Luxeuil. He even dared to have the noble Bodilo whipped with rods like a common slave. This outrage cost him his life. He was assassinated by Bodilo in the forest of Chelles (673).

Ebroin and Saint Leger at once came out of the common captivity which had brought them together, and again took their places as the heads of two opposite parties. Ebroin had lost his king, Theodoric III., to whose assistance the Neustrian nobles had rallied; he set up another, an alleged son of Lothaire III. He had an army of mercenaries, with which he overcame Theodoric, who in his flight lost the royal treasure, which was of great assistance to the conqueror. This army, entirely foreign to the military system of the Franks, and dependent upon the man who paid it, made the triumph of Ebroin over the nobles certain; he became absolute master of the kingdom under Theodoric III., whom he had again taken up for king. Under the pretext of punishing the murderers of Childeric II. he had a great number of his adversaries put to death, and among

* The details of this period are all more or less uncertain.—ED,

them Saint Leger. He gave their lands, as well as much property, which he took from the church, to his soldiers. Never, even under Brunhilda, had the nobles been pursued with such virulence. Many left Neustria and took refuge among the Austrasians; some went as far as to the Gascons.

The Austrasian nobles, persecuted in the name of the royal authority, which acted sometimes by itself, as under Childeric II. and sometimes by its defender Ebroin, boldly protested by abolishing this dignity in their country. They murdered their king Dagobert II., and did not replace him (678). They entrusted the government to Martin* and Pippin of Heristal, whom they called princes or dukes of the Franks. These two men were descendants of Pippin the Elder of Landen and of Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, and were thus connected with all the great Austrasian families. Enormous domains situated on the banks of the Rhine added to the influence which they owed to their inherited position.

The skill of Ebroin triumphed once more near Laon; but when he perished by the hand of an assassin in 681, the triumph of Austrasia and of its chief was assured. The battle of Testry, won in 687 by Pippin of Heristal, proclaimed this triumph.

The principal cause of this stubborn contest with the nobles was the question of the right of inheritance in land, a fundamental question, on which depended the political and social status of the Franks in the future.† According as the right of inheritance lost or gained, the present status would be maintained or changed. For we find here already the principle of appropriating the royal grants, and encroaching on monarchical power, which, after spreading later to other objects, gave birth to the feudal régime. This solution was far off and did not come till the end of two centuries, after internal conflicts which were long in proportion to the importance of the question which was under dispute.

When before a conquest a barbarian chief distributed to

The hereditary
right in lands.

* The descent of Martin is entirely unknown, and the exact position which these two held after the murder of Dagobert is not clear.—ED.

† The struggle during the later Merovingian period was unquestionably one between the aristocracy and the royal power. That this struggle involved, however, the question of hereditary right to royal land grants, as clearly and consciously as is here asserted, is a statement of which there is no proof.—ED.

his companions in arms, the horses, or the "bloody and victorious javelin," as Tacitus says, the gift of these as well as of every personal object of this kind was certainly made without any reservation, and whoever received it kept it as long as it lasted, even if he left his chief, and bequeathed it at his death to whomsoever he pleased.* But when after the conquest the chief gave lands, unforeseen difficulties arose from the entirely different nature of the gift. If a supply of horses and javelins gave out, others could be found on a new expedition, but when the lands at the disposal of a chief were once given away, it was not so easy to obtain others. The kings soon recognized the necessity of limiting their gifts of lands, if they wished to preserve means of rewarding their subjects and of keeping them with them. They then attached as a condition to their grants the loyalty of the grantee, and generally limited them to the length of his life.† The holder quite naturally tended to break away from this condition and this limit. When unfaithful they tried to retain their lands, and when dying to transmit them to their heirs. In the disorder of the times which followed the invasion they often succeeded, but as often the kings opposed it. They established imposts to supply the insufficiency of the resources from their diminished domains. But though the Franks accepted the obligation of military service, which conformed to the barbarian customs, they entirely rejected that of the imposts, which were totally foreign to these customs.‡ Thus on both sides there were motives which explain the violence of the struggle; on the one cupidity and the desire of assuring a durable position for themselves and their families, on the other the needs which grew with the progress of the government and forced the royalty to resist, at the risk of seeing its whole power destroyed. In the treaty of Andelot the tenants prevailed,§ but Brunhilda soon regained all the ground that Gunthramn and Chilperic had abandoned. In the perpetual constitution the tenants gained a second and more important victory, but Dagobert and Ebroin drove them

* This is by no means as certain as indicated. The opposite was probably more often the case.—ED.

† See above, p. 63.—ED.

‡ See above, p. 65.—ED.

§ See above, p. 58.—ED.

back with violence, contested their encroachments, and strove to reëstablish the ancient principles of territorial rule. We read in a diploma of a grant made by Theodoric III. (676), that is, under the rule of Ebroin: "All who are convicted of unfaithfulness toward those from whom they hold their lands, appear justly (*merito*) to lose such lands." This struggle was going on at the epoch which we are considering. The right of inheritance was contested with vigor and sometimes gained and sometimes lost ground, but finally was introduced imperceptibly, though its victory was not complete for two centuries longer.

BOOK II.

THE ARAB INVASION (622-1058).

CHAPTER VI.*

MOHAMMED AND THE EMPIRE OF THE ARABS (622-732).

Arabia and the Arabs.—Mohammed.—The Hegira (622) ; Struggle with the Koreishites (624) ; Conversion of Arabia. —The Koran.—The first Caliphs of Persia and of Egypt ; Conquest of Syria (623-640).—Revolution in the Caliphate, Hereditary Dynasty of the Ommiads (661-750).—Conquest of Upper Asia (707) and of Spain (711).

WE now pass from the forests and rivers of the north of Europe to the sands and deserts in the south of Asia ; from the country of clouds, of rains, and of moist vegetation to one of a burning sun, to the consuming and suffocating simoom, and to dry and aromatic plants. The men dwelling in these two countries are as different as their climates. A people sober in body and mind, of a quick and ardent temperament, seeing nothing but their desired goal and going directly toward it, and accustomed to dash through the desert with the swiftness of an arrow, because of the impossibility of stopping there with impunity, and because there was nothing to attract them between the place of departure and that of arrival ; a people made either for prompt action or absolute repose—such is the Arab people, and these traits of character are seen in its history.

The Roman Empire was bounded by the Germans on the north and the Arabs on the south. The former had directed their attacks for the most part toward the Empire of the

* The stories connected with the origin and spread of Mohammedanism are more or less mythical in character, and some of them exist in more than one form. The chronology is also, in many cases, uncertain —ED.

West, and had overthrown it by an invasion prepared and indeed begun long before: the latter, emerging suddenly from their deserts, had made the Empire of the East their special point of attack, and without overthrowing it entirely, had, as it were, with a single blow of their cimeter cut off a large portion. It was by astonishing good fortune that the Empire at Constantinople survived these two attacks coming from opposite directions, like an island in the midst of an inundation.

Arabia, which then appeared for the first time on the stage of history, is a vast peninsula of which some portions are still little known. It is bordered on the north toward Asia by great deserts, and on the northwest is connected with Africa by the isthmus of Suez, where the small peninsula of Sinai projects between the gulfs of Suez and of Akaba. The peninsula of Arabia forms an imperfect square, with the longest side facing Egypt and Abyssinia across the Red Sea and the strait of El Mandeb—the shortest side facing Persia, from which it is separated only by the Persian Gulf. The width is very great, especially at the southern end. A chain of mountains, the continuation of the Lebanon range, extends along the Red Sea to Bab-el-Mandeb, the Gate of Tears. Another range borders the Persian Gulf as far as the Strait of Ormuz. These two mountain systems are connected by a line of hills which run from one strait to the other. The inner slopes of these mountains surround a low and arid valley which forms the center of Arabia, and their outward slopes face the sea and form a girdle of lands, parts of which are rich and fertile, and here the heat of the climate is mitigated by the sea-breezes, the rains, the water-courses, and the numberless irregularities of the land.

While the impossibility of permanently settling or of founding anything durable in the interior has always kept up the nomad life, the advantages offered by the coast lands have given birth to fixed institutions and to a civilization which at times is brilliant enough.

The only knowledge the ancients had of Arabia came through a few scattered Roman expeditions. They divided it into three parts,—Arabia Petræa (the peninsula of Sinai); Arabia Deserta (the deserts which extend from the Red Sea to the Euphrates); and Arabia Felix (Southern Arabia).

The Arabian geographers, on the other hand, do not include

either the peninsula of Sinai or the deserts of Suez or of the Euphrates in their country, but consider them as lying outside of Arabia. They divided the rest of the peninsula into eight countries: 1, Hedjaz, which borders the Red Sea, southeast of the peninsula of Sinai; 2, Yemen, which lies south of Hedjaz; 3, Hadramaut, on the Indian Sea, at the east of Yemen; 4, Mahrah, at the east of Hadramaut; 5, Oman, between Mahrah and the Persian Gulf and the Indian Sea; 6, Haça or Bahreïn, on the Persian Gulf, between Oman and the Euphrates; 7, Nedjed, south of the Syrian deserts between Hedjaz and Bahreïn; and 8, Ahkaf, south of Nedjed. The two latter provinces comprise the great valley in the interior of the peninsula.

The most fertile of these provinces is Yemen, which is also well situated for commerce, at the southwestern corner of Arabia between the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. This is the country of Aden, of Sanâ, of the ancient and wonderful Saba, and of Mocha, famous for its coffee. The best known though not the most fertile of these provinces is Hedjaz, the country of Mecca and of Medina, two cities which ruled all the rest of Arabia through their religious influence, though their situation in the sandy zone, far from the sea, obliged them to have two ports on the Arabian Gulf (Yanbo for Medina, and Djidda for Mecca), in order to derive their means of subsistence from abroad.

The Arabs attribute a double origin to their population: to the Ariba, a primitive race descended from Shem according to some, from Ham according to others, and to the descendants of Abraham, who, according to their traditions, in obedience to the commands of God came to Mecca to found the temple of the Kaaba. They say that Abraham lived many years in Hedjaz, and was aided in his divine mission by Ishmael, who was the founder of the Ishmaelites or the Moutarriba; while his other son Kahtan or Jectan was the father of the Jectanides or the Moustarriba. The Ishmaelites remained in Hedjaz, the Jectanides settled mainly in Yemen. We must add to these the Nabatean Arabs who live in the north of Arabia, and who are believed to be of Syrian or Aramean origin.

The Arab populations of the north and of the south founded great powers, and came often into contact both in peace and war with foreign powers far and near. The Nabatean kingdoms of Hira, Anbar, and Ghassan were often in-

volved in the affairs of the Roman Empire and of Persia. The Arabs of Hira under the dynasty of the princes Moundhir or Mondar in the sixth century were formidable adversaries of the Greek Empire, while those of Ghassan under the princes of Djafna upheld the cause of Constantinople. By the beginning of the seventh century, these powers were much weakened and contracted between the Greeks and the Persians. The Jectanides brought great renown to Yemen, where one of their branches, the Homerites, had the skill to excite the fertility of the soil by remarkable works of irrigation. The dynasty of the Tobbas played a great part in this province, and tradition, though evidently falsely, attributed to them the conquest of India, of Asia, and of Africa as far as the Atlantic. Under this dynasty of idolaters, Christianity was preached by an envoy sent by Constantine, but at the beginning of the sixth century they persecuted the new religion, and the Greek Emperor Justin I. induced the negusch or king of Abyssinia, who was a Christian, to avenge the wrongs of the Cross. The Abyssinians then invaded Yemen (525), and under the viceroy Abraha-el-Djadan, established their dominion and the Christian religion in this country. They had a code of laws drawn up by the Bishop Gregentius, and built at Sanâ a church with which they tried to oppose the Kaaba of Mecca. A rivalry had indeed always existed between Yemen and Hedjaz, between the Moutarriba and the Moustarriba. In 575 the Abyssinians were driven from the country, but only with the assistance of a Persian army sent by Chosroes, who merely substituted his own dominion for that of the Africans.

In this way the prosperity and the independence of the two outermost regions of Arabia had succumbed together. On the other hand, the central region, which had never wielded so great a power, had at least preserved that liberty without which no progress could be made in Arabia. This region had enjoyed that tranquillity which in a great country divided into several states is always assured to those in the center, as they cannot be approached before the outer states which form a natural barrier to them are subdued. The foreign armies which had appeared in the north and the south had not penetrated to Hedjaz. More traces of patriarchal government were found there; the people were divided into tribes composed of a certain number of families, a sheikh (lord) at the head of each family; a

supreme sheikh or emir (commander) at the head of each tribe, which he governed with the advice of the sheikhs of the families. In ancient times when a chief took possession of a pasturage he set his pack of hounds barking, and so far as the hound could be heard, so far extended his right of possession. So great simplicity was there in the primitive customs of this people. Nevertheless the population of Hedjaz, though hardly advanced from the primitive condition as far as their institutions are concerned, held a variety and mixture of religious ideas of every sort which prepared them for a brilliant destiny, and compensated for their past obscurity. For another advantage possessed by central states is that they are the meeting-ground of all the others, the point where all intercourse, trade, and ideas converge. Three of the great religions of Asia and Europe, without mentioning idolatry with all its gods, met there : Christianity, which had been carried to the north by the Greeks and to the south by the Abyssinians ; Sabianism, brought by the Persians to the north and south, and finally Judaism, which had been introduced everywhere with that faculty the Jews have always possessed of making their way into every country. Three hundred and sixty idols were gathered together in the Kaaba, and when Mohammed turned them out, there was found among the number a Byzantine virgin, painted on a column, holding Christ in her arms. Idolatry was the dominant religion,—not the ingenious idolatry of Greek paganism, which personified the abstractions of the intellect and clothed the gods in human form, but the Egyptian idolatry, the worship of animals, of plants, of the gazelle, of the horse, of the camel, of palm-trees and of rocks. Some worshiped the stars. All indeed recognized a supreme god, Allah, and this idea of a deity above all others was upheld by the influence of the Jewish and the Christian religions, which also diffused abroad the idea of revelation, of a future life, of paradise, of the infernal regions, etc., elements which are found again in the Koran.

The form of this religion had not changed for a long time. All its ceremonies were determined, processions in the Kaaba, pilgrimages, sacrifices in the valley of Mina, etc. As with the Jews, the care of the temple had been given to one chosen family for many years; in 440 Cossai, head of the Ishmaelite family of the Koreishites, had secured this

charge, had rebuilt the temple, and, in a way, founded Mecca and established the principal religious and civil institutions of the Arabs. This showed a tendency toward organization and unity.

A like movement was going on in the language; unity of idiom, so necessary in effecting a great revolution of thought in a vast country, was gradually produced by the influence of the poets. The Arabs were poets as well as warriors and merchants; at least they had their bards, like the men of the north, and their feasts, and their poetical contests, such as were held at the Olympic games of the Greeks.

These poets, who were not merely literary men, but who knew as well how to handle the sword and exchange merchandise as to give voice to the tender and fierce feelings of the human soul, hospitality, revenge, honor, or perhaps the solemn and pleasing scenes of nature, the immense desert, fresh oases, the light gazelle,—these poets hastened to the poetical contests which, with the religious ceremonies, were the object of these pilgrimages. Then what were called contests of glory were held, and whoever was most successful in moving the souls of the listeners and in awakening within them a response, saw his work written in letters of gold on costly canvas and hung in the Kaaba. In this way seven poems have come down to us, one of which was written by the famous Antar, who died in 615, during the life of Mohammed, and who best expressed the Arab spirit of his times. It was he who cried one day, at the first recitation of his poems: "What subject is there that the poets have not sung?" as if he felt that Arabia had exhausted one phase of its existence and needed to begin a new life.

The Arabs are generally referred to as a young people: but they were rather an ancient people who had traversed the whole sphere of their political existence, narrow though it was. It could hardly have been otherwise in the midst of this strange mixture of all the divinities in the enclosure of the Kaaba, and it was but natural that the general feeling should be an indifference and scepticism where there were so many altars to choose from. We need only mention as an example the small number of those who took part in the religious struggle at the time of the first preaching of Mohammed; on the one hand, on the side of the prophet a few devoted disciples, on the other a thousand Koreishites who by their title of guardians of the temple necessarily

constituted the defenders of the ancient creeds, but who were themselves very incredulous, men of witty, brilliant, and acute minds, scoffers, and without sincere attachment to the beliefs which they defended much more from their interest and habit than from conviction.

Certain men were greatly struck by this general lukewarmness and lack of faith, and sought for means of escape. During a feast celebrated by the Koreishites in honor of one of their idols, a few years before the preaching of Mohammed, four men, more enlightened than the rest of the nation, met by themselves, and, after agreeing that their fellow-countrymen were led astray into error, resolved to seek the truth and to ask after it in foreign lands. One of them went to Constantinople to be baptized, a second being persecuted fled into Syria, the third became a Christian like the first, and the fourth just saw Mohammed and died proclaiming that he was the true prophet.

Mohammed was born about the year 570. He was the son of the Koreishite Abdallah, son of Abd-el-Muttalib, who had defended Mecca against the Abyssinians, and who was himself son of Haschim, famous for his distribution of soup during a famine. Having lost his father at two months, and his mother at six years of age, he was taken charge of by his grandfather and put under the guardianship of his uncle Abu-Talib. Being without fortune he became a camel driver and traveled a great deal, especially in Syria, where he is said to have become intimate with a monk of Bostra, and a Jewish rabbi, who both introduced him to their sacred books, the Old and New Testaments. He fought with bravery in a tribal war, and by his amiable qualities gained the affection of all, and by his probity the name of Al-Almin (the trustworthy man). A rich and noble widow, Khadijah, took him into her service as director of her commercial affairs, and he served her interests so well that she married him out of gratitude. From that time he was master of a great fortune, and was able to give himself up to his meditations and to exert that influence which is given by the possession of riches. Until his fortieth year he did nothing really worthy of note, though every year he retired with his family to the mountain of Hira and passed there entire nights in deep meditation.

In 611 he disclosed his projects to Khadijah, to his cousin Ali, to his freedman Seid, and to his friend Abu Bekr, and

declared to them the necessity of bringing the religion of Abraham back to its original purity. He told them that he had received commands from God through Gabriel, and gave to his new religion the name of Islam, which signifies a complete resignation to the will of God. They believed in him.

When the growing numbers of the proselytes had spread abroad the report of his undertaking, he assembled them together and said : "Which one of you will be my brother, my lieutenant, my vicar?" No one spoke. Then Ali cried with the enthusiasm of an ardent disciple and the fierceness of an Arab of the desert : "I will be that man ; apostle of God, I will support you, and if any one resists you, I will break his teeth, I will tear out his eyes, I will cleave his belly and I will break his legs." They were engaged in a very dangerous struggle, and Abu-Talib trembled for his nephew and besought him to abandon his plan. "If some one should come to me with the sun in one hand and the moon in the other, I should not draw back," answered Mohammed. The Koreishites persecuted him, and he could not go into the Kaaba to pray without being overwhelmed with insults. One day he returned home after preaching all day in the midst of outrages ; and, dispirited, he wrapped himself in his cloak and threw himself down on his mat ; but soon courage for his undertaking returned to him, and he dictated the beautiful surah, where the Angel Gabriel is supposed to say to him : "Arise and preach, O man, who art wrapped up in a cloak. . . ." His adherents were alarmed and took refuge in Abyssinia, and he himself retired to the mountains near Mecca, from 616-619. The surahs or chapters of the Koran (*Al-Koran*, the book), which he dictated according to the impressions and needs of the moment, and which his secretary wrote on palm-leaves and on the bones of sheep—were certainly impostures as far as concerns the pretended inspiration by the Angel Gabriel. But full of elevated thought as they were, and written in a forcible, pure and musical language, they delighted the Arabs, who were trained by their poetic contests to appreciate such merit, and who, perhaps tired of a poetry which had touched on all the old subjects, found a powerful charm in this eloquence so keen, penetrating, practical, and yet rich in poetical color, although it had thrown off the trammels of rhythm. Omar was one of those savage

warriors, one of those men of the sword who cannot bear that any one should believe differently from themselves. He was starting to kill Mohammed it is related when one of his relations stopped him and said he would do better first to cleanse his own house, for his sister Fatima read the verses of the false prophet. He returned home and found her reading with his brother-in-law. "What are you hiding under your clothing?" he cried, and wounded her with his dagger. But at the sight of the blood of his sister, he stopped, and taking the verses glanced at them, and exclaiming, hastened to the prophet to declare himself his disciple. From that time he gave to the councils of Islamism the benefit of his decided and violent spirit, and we may, perhaps, attribute partly to his influence the character of warlike propagandism and conquest with the sword, which the religion of Mohammed, at first more peaceful and mild, now assumes.

Mohammed had lost his protector Abu-Talib in 619, and had also lost Khadijah, whom he always remembered with loyalty and gratitude. Deprived of these supports he looked about for others. The inhabitants of Yatrib, for a long time the rivals of those of Mecca, offered him a refuge; and he went to that city in 622 to escape the persecutions of the Koreishites. This year is famous, because it is the first of the Mussulman Era; it is called the year of the Hegira, or of the flight. From that time Yatrib took the name of the City of the Prophet, *Medinat-en-Nebi*.

Mohammed had gained much knowledge of men in his youth, and showed great skill in building up a party in his new city and in preparing himself to sustain an open contest. He himself made the first attack, probably in order to prevent the faith of his new proselytes from wasting in inactivity. He started with 306 men to surprise a caravan returning to Mecca. Nearly 1000 Koreishites came out against him. They fought at Bedr (624). The Mussulmans were giving way, when Mohammed, leaving his wooden throne, whence he had been watching the combat, threw himself on his horse and, tossing a handful of sand in the air, cried: "May our enemies be covered with confusion!" The courage of his troops revived, and they gained a victory which bore great results for his cause.

The Hegira (622).
Contest with the
Koreishites (624).
Conversion of Arabia.

He was, however, defeated somewhat later at Mount Ohud (625), and the war then assumed a more cruel character. He turned his attack upon the neighboring Jewish tribes, in order to force them to take his part. They combined, and, with the assistance of the Koreishites, laid siege to Medina where he was. This is called the War of the Nations or of the Trench (627). Mohammed had had a trench dug before the city; he himself seized a pickaxe one day and, as the iron drew sparks from the rock, said: "The first spark tells me of the subjection of Yemen, the second of the conquest of Syria, and the third of the conquest of the East." He succeeded in driving away the besiegers by sowing discord among them, and the advantage thus gained was so considerable that he was able to obtain a truce of ten years from the Koreishites, and to turn his arms against the Jews of Khaibar, five leagues from Medina, whose power he completely destroyed (628).

The following year (629) he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and made many converts there; and when in 630 this city broke the truce, he entered it with 10,000 men, marched against the temple and destroyed all the idols, saying: "Truth has come, let falsehood disappear!" From that time he was feared as the great religious chief of Arabia, and he already was entering into relations with foreign states. Chosroes tore his letters in pieces: "Thus may his kingdom be torn to pieces!" cried the Prophet. Heraclius gave a better reception to his messages; nevertheless a war broke out with the Greeks of Syria, who had slain the messenger of the Prophet. This war did not last long, but we already see in it the fanatical courage of the Mussulmans. Djafar, son of Abu-Talib, after losing both hands, still held the banner of Islamism between his arms and received fifty-two wounds in front. For a short time Mohammed thought he should have to carry on a general war; and clothed in a robe of green, the color still worn by his descendants, he started off at the head of 10,000 horsemen, 20,000 foot-soldiers and 12,000 camels, but the enemy did not appear.

The union of Arabia, however, was brought about by the adhesion of the chiefs of Yemen and of Mahrah, the princes of Hadramaut, of Oman, of Barein, etc. The character of these adhesions was undoubtedly in general rather political than religious, and these far-off tribes had hardly had the

time to inquire minutely into the new religion. The religion of Mohammed did not have preachers who carried the teaching of its dogma and its morality far and wide, like the Christian religion. But buried as almost the whole of Arabia was in religious indifference, these far-off Arabs heard of a powerful chief who had arisen in Hedjaz, and who seemed to promise a brilliant future to Arabia, and they hastened to share in these glories. These conversions were made almost summarily as that of the Franks under Clovis, and it is certain that many of the soldiers in the first victorious armies which started from Arabia in search of conquest hardly knew anything of the Koran. And though there were these adhesions, there were, on the other hand, oppositions, antagonisms, and the appearance of false prophets, which saddened the last years of the life of Mohammed. After a sickness of several months he went, followed by 114,000 Mussulmans, to the holy places to make the great pilgrimage of El-Haddj. On returning from Medina, as he felt the approach of death, he was carried to the mosque, where he recited the public prayers, and then asked the assembly in a loud voice if he had ever injured any one or was in debt to any one. An old woman claimed three drachmas; he gave them to her, and thanked her for having reminded him of her debt here on earth rather than in heaven. He died on the 8th of June, 632.

The Koran is a collection of all the verses which fell as occasion demanded from the lips of the Prophet, and which were gathered together in a first edition by the orders of the Caliph Abu-Bekr, and in a second by the orders of the Caliph Othman. The method of their composition is shown by their incoherence and by the numberless contradictions which they contain. It is composed of 114 chapters or surahs, which are divided into verses. These verses, containing all the precepts of Islam morality, are inscribed by the Mohammedans upon the walls of their mosques, on their banners, and on their monuments.

What especially characterizes the Koran is a general simplicity and even a certain dearth of imagination. The fervid exaggeration and the forcible images of the East are indeed to be found in it, but only in rare flashes, with no trace of the Indian exuberance or of the wealth of imagination of the European races. This is to be seen in

the fundamental principle of their dogma, which is simply this—"God alone is God, and Mohammed is his prophet." The Koran does not acknowledge any lower divinity by the side of Allah, the sole God, the all-powerful Creator ; it does not allow of a plurality of persons in Allah, and entirely rejects the idea of God become man. It only teaches that God has been revealed to man by a series of prophets, the last and the most perfect of whom is Mohammed ; his predecessors are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Christ. It also recognizes the existence of angels, messengers of God to the prophets. Mohammed acknowledged that Christ had the power of performing miracles, and owned that he had not received it himself. "When the unbelievers say : 'We will not believe you unless you make a spring of fresh water gush from the earth, or a piece of sky fall on us, or unless you produce God and his angels to bear witness to your words.' . . . Reply to them : 'Praise be to God—am I anything but a man and an apostle ?' "

The Koran admits the immortality of the soul, but without venturing to define its nature. "The knowledge of the Soul is a thing that is reserved to God. Man is only permitted to possess a small part of knowledge." It also acknowledges the resurrection of the body and the participation of this part of our being in the joys and sufferings of a future life. Mounkir and Nebir, black angels with blue eyes, question the dead ; Gabriel weighs their deeds in scales large enough to contain the heavens and the earth. Those risen from the dead are led to the bridge Al-Sirat, which is more slender than a hair and sharper than a dagger. Those who are guilty cannot cross it. They fall into the infernal regions which lie below it, and where the least guilty wear shoes of fire, which make their brains seethe as in a caldron. Those who truly believe cross the abyss as quickly as a flash of lightning, and go to dwell in the gardens of the seventh heaven, or paradise. They find there groves which are always fresh and green, pavilions of mother of pearl, of ruby, of hyacinth, limpid streams flowing in yellow amber, diamonds and emeralds, carpets of rich silk, flowers, perfumes, exquisite repasts and black-eyed immortal nymphs. Such is the sensual paradise that Mohammed promised to the mass of faithful Mussulmans, but he places the spiritual joys much higher. "The most fav-

ored of God is he who shall see his face morning and evening, a rapture which surpasses all the pleasures of the senses, as the ocean surpasses a drop of dew."

This doctrine of rewards and punishments in the future life implies the moral freedom of man, since God can only reward or punish those who have been free to choose between good and evil. Nevertheless Mohammed teaches the opposite dogma of predestination, which destroys this freedom, by declaring that a man is predestined to good or to evil from all Eternity. But this belief was of powerful assistance to him, for why should one try to escape from dangers or death if everything is decided beforehand, if the fate of each is ruled by an unchanging will? Thus the Mussulman, impelled by his passions, called by him the spirit of God, rushed against the enemy, to victory and to the conquest of the world, much as to-day, since he has lost his warlike enthusiasm, he sits calm and resigned in the face of the fire which burns his towns, of the pestilence which decimates his people, and of the Christian civilization which shakes the foundation of his empire, and would utterly overthrow it if it had no interest in its preservation.

The religious law of the Arabs, like that of the Jews, is also their civil law, and the Koran is at the same time the sacred book and the code of the Mussulman. Mohammed reformed Arabian family life. He raised the position of women. Daughters had before inherited nothing; he decreed that each daughter should inherit half as much as was received by each of her brothers. Though maintaining the authority of husbands, he commanded them to be considerate protectors of their wives, and though he permitted polygamy in order to avoid too much collision with the customs of the East, he praised and encouraged those who contented themselves with one wife.. The position of woman as a mother also was raised. "A son gains paradise at his mother's knees." The rights of the children are protected, and the Koran does away with the frightful custom which permitted parents to bury their daughters alive. If it did not require the abolition of slavery, it at least determined the obligation of the masters toward their slaves, and recommended manumission to them as an act agreeable to God.

The Koran provides severe punishments for theft, usury, fraud, and false testimony, and prescribes the giving of alms. It regulates the religious observances with severity: the fast

of Rhamadan; the observance of the four holy months, an ancient custom, which, by a kind of truce of God, suspended all hostilities of the faithful with each other; the great annual pilgrimage to Mecca, which city Mohammed had made the seat of the new religion in order that, instead of disturbing the Arab customs, he might turn them to the profit of Islamism; and the five daily prayers, which were so irksome an obligation, that the false prophet Moseilama was able to draw many followers to himself by simply dispensing with one of these prayers. Ablutions either with water or, if water failed, with the fine sand of the desert, circumcision, the avoidance of wine and of swine flesh, the latter health measures, are also required by the Koran.

It reiterates the doctrine that the faithful are all brothers, but also that all who do not believe are enemies. There is, however, a great distinction made between Christians, Jews, and all the unfaithful who believe in one God and in the last judgment, and idolators, apostates, and schismatics. With the former it is enough to avoid ties of blood, and it is not right to fight with them unless they give the first offense. But as to the latter, it is the duty of every good Mussulman to attack them, pursue them, and to kill them, unless they embrace the religion of the Prophet. "Ye believers, form no connections with Christians and with Jews." Woe to the Mussulman who stays by his fireside instead of going to war; he cannot escape death, for the term of his life is fixed. Does he fear the burning heat of the combat? "The infernal regions are hotter than the heats of summer." Does he think to turn and flee? "Paradise is before you, behind you the flames of the infernal regions."

These precepts, hopes, and menaces were the powerful motives which sent the Arabs forth, sword in hand, in every direction.

Mohammed did not regulate either the form of the government or the order of succession. The caliph was at the same time the religious, civil, and military chief. Abu-Bekr, whom Mohammed had enjoined to say the prayers in his stead, was recognized as caliph (632), and afterwards chose as his successor Omar (634), who in his turn intrusted this choice to a commission of six important persons. This commission appointed Othman (644), whose weakness gave rise to disturbances in the midst of

The first elective Caliphs; Conquests of Syria, Persia, and of Egypt (632-640).

which Ali mounted the throne (656). Ali, the husband of Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, had, ever since the death of his father-in-law, been one of the pretendants to the throne, and chief of the party of the Fatimites. These rivalries were perpetuated by the two Mussulman sects, the *Schiites* or Separatists, who considered Ali and his posterity as unjustly deprived of their rights, and the *Sunnites* or the conservative party, who recognized Abu-Bekr, Omar, and Othman as legitimate sovereigns. Long and bloody wars resulted from this division. To-day the Persians are Schiites and the Turks are Sunnites. After Ali (661) hereditary rule begins with the Ommiades.

This is the period (632–661) of the most rapid and most marvelous conquests of the Arabs.

“Go,” said Abu-Bekr to the Arab warriors, “and fight bravely and loyally; do not mutilate those whom you have conquered, or kill the old men, the women and children; do not destroy the palm-trees or burn the crops, or cut down the fruit-trees.” Some of these warriors went to the heart of Arabia to put down the false prophets and the tribes who refused to recognize Islamism, others marched against Syria, and others toward the Euphrates and Persia.

The first subdued the interior of the peninsula and thus gave unity to the whole Arab nation.

The second succeeded in six years in conquering Syria from the Byzantine Greeks. They first took Bostra, which was the key to the country toward the desert, and then besieged Damascus. The siege was interrupted by the battle of Aîznadin, where they utterly defeated an army of 70,000 men, sent by the Emperor Heraclius. Damascus capitulated to the General Abu-Obeidah; but the fiery Khalid, who at the same time successfully fought his way through another gate, after three days of truce pursued the fugitives with all the speed of his Arab horses, caught up with them, and utterly destroyed them, returning with their spoils (635).* A second victory gained on the banks of the Yermuk in Palestine completed this conquest (636). A Greek army of considerable size had come out against the Mohammedans; three times they fell back, but each time

* The accounts of the fall of Damascus are conflicting—a confusion which the text indicates, between capitulation and storming. It was abandoned by the Arabs on the approach of the Roman army, and again occupied after the battle of 636.—ED.

their wives, who were on horseback, bow in hand, at the rear of the army, sent them back to the combat. The Arabian historians undoubtedly exaggerate when they speak of 150,000 enemies slain and 40,000 taken prisoners. Jerusalem opened its gates to the Caliph Omar, who came in person to take possession; he was plainly mounted on a rough-haired camel, and carried in front of him, on his saddle, a bag of wheat, a bag of dates, and a leathern bottle of water, and offered to share his frugal repast with all whom he met. He stayed ten days at Jerusalem in order to regulate the affairs of the country, and to build a mosque, though he allowed the Christians the free exercise of their religion. After Jerusalem, Aleppo, and finally Antioch, the mighty capital of Syria, surrendered, and Heraclius abandoned this country forever (638).

The army which had been sent in the direction of the Euphrates had had no less marvelous a success.* Khalid, the first commander, took Hanbar and Hira. His passing into Syria did not diminish his success. Persia, whose power was already declining, tried in vain with 150,000 soldiers to resist 30,000 Arabs, and was defeated in the great battle of Kadesiah, which lasted three days (637). The famous standard of the Sassanides, the leather apron, which recalled their origin, fell into the hands of the Mussulmans. The victors, leaving behind them the colonies of Bussorah and Kufah, hastened to Ctesiphon, which they captured. The victory of Jalula, and that of Nehavend, or the victory of victories, at the south of Ecbatana (642), made Persia subject to them. Ispahan was conquered, Persepolis sacked, and Yezdegerd, the king of Persia, just escaped being taken prisoner in the midst of his falling palace. He went in search of aid as far as China, but in vain, and was assassinated on the shore of the Oxus (652), and Khorassan became subject to the Arabs.

While the overthrow of the great King was being effected, Egypt was subjugated. There, as in Syria, it was the Eastern Empire that suffered the attack. Amru, chief of the Arabs, skillfully took advantage of the hatred which the

* The Parthian kings, or the Arsacides, who had succeeded the Greek kings, or the Seleucides, had been succeeded in 226 by the Sassanides, who founded the second Persian Empire, and were still ruling over the country between the Euphrates and the Indus when the Arabs appeared there.

Copts or the natives felt toward the Greeks, whom they considered as foreigners and heretics. His progress was not checked till he reached Alexandria, which held out against him fourteen months.* It has not been proved that Amru gave the order to burn the precious library of this rich and learned city.† On the contrary we see Amru organizing the government of the country with wisdom, substituting a more just system of taxation for the capitation, and reserving one-third of these taxes for the preservation of the canals and ditches, and also reviving the ancient project of the Pharaohs, the Ptolemys, and the Cæsars, of connecting the Nile and the Red Sea, a project which was, however, abandoned in the fear of opening to the infidels a way to the sacred cities.

The intestine quarrels that filled and followed the Caliphate of Ali brought the conquests of the Arabs to a halt, for the time being. Ali, the leading representative of the Hashimites and of Mohamed,

Revolution in the Caliphate. Hereditary dynasty of the Ommiades (661-750). Conquest of Upper Asia (707) and of Spain (711).

saw arise against him a Koreishite reaction which had already shown itself in the election of Othman. Moawijah was the leader of the movement; he governed Syria, where this party was strongest, while Ali was

established at Kufah, in Irak-Arabi (Babylonia), a country devoted to his cause. After several bloody contests Moawijah had the caliph assassinated by three fanatics, and the hereditary dynasty of the Ommiades began, which lasted 90 years (661-750). Under this dynasty, Damascus became the capital of the Empire. From that time the character of the government changed and became more despotic, though it must be borne in mind that it had to do with a very different people from the Arabs of Hedjaz.

The institutions and the faith of the Mohammedans underwent various modifications; while some on the one hand gave themselves up to luxury and disobeyed the precepts of their religion, others by a natural reaction formed the fanatical and gloomy sects of the Kharegites, the Motazelites, the Kadonians, etc., the puritans of Islamism, who strug-

* Alexandria was probably occupied by the Arabs without resistance. Later (646), it revolted and was retaken by force.—ED.

† This story, now disbelieved, makes its first appearance in the thirteenth century.—ED.

gled against the Ommiades with indomitable energy. The dynasty was only established by rivers of blood, and more especially by the victories of the valiant Hojiaj in the reign of Abd-el-Melek. A second and last period of conquests began in his reign.

In the east the conquest of Transoxiana, of the ancient Sogdiana and the shores of the Indus (707) carried the dominion of the Mussulman to the limits of the empire of Alexander. The Arabs found at this extreme end of their empire, at Bokhara and at Samarcand (707), the fruits from the seeds of civilization left there by the Greek conquerors, and they did not allow this growing prosperity to perish.

They advanced also in the direction of Asia Minor and of Constantinople. So far they had only fought on land, but the Syrian dynasty of the Ommiades gave them a maritime power, the elements of which they found in the conquered provinces of Phœnicia and Cilicia. In 672 they began a series of attacks upon Constantinople itself, and carried them on for seven years, but were driven away by the Greek fire, an invention of a Syrian, which had the terrible property of burning in water. This bold enterprise, which threatened to destroy all that was left of the Roman Empire, was renewed in 717 under the Caliph Soliman. An army of 120,000 men crossed Asia Minor and the Hellespont and stationed themselves before Constantinople, which a fleet of 1800 sail was besieging at the same time. Again the Greek fire caused the attempt to fail, and the Arab invasion in this direction was given up. Their retreat decided that the Eastern Empire should live some centuries longer.

The Arabs were summoned to Africa by the natives, who were overwhelmed by the tributes imposed by the Romans. Akbah hastened thither and advanced as far as the Atlantic, where he urged his horse into the waves. He founded Kairowan at the south of Carthage, twelve miles from the coast (670). The Arabs feared the Roman fleet, but the desert, their domain, had no terror for them. Akbah yielded to the attacks of the Moors. But Hassan, under the Caliph Abd-el-Melek (692-698), established the dominion of the Arabs over the whole length of the African sea-coast by the conquest of Carthage, which was consigned to the flames and has never been rebuilt. A last insurrection of the Moors, led by their Queen Kahina, was put down in 709,

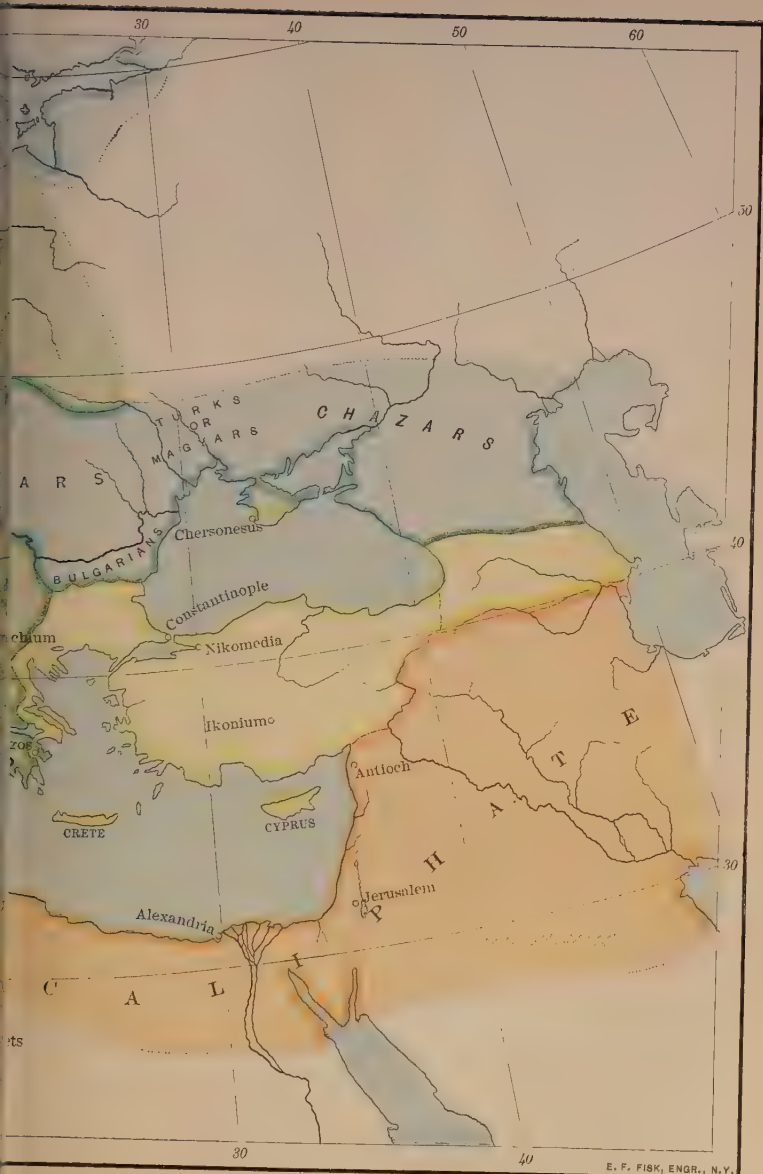


EUROPE

END OF 7TH CENTURY

695

Roman Empire		
Teutonic Kingdoms		
Celts		



and the Arabs then turned their attention to the countries beyond the strait of Hercules.

Tarik crossed this strait in 711 and gave it the name of Gibraltar (Djebel-Tarik, Mountain of Tarik). These Arabs encountered here for the first time the barbarians of the north. They found in Spain the Visigoth monarchy in an enfeebled condition, torn by discord and allowing the walls of its fortifications to fall to pieces.* They were aided by the powerful Count Julian, Governor of Ceuta,† and by the Archbishop of Seville, who wished to overthrow King Roderic; and were victorious at the battle of Xeres‡ on the banks of the Guadal-Lete. Roderic is said to have perished in the waters of the Guadalquivir, when trying to make his escape (711). This three days' § battle put an end to the kingdom of the Visigoths, but it was eight years before the Arabs succeeded in subjugating the peninsula as far as the mountains of Asturia, where Pelayo, a Visigothic chief, kept his independence. In 720 they occupied Septimania as a dependency of the Gothic kingdom. Thus they had crossed the Pyrenees, another mighty barrier, and Gaul lay opened before them. It was now a question whether or not they would succeed in conquering it as they had done

* *Monarchy of the Visigoths.*—The kingdom of the Visigoths had lasted 300 years, from 410 to 711. They were at first supreme over Gaul as far as the Loire and over a part of Spain. By the battle of Voulon (507) they were crowded back to the south of the Pyrenees, but still retained Septimania at the north of these mountains. The Spanish peninsula was not entirely subject to them till after their absorption of the kingdom of the Suevi (565) and the expulsion of the Greeks from the southern coast (623). The most brilliant epoch of this monarchy was that of Leovigild (569–586), and of Reccared (586–601), in which the Visigoths were converted from Arianism to Christianity. The clergy had a very large share in the government of the Visigoths, and with them the Council of Toledo took the place of the national assemblies of the other barbarian peoples. Another cause of weakness was the application of the system of an elective monarchy in an aristocratic state; the nobles contrived that the throne should be vacant as often as possible, each one hoping to ascend it himself. There is no country where so large a proportion of the kings have been assassinated.

† A portion of the Eastern Empire on the African coast. Julian was not an officer of the Visigoths, but it is not clear exactly what aid was received by the Arabs.—ED.

‡ It is now established that the battle was not fought at Xeres de la Frontera, but farther south near the little stream now called Salado (Wadi Bekka).—ED.

§ Said also to have lasted a week.—ED.

Asia, Africa, and Spain, and in destroying with a single blow the German states and the Christian religion. They had already pushed their cavalry as far as Sens, and the Berber Munuza had already settled in Septimania and married the daughter of the Duke of Aquitaine. This was a solemn moment in the history of the world. The question was decided in the famous plains between Tours and Poitiers, where the powerful Austrasian infantry of Charles Martel, like a wall of iron, resisted the fiery horsemen of Arabia, of Syria, and of Magrib (732).

Thus the Arab invasion found its bounds on the banks of the Indus, at the entrance to Asia Minor, and at the Pyrenees. Like the German invaders the Arabs settled in their conquered countries, and there arose in the face of the western and Christian civilization, a civilization which was entirely Eastern and Mussulmanic. The Byzantine Empire, escaping from the torrents which rushed past on either side, thanks to its position and to the walls of its capital, existed between the two new worlds like a pale image of the ancient Roman world.

CHAPTER VII.

DISMEMBERMENT, DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ARABIAN EMPIRE (755-1058).

Accession of the Abbasides (750), and foundation of the Caliphate of Cordova (755).—Caliphate of Bagdad (750-1058).—Almanssur, Haroun-al-Rashid, Al-Mamun.—Creation of the Turkish Guards. Decline and dismemberment of the Caliphate of Bagdad.—Africa; Fatimite Caliphate (968).—Spain; Caliphate of Cordova.—Arabian Civilization.

It was just a century after Mohammed's death when Charles Martel, in 732, forced the Arabian invaders to retrace their steps; in one hundred years the Arabs had spread from the Indies to the Pyrenees. To give their boundaries more exactly, their empire reached, on the east, as far as the Indus and the Vale of Cashmir; on the north their boundary line followed the steppes of Turkestan, the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus, which Islamism had already crossed, then a line drawn obliquely from the eastern point of the Black Sea to Tarsus, beyond which lay their tributaries, Pontus and Cappadocia; the Mediterranean, where they occupied Rhodes, Cyprus, and the Balearic Islands; finally the southern Cevennes and the Pyrenees, excepting the little kingdom of Pelayo; on the west their boundary was the Atlantic Ocean;—on the south, the deserts of Africa, Ethiopia, and the Indian Ocean as far as the mouths of the Indus.

This empire was more than four thousand miles in length; no empire in antiquity had attained to so great a size. But this great belt was soon cut into three parts by the Abbasides in Asia, the Omniades in Spain and the Fatimites in Africa. Thus, while the German invasion, carried on at different times and by different methods, without plan or unity of direction reached under Charlemagne's influence an organized result, the Arab invasion, the outcome of a

single, common idea, accomplished at one blow and under one impulse, fell into a state of utter disorganization.

The extreme weakness of the Arabian Empire was due not only to the extent of its territory but also to its institutions and its dynasties. There had been a purely Arabian period under the first four successors of Mohammed, and a Syrian period under the Ommiades; now came a Persian period under the Abbassides, and after that a Turkish period, each subject people claiming in turn the supreme power, as is generally the case in great empires formed by conquest, and as was the case in the Roman Empire.

The Ommiades of Damascus had begun to arouse a certain civilization in Syria, steeped as it was in all the ancient civilizations, as is shown by the celebrated mosque, one of the wonders of the world, which Valid I. had built at Damascus and which Tamerlain destroyed; nevertheless, conquest was the distinguishing characteristic of that period. On the other hand, peaceful employments, industry, and the cultivation of the sciences characterized the period that followed.

The Ommiades, who were perverted, wine-drinking Mohammedans, belonged, in fact, neither to the Arabs who had remained in their native peninsula, nor to those who had settled in large numbers in Irak (ancient Babylonia). This country was an Arabia on a small scale, where the worship of Islam and the attachment to the Prophet's family were kept up in all their purity. The descendants of Ali preserved together with their pretensions great influence over these tribes. But though they were men of virtue and fine character, the Alides had not in general the talents necessary to enforce the recognition of their rights. A family of their party, and one which pretended to be connected with them by blood, undertook this on their own account; this was the Abbas family. The Abbassides, taking advantage of a disturbance during which Merwan II. ascended the throne (744), stirred up a revolt in Khorassan, where their influence reigned supreme, and in Irak, where the Alides, although rivals, welcomed them out of hatred for the Ommiades. They took black for their color, because white was the color of the Ommiades, and the two opposing parties were distinguished by their colors. Merwan was defeated on the banks of the Zab, a tributary of the Tigris, and his head was cut off (750). The triumph of the Abbassides was signalized

by horrible acts of vengeance. The Ommiades and their adherents were murdered by the thousand. Ninety of their chiefs were invited to a banquet on the pretext of a reconciliation. In the midst of the feast, a poet appeared, not an Antar singing of combats, love, hospitality and glory, but a gloomy and awe-inspiring poet; "Abdallah," said he to the uncle of Abbas, who was presiding at the feast, "remember Al-Husein, remember Zaïdi. Husein was assassinated and his corpse, dragged through the squares of Damascus, was trampled beneath the feet of horses. Zaïdi, the son of Husein, conquered by Hescham the Ommiad, was strangled before his eyes, and his body was exposed like a vile criminal's. Remember your friends, remember your brothers. Hasten: this is the moment for your just vengeance!" He finished speaking; an executioner appeared behind each of the Ommiades; they were struck down, and their still palpitating bodies were covered with planks and carpets. Then, on this bloody platform, the feast went on (750). The tombs of the caliphs of Damascus were opened, the bones found there were burned, and the ashes thrown to the winds. Abul-Abbas acquired in this way his name of El-Saffah—the bloody.

One Ommiad, however, escaped; the young Abderrahman; he hid himself first with the Bedouins of Barcah, in Egypt, and then with the Zenetes, until he was called to rule by the Arabs of Spain.

The armies of Islam were composed of very varied elements; in the army which invaded Spain, there were doubtless many pure Arabs, but there were also Syrians, Egyptians and Berbers, and they settled separately, in distinct bands, in the conquered territory; this explains, though it is anticipating somewhat, the fall of the caliphate of Cordova. At Cordova the royal legion of Damascus had established itself. It was these Syrian Arabs, faithful to the Syrian family of the Ommiades, who delivered Spain into the hands of Abderrahman (755). He assumed the title of Emir-al-Moumenin (chief of the believers), and founded the Caliphate of the West.

The Abbassides, though deprived by this dismemberment of the western extremity of their empire, still reigned over Asia and over Africa, though it, too, was to follow the example of Spain, fifty years later. The first of the Abbassides, the sanguinary Abul-Abbas, reigned only four

years. His brother Abu-Giaffar Almanssur, or the victorious, succeeded him (754-775). He had to fight against his uncle Abdallah, one of the principal promoters of the fortunes of their house. He took him prisoner, and, as he had sworn not to kill him by the sword or by poison, he crushed him under a falling ceiling. After this act of cruel perfidy, which gave him absolute control, he reigned wisely. It was he who gave the Arabian Empire its third and celebrated capital Bagdad (762), situated on the banks of the Tigris, near the old Seleucia and built around a hill which was crowned by the pavilion of the Caliphs; it was defended from attacks without by a brick enclosure, fortified with 163 towers. Immense sums were spent on its decoration. In that stronghold of despotism, which the ghosts of the Persian kings, the *great kings*, still seemed to haunt, the Caliphs of the East acquired a more and more absolute authority and began to claim for themselves divine attributes, following the Oriental custom of the worship of the sovereign. A pompous court, officers of all kinds, and a prime minister called the Vizier (bearer of the burden), relieved the sovereign from all the cares of government and of the administration of justice, but they also separated him from his subjects. His primitive simplicity was exchanged for the luxury taught by the magnificent Persian palaces. He accumulated vast wealth, still following in the steps of the Persian kings. Almanssur's treasure amounted, it was said, to 150 millions of dollars. His son Mahdi spent six million dinars (a dinar is worth about two dollars) in a single pilgrimage to Mecca. What had become of Omar with his bag of dates and his leather bottle of water?

The most famous of the Caliphs of Bagdad was Haroun-al-Rashid (the Just) also called the Victorious (786-809). His name is familiar even in Europe, as well as that of his faithful vizier, Giaffar. We shall see farther on his relations with Charlemagne. He made eight invasions of the Eastern Empire, conquered successively Irene and the usurper Nicephorus, forbade the Greeks ever to rebuild the town of Heraclius on the Pontus, which he had destroyed, and laid upon them a tribute which they were obliged to pay in money stamped with his image. But even while he was waging war on them, he borrowed from them their science and

their books, and made them popular among the Arabs by the protection he accorded to scholars.

His son, Al-Mamun, was still more eminent in this respect (813-833). He founded many schools and an academy, and spent enormous sums in the encouragement of science and literature.

Almanssur, Haroun-al-Rashid and Al-Mamun are the three great names of the Eastern Caliphate. Motassem, who came after them (833-842), although victorious in the wars he had to sustain against the Greek Empire, prepared the way for the fall of the Abbassides, by forming a guard of 50,000 Turkish slaves, bought in Tartary.*

They proved masters, rather than slaves. This body of soldiers disposed at their will of the throne and the lives of the caliphs, who, surrounded by plots and menaces, developed a marvelous cruelty.

Motawakkil (847) is a typical representative of them; he ordered a vizier who had offended him to be roasted alive in a furnace lined with iron spikes; he invited all the officers of his court to a feast, and had them massacred, to prevent a plot against him; he allowed wild and ferocious beasts to run wild in his palace, and the courtiers were forbidden to protect themselves from them. He was finally assassinated by his son Muntassir (861). His successor was poisoned. Another was murdered. The palace of the caliphs became the scene of bloody tragedies, unrelieved by any generous sentiments. It is the old story of despots who surround themselves with a special and permanent military force whose duty it is to guard them: the soldiers soon take the law into their own hands and enforce it with the sword; witness the Prætorians at Rome, the Isaurians at Constantinople, and the Strelitz at Moscow. In the midst of this anarchy the caliphate of Bagdad fell to pieces. Africa had already broken away in the time of Haroun-al-Rashid. Even in Asia independent dynasties were springing up on all sides—founded generally by the Turks who had been made governors of provinces.

In this way the Turks were introduced little by little into

* The Turks are a Tartar race, belonging to the so-called Turanian family of nations, and are related on the one side to the Mongolic tribes and on the other to the Finnic, of which the modern Finns and the Hungarians are representatives.—ED.

Asia, which had been galvanized rather than resuscitated by the electric current of Arabian invasion. We have seen how, at the end of the Roman Empire, the barbarians were really governing it, though they appeared to be its servants, and then how, throwing aside the mask, they seized it openly by means of invasion and declared themselves its masters; in the same way the Turks first gained a footing in the caliphate as soldiers of the caliphs, and, when they had them completely in their power even to the point of disposing of their throne, and their lives, they degraded them and established themselves openly in their place.

The dynasty of the Gaznevides sprang from the province of Gazna (997). Mahmud, the son of the founder, took the new title of Sultan, subjugated Khorassan and Kowarism, laid a tribute upon the people of Georgia, sent twelve terrible expeditions into the country between the Indus and the Ganges, conquered Delhi and Lahore, and by his victories carried the religion of the Koran to all the peoples of Hindostan, who had become tributary to him. After him all this vast dominion came into the possession of a new horde from the north. He had established the Turkomans in the eastern part of Persia, and they revolted after his death, led by Seldjuk, who defeated Mahmud's son Masud and established the Seldjuk dynasty in the midst of the empire of the caliphs. Togrul-Beg, the grandson of Seldjuk, completed the revolution which deprived the Arabian race of their rule over the East (1058). The Caliph Kaim, reigning at Bagdad, when threatened by him sought his protection, and delegated to him all temporal power over the States of Islam, keeping for himself only the spiritual power. He placed on his head two crowns, emblematic of the power with which he was invested over Arabia and Persia, and girded him with a magnificent sword. The prince was then clothed successively with seven robes of honor, and the caliph gave him seven slaves born in the seven countries of the Empire, while he was proclaimed sovereign over the East and the West.

Africa, as has been said, soon broke away from the Caliphate of Bagdad. The Aglabides of Kairowan (800–909) were masters of the Mediterranean in the ninth and tenth centuries, and established themselves in Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, besides making several attacks on Italy. To guard

Africa. Fati-
mite Caliphs
(968).

against them Pope Leo IV. enclosed the neighborhood of the Vatican (Leonine City) with a rampart. To the west of the Aglabides, the Edrissites gained their independence at Fez (789-919).

But the greatest of the Mussulman dynasties in Africa was that of the Fatimites, which absorbed the other two. Ever since the Alides had seen the caliphate taken away from them by the Abbassides, in spite of their legitimate claims, they had sought to enforce those claims elsewhere than in Asia. A family, pretending to descend from Ali and Fatima, superseded the Aglabides at Kairowan in 909, and established themselves in Egypt under their chief Moez (968). "Of what branch of the family of Ali are you?" he was asked. "These are my ancestors," he replied, pointing to his scimitar, "and these my children," he added, as he threw some gold to his soldiers. The Fatimites brought about not merely a political but a religious schism. They assumed the title of caliph, and made their residence at Cairo, which they built, and whence their rule extended over all northern Africa, Syria, and even over Bagdad for a brief space, about the time of Togrul-Beg's invasion. Fanaticism prevailed over all this country; the names of Ali and of the successors of Moez were the only ones invoked in the mosques of Africa. The schism was pushed to such a point that the Fatimite Caliph Hakim, a cruel tyrant, perverting the Mohammedan religion, insisted on being adored as the incarnation of God. Driven from Cairo, he carried his divinity into Syria, where his doctrine, a unitarian religion, is still in force among the Druses. The Fatimites brought prosperity to Egypt and Egypt in return gave them great wealth; they built superb mosques and made Cairo a center of science and literature, as Bagdad was in the East, and Cordova in the West.

The Caliphate of Cordova had as brilliant and as transient a career as the other two. The Arabs had shown great moderation in the conquest of Spain. The Christians had everywhere not only liberty of worship but also their laws and their judges. Councils were held by them with the consent of the caliphs of Cordova. The tribute exacted of them was in no way oppressive. Above all, the Jews, whom the Visigoths had treated with extreme severity, were now unmolested and were even treated with favor. There were some revolts—

Spain. Cali-
phate of Cor-
dova.

the most formidable of which took place in Toledo, which mourned the loss of its title of capital and center of the government, but except for these, the conquered mingled very generally with the conquerors and formed a mixed population, the *Mozarabes*. The caliphs of Cordova rarely had to fight for their power over the peoples of central and southern Spain, and they were soon able to display in peace the brilliant qualities which most of them possessed. Abderrahman I. (755), Hescham I. (787), Abderrahman II. (822), Al-Hakam II. (961), were able sovereigns absorbed in caring for the happiness of their people, patrons of literature, and rich in the treasures which the fertile and well-cultivated soil of Spain yielded in profusion. Abderrahman I. wept at the sight of a Syrian palm he had had brought to Spain, and which reminded him of his native country whence he had been forced to fly. Another made it his duty to perform some manual labor for an hour every day.

Nevertheless, during these reigns the Christians were encroaching upon the Arabian Empire from the north. Pippin the Short seized Septimania (759); Charlemagne established his power south of the Pyrenees as far as the Ebro (812), whence afterwards sprang the little Christian States of Barcelona and Aragon; while the Christians of Asturia held their ground and increased, though imperceptibly; so that, as we shall see farther on, there stretched across the northern part of the peninsula a belt of independent Christian people, who were later to drive out the Mussulmans.

The *Walis*, or governors of provinces, had already sought under Mohammed I. (852) to make themselves independent, and had sometimes succeeded; while under the lead of Ibn-Hafson, Jewish and Berber bandits, from their hiding-place in the mountains of Aragon, began an insurrection which it took eighty years to subdue.

Abderrahman III. (912-961), whose reign was the most brilliant in the annals of the Cordova caliphate, restored the sway of the Arabs by subduing Ibn-Hafson and his sons, and by his signal victories over the Christians of Asturia. This access of power was sustained until the reign of Hescham II. by the genius of the prime minister, Almanzor, who drove the Christians back beyond the Douro and the Ebro, which they had crossed. But Almanzor carried with him to the tomb the power of the caliphs of Cordova (1002).

In the eleventh century the Caliphate of the West fell a

prey to anarchy and confusion, in which the African guard of the caliphs, like the Turkish guard at Bagdad, took a prominent part, and during which the Walis shook off their yoke. In 1010 Murcia, Badajoz, Grenada, Saragossa, Valencia, Seville, Toledo, Carmona, and Algeziras had become so many independent principalities. In 1031, Hescham, the last of the Ommiades, was deposed and retired with joy into obscurity; in 1060, even the title of Caliph had disappeared.

Such was the fate of the Arabian Empire in the three portions of the world—Asia, Africa, and Europe: first a sudden and irresistible expansion, then at the end of a few centuries division and general decay. The Empire had been built too quickly to endure. As their poets improvised brilliant poems, so they improvised a gigantic dominion. No one can say that it has entirely perished who has seen the religion, the language, and the laws of the Koran still reigning over the greater part of the country formerly included in the Arabian Empire. Moreover, it handed down to the Europe of the Middle Ages discoveries, arts, and sciences, often borrowed, it is true, from other peoples, but the mere propagation of which sheds a luster over the Arabian name.

In fact, while Europe was lost in the darkness of barbarian ignorance scarce pierced by a single ray, the capitals of Islamism were flooded with a great light of literature, philosophy, arts, and industry. Bagdad, Samarcand, Damascus, Cairo, Kairowan, Fez, Grenada, and Cordova were so many great intellectual centers.

Arabian Civil-
ization.

We have seen that the Arabs, before they left their peninsula, already possessed a poetical literature which found expression in two distinct dialects, the Homerite or Himyarite in Yemen, the Koreisch in Hedjaz. The latter was used by Mohammed and gained the preponderance. It has come down to us in all its purity, as the language of learning and religion, or literary Arabian, while, as the language of the people, it has undergone numerous changes, resulting from the diversity of the peoples subjugated to Islamism, and from the lapse of ages. This language is exceedingly rich in certain respects. The Arab poets had an inexhaustible supply of synonyms at their command to express, from every point of view and in every varying condition, the objects which their life in the desert

brought continually before their eyes and offered to their use. They boasted of having 80 different terms to express honey, 200 for the serpent, 500 for the lion, 1000 for the camel, as many for the sword, and about 4000 to express the idea of misfortune. An extraordinary memory was necessary to permit of their making use of such a multitude of words, and the *rawia* or Arabian rhapsodists possessed such memories; one of them, Hammad, offered one day to recite to the Caliph Walid consecutively 100 poems of from 20 to 100 verses each, and of fanciful construction, and the illustrious auditor was more quickly tired by it than the indefatigable reciter.

Though at first addicted to lyrical literature, after their conquests the Arabs enlarged the horizon of their minds, when they mingled with a people more advanced in civilization. In their contact with the Persians, the Grecianized Egyptians, and even the Greeks of Constantinople, they acquired that rich intellectual development which has always been rather energetical than creative. They became acquainted with the writings of Aristotle through the later ramifications of the Alexandrian school, which had become peripatetic toward its end, and, with a wonderful fervor, applied themselves to commenting on his great philosophical works. Al-Kindi, who is regarded as the father of philosophy among the Arabs, and who taught in Bagdad in the ninth century, professed the theories of the Stagirite philosopher. Al-Farabi, who followed him and who was also of the Bagdad school, wrote sixty separate treatises on the works of Aristotle. Unfortunately they did not read the writings of the Greek philosopher in the original, but only in Syriac versions from which they made Arabic translations. Accordingly, when they handed these writings over to the Christian Europe of the Middle Ages, which obtained a knowledge of the most of Aristotle's works through them only, many new variations crept in, because the Europeans were obliged, in their turn, to translate them again.

It may be added in connection with Aristotle that the Arabs carried on the debates on great philosophical problems which have always agitated the human mind. Avicenna (died 1037) represented God as a motionless being at the center of nature, and exerting scarcely any influence upon it; according to others, Avicenna was a pantheist. Gazali, on the contrary, after going through all the systems appeared, after a period of scepticism, in the mystic school

of the Soufis, and wrote his book on the "Destruction of the Philosophers." The excitement stirred up by these disputes gave rise to a host of sects in Islamism. The one most inspired by a philosophic spirit was the sect of the Motazilites, a kind of Islamic protestants, who laid great stress on the human reason, and who were under the protection of some of the Abbassid caliphs. Al-Mamun, especially, brought up as he was by the Persian family of the Barmecides, encouraged them; while others, whose ideas extended in the same direction with Gazali, formed numerous fanatical sects. While this confusion of ideas and beliefs prevailed in the midst of the Eastern Caliphate the study of philosophy was revived in the Western Caliphate by Ibn-Badja and by Ibn-Tofail, who wrote that curious psychological romance of the "Autodidactus," or the Natural Man, in which he supposes a child thrown upon a desert island at its birth and there growing to manhood, who comes by himself to the knowledge of nature, not only in its physical but also in its metaphysical aspect and even of God. Later, in the twelfth century, the study of philosophy had a fresh impulse given it under the Almohades by Averroes, who was so famous in the Middle Ages because it was from him that the Christian peoples received their direct knowledge of the greater part of Aristotle's works.

The Arabs had better success in the exact sciences, owing to the scholars who were attracted from Constantinople by the caliphs, and especially by the second of the Abassid caliphs, Almanssur. As early as the first half of the ninth century, two astronomers of Bagdad measured, in the plains near the Red Sea, a degree of the meridian. Soon a commentary on Euclid, a corrected edition of the tables of Ptolemy, a more exact calculation of the obliquity of the ecliptic and the precession of the equinoxes, a more precise knowledge of the difference between the solar year and the sidereal year, and the invention of new and exact instruments, bore witness to the aptitude of the Arabs for the exact sciences; and Samarcand, long before Europe, had a very fine observatory. Yet it is a mistake to ascribe to them, as is often done, the invention of algebra and of the so-called Arabic numbers which we use. They only handed down to Europe these two valuable instruments of our mathematics, as they did the Aristotelian philosophy, borrowing them from the work of other nations. It is possible that we in-

herit from them, under a like title, the mariner's compass and gunpowder, which they may have borrowed from the Chinese. Europe owes to them also the use of linen paper, which first lowered the price of manuscripts, and afterwards, when printing had been discovered, made its benefits more accessible and more quickly felt.

They excelled in the practice of medicine ; and in that, too, they learned much from the Greeks, as can be seen from the treatises on Galen by Averroes. Many of their great philosophers were physicians also,—Avicenna, for instance, and Averroes, whom we have just mentioned. The Arabian physicians had such a reputation that a king of Castile, who was troubled with dropsy, wished to be treated for it at Cordova, and through the courtesy of the caliph obtained permission to recover his health among his enemies. They taught us the process of distillation and the uses of rhubarb ; they discovered alcohol and many new remedies and medicaments, the use of manna, of senna, camphor, mercury, syrups, etc.

Geography is one of the sciences that owes most to the Arabs ; their great conquests, their taste for travel and adventure, their enforced pilgrimages gave them an exact knowledge of many distant lands that had never been visited by Europeans or else had been forgotten by them. Among these men the first in rank were Abulfeda, Masudi, and particularly Edrisi, who was called to the court of Roger, King of Sicily, and there composed his curious work, entitled : " Diversions of a man desirous of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the different countries of the world." In the line of history, the annals of Masudi, Makusi, and Abulfeda may be mentioned. But the Arabian historians were little given to criticism or analysis, and rarely stated anything beyond bare facts.

Of the fine arts, they cultivated architecture alone, as the law of their religion forbade the representation of the human form, and so cut off the possibility of sculpture and painting. This prohibition itself gave a peculiar character to their architecture, though little invention was shown in it, as its principal element was borrowed from the Byzantine architecture, that is, the more than semicircular [or horse-shoe] arch borne on pillars—what really belongs to them are the arabesques by which they supplied the places of painted or sculptured figures in their ornamentation. They were

originally inscriptions with a meaning ; later the sense disappeared and they were merely combinations of lines borrowed from the Arabic letters, which lend themselves readily to the formation of the rich designs that we admire in the carpets and stuffs of the East. As regards the pretended Arabic origin of the pointed architecture, it is now known that nothing is more erroneous than this supposition. The characteristics of Arabic architecture are the magnificence and luxury of the interiors of their buildings, and the profusion of basins and fountains of gold and precious stones, which they obtained from the East and the mines of southern Spain. One of the most magnificent monuments of this kind was the famous mosque built by Abderrahman I. at Cordova, with its 1093 marble columns and its 4700 lamps ; another, no less splendid, was the palace of Al-Tehra (Flowers), which Abderrahman built upon the banks of the Guadalquivir for one of his favorites, and where a jet of mercury fell sparkling into a shell of porphyry. The Alhambra, at once a palace and a fortress, can still be seen and admired at Grenada, and many parts of it, especially the so-called court of the Lions, are models of architectural beauty and splendor.

The Arabs have always been merchants by nature, and when their power extended from the Pyrenees to the Himalayas, they easily became the most considerable merchants of the world. No one knew so well as those inhabitants of the desert how to make the best use of water in the work of cultivation, under their burning sun. The system of irrigation instituted by them, and still preserved in the plain of Valencia, the garden of Spain, might serve as a model to the agriculturists of our own times. When they went to the great Roman cities and became acquainted with works of industry, they developed great skill as artisans. The reputation of Toledo for its arms, Granada for its silks, Cuenca for its blue and green cloths, and Cordova for harnesses, saddles and leather goods, spread throughout Europe, and these products of infidel industry brought the highest prices. Spain especially profited by this time of splendor, as she was more peaceful than the East during the first centuries of the Caliphate. Her population was large ; Cordova alone is said to have had 200,000 houses, 600 mosques, 50 hospitals, 80 public schools, 900 public baths, and a million inhabitants.

We have given here a brief sketch of the civilization which was diffused by the Arabs from the Tagus to the Indus, a civilization brilliant but unstable ; while that of Europe, though slower in its development and suffering many convulsions and eclipses, has had the long continued existence which is reserved for all slow and labored growth.

BOOK III.

THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE, OR THE ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE GERMAN AND CHRISTIAN EUROPE (687-814).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MAYORS OF AUSTRASIA AND THE PAPACY, OR THE EFFORTS TO INFUSE UNITY INTO THE STATE AND THE CHURCH (687-768).

Pippin of Heristal (687-714).—Charles Martel (714-741); The Carolingian Family Reorganizes the State and its Authority.—Formation of Ecclesiastical Society; Elections; Hierarchy; The Power of the Bishops.—Monks; Monasteries; the Rule of St. Benedict.—The Pope; St. Leo; Gregory the Great.—The Papacy breaks away from the Supremacy of Constantinople (726), Invokes the aid of Charles Martel.—Pippin the Short (741-768).

WE left the history of the Franks at the year 681, when Ebroin's attempt to put the ruling power into the hands of royalty and of Neustria had been frustrated by his death. The mayors who succeeded him in the western kingdom were not strong enough to maintain the great struggle begun by him. They continued by their persecutions to enlarge the ranks of the Austrasian army, and that army finally reached the point when it was able to conquer, for its position on the banks of the Rhine and in the neighborhood of the barbarians had made it necessary that they should retain the courageous vigor which Neustria had lost, and which would have given the Austrasians victory much sooner had it not been for the genius of Ebroin. Pippin of Heristal by the decisive battle of Testry (687) became master over the three king-

Pippin of Heristal (687-714).

doms, though he allowed Theodoric III. to remain on the throne. Just as Ebroin had taken up arms against the nobles and Austrasia, for the sake of royal authority and "Roman France," as Neustria was called, so Pippin of Heristal resisted this attempt, and menaced, in a way, the conquest of Clovis in behalf of the ancient Ripuarians, and at first, as will readily be believed, equally in behalf of the old German customs. That this event was considered a serious revolution, even at the time of its occurrence, is shown by the fact that all the surrounding nations over which the Frankish power extended, the Britons, Aquitanians, Gascons, Frisians, and Alemanni, believed that power to be shattered and that the time had come to free themselves. But Pippin let them see that, far from having lost, it had gained in strength. "He waged many wars," said the chronicles, "against Radbod, duke of the Frisians, and other princes, against the Flemings and many other nations. In these wars he was always victorious."

Pippin did not set up the throne again in Austrasia, but kept it in Neustria, which he wished to treat with consideration, and three kings successively reigned there who were mere puppets in his hands. At his death (714), the hereditary right of his family to the mayoralty of the palace was evidently already regarded as a matter of course, for he left the title to his grandson, a child of six years of age, under the guardianship of his widow, Plectrude.

The Neustrians sought to profit by this minority to free themselves from Austrasian power. They defeated the Austrasians, and made Chilperic II. their king and Raganfred their mayor. The Austrasians, who were not content to submit to a child and to a woman, recognized another son of Pippin as their chief, Karl or Charles, who was called a bastard by those who strictly regarded the law. The Neustrians had allied themselves with the Frisians, in order to place Austrasia between two hostile countries, and Charles was defeated at first in 716. But a year later he surprised the conquerors and defeated them at Vincy near Courtray (717). Instead of stopping to celebrate his victory according to the barbarian custom, he pursued the Neustrians to the very walls of Paris; their army was almost annihilated. As their alliance with the Frisians had not succeeded, the Neustrians turned to the

Charles Martel (714-741). The Carolingian family reorganizes the State and its authority.

Aquitainians, who were ruled by Duke Eudes, and who, through hatred of barbarian authority, joyfully seized the opportunity of repulsing the new set of Frankish invaders. But the second league failed like the first. Charles defeated them near Soissons (718), and pursued them as far as Orleans. Later he induced Eudes to deliver to him Chilperic II. whom he recognized as king (720).

This victory completed the work begun at Testry, and marked the final victory of Austrasia and the beginning of a new era in the history of the Franks. Until then, all the old institutions had been falling to pieces, and nothing new had taken definite shape. The territory had been loosely held together and badly organized; its outlying provinces were wavering between submission and independence. Saxons, Thuringians, Bavarians, Alemanni, and Aquitainians were placed in an uncertain position, and no one could give the exact limits of the Frankish Empire. Within, Neustria and Austrasia were divided by what was really the antagonism between Roman and barbarian ideas; the free men were more and more degraded, on the one hand, and on the other the aristocracy of the leudes became more and more powerful. Royalty existed, but without power; the Mayors of the Palace had the power but not the rights of kings. All the elements of the state were in confusion.

The Carolingian family, with its illustrious origin and victories, with its power and riches, was the only one in a position high enough, and with talents great enough, to infuse order into the barbarian world. The three great men belonging to it, Charles Martel, Pippin the Short, and Charlemagne, were workers in the same cause and followed the same policy, both in war and in peace; what was begun by the first of them was continued by the second, and accomplished by the third.

The quick blows, felt at the extreme limits of the kingdom, the expeditions alternating between the north and south, which, later, were the characteristic features of Charlemagne's wars, were already seen in those of Charles Martel. First there was a series of campaigns against the Bavarians; then another against the Frisians; then still another against the Saxons. All these nations, except the last, were subdued for a time, at least, if not for ever (720-729). The wars were renewed in the south; all along the Rhone the Burgundian lords who had gained their inde-

pendence returned to their allegiance, as well as Provence and Marseilles, whose governor Maurontus was banished (739). Eudes, the duke of Aquitania, was likewise forced to submit, and when he died Charles gave the duchy to his son Hunold only on the condition of his rendering homage to himself and his sons Pippin and Karlmann.

But the most famous military achievement of Charles, and that which gave him in after times his popular name of "Martel," was his great victory over the Saracens in 732. Hardly a century had passed since Mohammedanism came into being in the deserts of Arabia, and its votaries had already reached the farthest limits of the West; by the year 711 they had invaded Spain, by 720 they had crossed the Pyrenees, and conquered Narbonne. In 732, the Emin Abderrahman invaded Aquitania, captured Bordeaux, and marched upon Tours, tempted by the wealth of the abbey in that town. Charles, summoned by Eudes, went to meet the infidels and gained a great victory between Tours and Poitiers, which stopped the movement of Mussulman invasion.

Thus he consolidated his territory on every side, preventing a division and protecting the frontiers from new invasions. The same sword that accomplished this great work had, at the same time, the glory of saving Christianity.

The Middle Ages acknowledged two masters, the Pope and the Emperor, and these two powers came, the one from Rome, and the other from Austrasian France. We have seen how the mayors of Austrasia, Pippin of Heristal, and Charles Martel, rebuilt the Frankish monarchy and prepared the way for the empire of Charlemagne; we now pass to the Roman pontiffs and see how they gathered around them all the churches of the West, and placed themselves at the head of the great Catholic society, over which one day Gregory VII. and Innocent III. should claim to have sole dominion.

The Roman Empire had perished, and the barbarians had built upon its ruins many slight structures that were soon overthrown. Not even had the Franks, who were destined to be perpetuated as a nation, as yet succeeded in founding a social state of any strength; their lack of experience led them from one attempt to another, all equally vain; even the attempt of Charlemagne met with no more permanent success. In the midst of these

Formation of
Ecclesiastical
Society; Elec-
tions; Hier-
archy; Power
of the Episco-
pate.

successive failures one institution alone, developing slowly, and steadily through the centuries following out the spirit of its principles, continued to grow and gain in power, in extent, and in unity.

The preaching of the apostles and their disciples had spread the Gospel throughout the Roman world, and as early as the third century the Christians formed a kind of vast society by themselves in the heart of the Empire. From Britain to the banks of the Euphrates, a Christian, traveling with a letter from his bishop, found aid and protection all along his route. Everywhere that he went he met with brothers, who assisted him if poor, and cared for him if sick ; a sign served in the place of words, and the Christians all understood each other no matter of what language or country they might be—for they were all of one family. This society had organized itself under the stress of persecution ; it had a rigid discipline and a strictly regulated hierarchy. The cities of the Roman provinces had grown into dioceses governed by supervisors or bishops (*episcopi*) ; below them in authority were the elders or priests (*presbyteri*). The bishop, who had first been appointed by the apostles and consecrated by the laying on of hands, afterwards when the number of conversions necessitated the formation of a church in every city, was chosen by the faithful, installed by the other bishops of the province, and confirmed in his powers by the metropolitan (Canon XIV. of the Nicene Council). The letters of Sidonius Apollinaris show that at Châlons and Bruges in the fifth century, the elections of bishops were by popular vote. Later the clergy took a larger part in ecclesiastical elections and inclined to the exclusion of the laity ; but what the laymen lost in this respect they gained by the encroachment of the royal power upon the church, which power often gave the bishoprics to nobles. The clergy struggled against this usurpation and succeeded in establishing the principle of election by the clergy and the people, with the submission of the election to the king for his consent ; this was the arrangement made by the canons of the councils of Orleans, in 549, and by the perpetual constitution of 615.

The election system was only used for one degree of the ecclesiastical dignitaries, for the bishopric. The lower dignitaries were chosen by the bishop. They were divided into two categories of orders—the higher and the

lower orders. There were three higher orders, namely, the priests, the deacons, and the sub-deacons, and four lower orders, the acolytes, the doorkeepers, the exorcists, and the readers. The latter orders were not regarded as an integral part of the clergy, as their members were the servants of the others.

As regards the territorial divisions, the bishop governed the diocese, which at a much later date was divided into *parishes*, whose spiritual welfare was in the hands of the parish priest or curate (*curio*). The parishes, taken together, constituted the diocese; the united dioceses, or suffragan bishoprics, constituted the ecclesiastical province, at whose head stood the metropolitan or archbishop. When a provincial council was held, it met in the metropolis and was presided over by the metropolitan. Above the metropolitans were the Patriarchs, in the East, and the Primate, in the West, bishops who held the great capitals or the apostolic sees, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, Jerusalem, Cesarea in Cappadocia, Carthage in Africa, and Heraclius in Thrace; among them Rome ranked higher by one degree, and from this supreme position exercised a supreme authority acknowledged by all the Church.

The organization of the hierarchy did not reach this point at once, but after a long process which separated and determined the originally confused elements and fixed by more exact lines and greater distances the different degrees of power. The authority which was at first shared by the mass of the faithful, the foundation of every religious structure, rose step by step as it was withdrawn from the lower orders, and was finally vested almost entirely in the supreme point, the Pope. This gradual ascent of authority from point to point sums up the whole of Church history till the time of Boniface VIII.; about half the course had been run at the time to which we have now come.

In the fifth and sixth centuries, under the barbarian kings, the bishops kept and extended the influence which they had possessed under the Roman Empire in the cities which they often preserved from ruin during invasion, by their intercessions with the German chiefs. Chilperic complained of it; "The bishops alone," he said, "reign in the cities." They ruled as sovereigns, each one his diocese, and all together they managed the affairs of the province by means of the councils. The king, indeed, called the council to-

gether, but he did so at the suggestion of the bishops. The kings were not even admitted to it ; * priests and abbots were allowed to be present, but only a small number of them. There were twenty-five of these assemblies held in Gaul in the fifth century, and fifty-four in the sixth. It was then that the bishops had most influence, as the lay authority was still very weak on account of the prevailing confusion, and as the education of the bishops gave them great weight with the barbarian sovereigns. It declined, however, in the seventh century, and we hear of only twenty councils, while in the eighth century there were no more than seven in a period of fifty years. In fact, the introduction of nobles, rough barbarians, into the bishoprics had spread among the clergy ignorance and vices, worldly tastes and temporal ambitions, which ill accorded with the cares of ecclesiastical government.

The aim of the monastic system had originally been a purer and more ascetic life than that led not only by the faithful in general, but even by ecclesiastics. The monks, at first, were not members of the clergy, nor did they wish to be ; they were common laymen, who aspired to carry virtue to its extreme limits ; they were the stoics of Christianity, but they carried their stoicism to excess. In the deserts of Syria and Egypt they gave themselves over to so severe a life of fasting and penitence that finally, as St. Jerome bears witness, "it unsettled their minds, so that they no longer knew what they were doing or what they were saying." Simeon of Antioch passed his life standing upon a column, whence his surname Stylites. In this state of absolute isolation they were called *hermits* (inhabitants of the desert), and *anchorites* (those who live in retreat) ; those who held any intercourse with each other, without, indeed, ceasing to live alone, were called *monks* (men of solitude), and this name is the one most commonly used. The name of *cenobites* (those who live in common) marked a third class, those who approved of union and a common life. This form of monasticism prevailed in the West.

It is true that instances of this anchorite fanaticism were

* During the last part of the period, certainly, the kings were admitted. The question of the existence of *Concilia mixta*, in which laymen took part, is a disputed one. See above, p. 59.—ED.

occasionally seen in Europe, a result of the impetuosity of the barbarian character. Even in the Vosges there was a stylite who had taken his stand on a column, from which he had thrown down a statue of Diana, and who stayed there until the nails froze off from his hands and feet; but in general the monks of the West did something better than abandoning themselves to useless maceration. In the midst of the confusion caused by invasion, they opened asylums where they would gather together and find the repose that was banished from every other place. Such were, in the fifth century, the monasteries of Saint Victor at Marseilles, and of Lerins on one of the islands near Hyeres, not to mention those of Milan, Verona, Aquileia, and Marmoutiers, near Tours, all of earlier date, where, instead of the ecstatic idleness of the anchorites, great intellectual activity was found, and where most of the controversies on the famous subjects of free will, predestination, grace, and original sin were started. The strictness of ascetic rule was moderated there to the nature and requirements of the climate, according to the wise saying of Sulpicius Severus, that "it is gluttony for the Greeks to eat heartily, but a necessity for the Gauls."

At the beginning of the sixth century St. Benedict of Nursia, whom ardent piety had early drawn into retirement, and who had seen flocking around him a herd of monks attracted by his virtues, published for the monastery of Monte Cassino, which he had founded, his famous Rule of the monastic life, thereby giving definite shape to the institution in the West. These wise rules portioned off the monks' time, hour by hour, between manual and intellectual labor: agriculture, reading, and the copying of manuscripts were to occupy their time. The last mentioned occupation, so useful to civilization, was regarded as a work of great piety. Cassiodorus, who retired toward the year 540 to a monastery and there passed the rest of his life, was in the habit of copying manuscripts; he often repeated the saying, "that you stab the devil with as many blows as you trace letters on your paper."

St. Benedict of Aniane, in Aquitania, in the time of Charlemagne, marks a new era of reformation in monastic life. A question that had early aroused a great deal of discussion was, what place should be assigned to monks in the religious society. They had wished to be answerable only

to their abbots, but the tendency toward organization, which showed itself everywhere, obliged them to submit to the bishops. This was necessary for the maintenance of good order and for the repression of the bad or false monks who overran the country. As early as 451, the œcumenical council of Chalcedon prescribed the subordination of the monks to the bishops, and the councils of Agde (506), and of Orleans (511 and 553) confirmed this law. In 787, a canon of the second Nicene Council granted to the abbots the right of conferring the lesser orders on the monks of their houses, and soon there was no monk who was not also a priest.

Above the aristocracy of the bishops rose the pontifical monarchy by slow degrees. From the first, the word of the successor of St. Peter and of the bishop of the Eternal City had enjoyed a superior authority ; he was often consulted on doubtful questions, and he was early regarded as the representative of Catholic unity. The second general council, convoked by Theodosius at Constantinople in 381, solemnly recognized this supremacy by giving to the bishop of Constantinople only a secondary rank. The name of *pope*, which originally belonged to all the bishops, was finally reserved for him alone ; a change which was already perceptible in the time of Leo the Great, though it was not completed until a much later time.

The bishop of Rome had possessed a great deal of property as early as the time of the Empire, in the capital and in the rest of Italy. He even acquired some beyond the Alps, for instance in the province of Arles, upon whose bishop he laid the duty of administering his affairs. He occupied, moreover, in Rome itself, in the most famous city of the world, the influential position which had been granted to bishops during the municipal regime at the end of the Empire.

The part that St. Leo (440-461) took in public affairs, and the success of his intercession with Attila, did much to enhance the dignity of his office. He obtained an edict from Valentinian III., in which the Emperor pledged "the whole Church to recognize her spiritual director, in order to preserve peace everywhere," and at the same time he is seen reinstating in his see a bishop of Gaul, who had been banished from it, and transferring the metropolitan dignity from Arles to Vienne.

The Pope : St.
Leo ; Gregory
the Great.

Though kindly treated, the Church of Rome did not make any progress under the Ostrogoths. But when their power had been broken (553), and Rome had been placed again under the authority of the Emperor of Constantinople, the very remoteness of her new master insured to the Church a more prosperous future. The invasion of the Lombards drove a great many refugees into her territory, and the Roman population showed a slight return of its old energy in its double hatred toward them, as barbarians and as Arians. As to the exarch, whom the Emperor of the East had entrusted with the government of his Italian provinces and invested with direct power over the military dukes and counts of Naples, Rome, Genoa, etc., he could no longer enforce his authority on the western shore of Italy, confined as he was to Ravenna and separated from Rome by the Lombard power which had seized Spoleto.

It was at this favorable point in the state of affairs, though critical in some respects, that Gregory the Great made his appearance (590-604). He was a descendant of the noble Anicia family, and added to his advantages of birth and position the advantages of a well-endowed body and mind. He was prefect of Rome when less than thirty years old, but after holding this office a few months he abandoned the honors and cares of worldly things for the retirement of the cloister. His reputation did not allow him to remain in the obscurity of that life. Toward 579 he was sent to Constantinople by Pope Pelagius II. as secretary or papal nuncio, and he rendered distinguished services to the Holy See in its relations with the Empire and in its struggles against the Lombards. In 590 the clergy, the senate, and the people raised him with one accord to the sovereign pontificate, to succeed Pelagius. As it was still necessary for every election to be confirmed by the Emperor at Constantinople, Gregory wrote to him to beg him not to sanction this one; but the letter was intercepted and soon orders arrived from Maurice ratifying the election. Gregory hid himself, but he was discovered and led back to Rome.

When once Pope, though against his will, he used his power to strengthen the papacy, to propagate Christianity, and to improve the discipline and organization of the Church. Although he complained that the episcopates, and especially his own, were less "the office of a shepherd of souls than

of a temporal prince," yet he did not neglect the temporal powers of the Holy See. And it is well that he did assume these powers, for the Emperor did so little for the protection of Italy, that the soldiers entrusted with the defense of Rome against the Lombards were without pay. Gregory gave them their pay, took part himself in the work of defense, and armed the clergy. When Agilulf, whose advance had called for these preparations, had drawn back, Gregory entered into negotiations with him in the name of Rome, in spite of the protests of the exarch.

Strengthened thus by his own efforts, he undertook the propagation of Christianity and orthodoxy both within and without the limits of the old Roman Empire. Within those limits there were some who still clung to paganism, in Sicily, Sardinia, and even at the very gates of Rome, at Terracina, and doubtless also in Gaul, as there is a constitution of Childebert still extant dated 554, and entitled: "For the abolition of the remains of idolatry." There were Arians very near to Rome—namely, the Lombards; but through the intervention of Theudalinda, their queen, Gregory succeeded in having Adelwald, the heir to the throne, brought up in the Catholic faith; as early as 587 the Visigoths in Spain, under Reccared, were converted.

England was still pagan throughout; and thither Gregory sent the monk Augustine with forty Roman missionaries (596). They landed on the island of Thanet, went from there to the king of Kent, Æthelberht, who allowed them to preach their doctrines at Canterbury. Christianity spread rapidly from that center to the north and west, and, in 627, it was solemnly recognized in Northumberland. St. Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury, had been appointed primate of Great Britain by Gregory the Great, with whom he carried on an active correspondence which has come down to us.

Ireland, "the isle of Saints," was already converted, and monks were going out from her to join in the conquest of the barbarians. It was at this time that St. Columban, the monk who so boldly reproved Brunhilda for her crimes, went to preach the gospel among the mountains of Helvetia, and to establish abbeys there surrounded by cultivated lands. St. Rupert afterwards made his way into Bavaria and founded there the bishopric of Salzburg.

Christianity thus renewed its ardor for proselytism, and Gregory contributed to its success most wisely by enjoining precepts of moderation upon his missionaries, and by the skillful manner in which he made the transition to Catholicism easy to the pagans ; he wrote to Augustine : "Be careful not to destroy the pagan temples ; it is only necessary to destroy the idols, then to sprinkle the edifice with holy water, and to build altars and place relics there. If the temples are well built, it is a wise and useful thing for them to pass from the worship of demons to the worship of the true God ; for while the nation sees its old places of worship still standing, it will be the more ready to go there, by force of habit, to worship the true God."

In the interior Gregory succeeded in arranging the different degrees of power in the Church, and in forcing the recognition of the supreme power of the Holy See. We find him granting the title of Vicar of Gaul to the bishop of Arles, and corresponding with Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury, in regard to Great Britain, with the archbishop of Seville in regard to Spain, with the archbishop of Thessalonica in regard to Greece, and, finally, sending legates *a latere* to Constantinople. In his Pastoral, which he wrote on the occasion of his election, and which became an established precedent in the West, he prescribed to the bishops their several duties, following the decisions of many councils. He strengthened the hierarchy by preventing the encroachments of the bishops upon one another : "I have given to you the spiritual direction of Britain," he wrote to the ambitious Augustine, "and not that of the Gauls." He rearranged the monasteries, made discipline the object of his vigilant care, reformed church music, and substituted the chant that bears his name for the Ambrosian chant, "which resembled," according to a contemporary, "the far-off noise of a chariot rumbling over pebbles."

Rome, victorious again with the help of Gregory the Great, continued to push her conquests to distant countries after his death. Two Anglo-Saxon monks, St. Wilfrid, bishop of York, and St. Willibrord undertook the conversion of the savage fishermen of Friesland and Holland at the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century ; they were followed by another Englishman, the most renowned of all these missionaries, Winfrith, whose name was changed to Boniface, perhaps by the Pope, in recognition of his active

and beneficent apostleship. When Gregory II. appointed him bishop of Germany (723), he went through Bavaria and established there the dioceses of Frisingen, Passau, and Ratisbon. When Pope Zacharias bestowed the rank of metropolitan upon the Church of Mainz in 748, he entrusted its direction to St. Boniface, who from that time was primate, as it were, of all Germany, under the authority of the Holy See. St. Boniface was assassinated by the Pagans of Friesland in 755.

The Pope had now become, in truth, the ruler of Christendom. He was, however, still a subject of the Greek Emperor; but a rupture was inevitable, as his authority, on the one hand, was growing day by day, and the emperor's, on the contrary, was declining. As early as the end of the seventh century, when Pope Sergius II. refused

The Papacy frees itself from the sovereignty of Constantinople (726), but invokes the aid of Charles Martel.

to recognize the canons of the council in *Trullo*, the Emperor Justinian II. wished to have him forcibly removed from Rome; but the soldiers refused to obey, Rome rose in rebellion, there was insurrection throughout the exarchate, and the Venetians formed themselves into an independent duchy.* This was an entering wedge. In 726 the Isaurian Emperor Leo sided with the Iconoclasts (image breakers), who looked upon the worship of images as idolatry. He published an edict in their favor which he wished to enforce in his Italian provinces. But the images of the saints were already very dear to the Italians; and Rome again rebelled. Gregory II. (713-731), upheld as he was by public opinion, and enjoying great popularity by reason of his wealth and good deeds, wrote a letter to the Isaurian Leo, which has a certain flavor of Gregory VII. about it: "The civil powers and the ecclesiastical powers are things distinct; the body is subject to the former, the soul to the latter; the sword of justice is in the hands of the magistrate; but a more formidable sword—that of excommunication—belongs to the clergy. O tyrant, you come in arms to attack us; we, all unprotected as we are, can but call upon Jesus Christ, the prince of the heavenly army, and beg him to send out a devil against you who shall destroy your body and the salvation of your soul. The barbarians have bowed beneath the Gospel's yoke, and you, alone, are

* Not independent of the Eastern Empire, but of the Exarchate.—ED.

deaf to the voice of the shepherd. These godly barbarians are filled with rage ; they burn to avenge the persecution suffered by the Church in the East. Give up your audacious and disastrous enterprise, reflect, tremble, and repent."

Gregory II. followed up these letters with an appeal to the Venetians, to the Italians of the exarchate, and even to the Lombards. The Romans banished their imperial prefect. At the same time Luitprand, king of the Lombards, invaded the exarchate and put an end for the moment to the dominion of the eastern Empire in the northern part of Italy.

But the Pope did not intend this revolution to result for the Roman Church in a simple exchange of masters. Gregory II. stopped Luitprand by conciliating the court of Byzantium, and succeeded in driving him away when he came to besiege Rome. The same danger reappeared under his successor Gregory III. (731-741), who appealed to those godly barbarians with whom Gregory II. had threatened the Greek Empire—namely, the Franks.

The Carolingians and the Popes had met in an enemy's country, in a field of battle, where the one party were seeking conquest with the sword, the other with the cross. The missionaries who went out under Roman auspices to convert the pagans of Germany sought the protection of Charles Martel's army, and they in turn helped him to victory. It was then that the alliance between the two supreme powers of the West was first formed. Pope Gregory III. conveyed to Charles the keys of the tomb of St. Peter with other presents, and the titles of Consul and Patrician. Gregory conjured him to come and deliver him from Luitprand, the king of the Lombards, who was fiercely threatening Rome. Charles did not have time to accomplish this distant expedition himself, but it was done by his successor.

Charles Martel was succeeded (741) by his sons Karlmann and Pippin. His youngest son, Gripho, he first excluded from any share in the inheritance, but afterwards, on his death-bed, allotted him a certain portion. Gripho was despoiled of his share by his brothers, who pursued him whithersoever he went in search of an armed force to sustain his claims, among the Bavarians, the Saxons, and the Aquitanians, until at the end of ten years he died on his way to seek help among the Lombards. Karlmann had Austrasia, Pippin Neustria.

Pippin the Short
(741-768).

They made many expeditions to the north, the east, and the south, as their father had done before them ; expeditions against the Bavarians, the Alemanni, and the Saxons, many of whom they forced to submit to the rite of baptism. They also marched against the Aquitanians, who were led by Waifar, as Hunold, his father, had retired to a monastery whence we shall shortly see him emerging.

Both Karlmann and Pippin tried to reform certain abuses that had crept into the Church. Two councils, convoked by Karlmann, the one in Germany (742), the other in the following year at Lestines (near Charleroi, in Belgium), drew up decrees which abolished superstitious rites and certain Pagan ceremonies, still remaining in force ; they also authorized grants of Church lands by the "Prince" for military purposes on condition of the payment of an annual rent to the Church ; they reformed the ecclesiastical life, forbade the priests to hunt or to ride through the woods with dogs, falcons, or sparrow-hawks ; and, finally, made all priests subordinate to their diocesan bishops, to whom they were obliged to give account each year of their faith and their ministry—all of which were necessary provisions for the organization of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and for the regulation of church government. Similar measures were taken by the Council of Soissons, convoked by Pippin in 744. In 747, Karlmann renounced the world and retired to the celebrated Italian monastery of Monte Cassino. As he left he intrusted his children to the care of their uncle, Pippin, who robbed them of their inheritance and ruled alone over the whole Frankish Empire.

It was then that Pippin contemplated assuming the crown. Charles Martel had left the throne vacant on the death of Theodoric IV. (737), possibly in order to accustom the Franks to do without their Merovingian kings. In 742 Pippin had crowned Childeric III., no doubt because he did not feel himself so strong as his father had been. Everybody must have been impressed by the contrast between the imbecility of the throne and the genius of the Carolingians, and it naturally gave rise to the question laid before Pope Zacharias by Pippin himself, namely : "Who should be called king, he who has the name or he who has the power?" When, at the solicitation of his envoys, the title of king was offered him by the chiefs of the nation, he seemed inclined to refuse it, and pretended that he wished to leave the ques-

tion entirely in the hands of the sovereign pontiff. Accordingly Burchard, bishop of Wirzburg, and Fulrad, abbot of Saint Denis, were sent to Rome to consult the oracle, whose reply was such as Pippin desired. In November of the year 751, an assembly gathered at Soissons proclaimed him king. Childeric was deposed at the same time, and his head was shaved and he was shut up in the monastery of Sithieu, where he died in the year 755. He left one son named Theodoric, who was sent to the monastery of Fontenelle and brought up in obscurity. This ending of the first Frank dynasty did not excite even a protest or a murmur of regret.

Pippin was at first consecrated by Boniface, archbishop of Mainz, and again, two years later, by Pope Stephen II. in person, who anointed him and his two sons with holy oil, at the same time pronouncing the sentence of excommunication against any who should thereafter choose a king from any other family of the Franks.

Pippin reaped the fruits of the Carolingian alliance with the popes, in this sanction given to his temporal authority by the spiritual authority. He soon repaid the Pope, who was hard pressed by Aistulf, king of the Lombards. To induce him to cross the Alps, Stephen II. bestowed upon him the title of Patrician of Rome—the highest possible title of the Empire, but one which brought no power with it. He made two expeditions against the Lombards, occupied the Pentapolis together with the exarchate of Ravenna, and presented it, in spite of protestations from the Emperor of the East, to St. Peter, thus putting temporal power into the hands of the Roman pontiffs (754–6).

Pippin was the first sovereign ruler of the West. Constantine V. (Copronymus) the emperor at Constantinople, sent ambassadors to him, who brought him the first organ with several stops that had been seen in France, and asked of him the hand of his daughter Gisela for the emperor's son: they suggested the exarchate of Ravenna as her dowry, hoping by this means to recover it from the Pope; and that was doubtless the real cause of their embassy. Pippin refused.

In the mean time he proceeded with his military measures; he conquered the Saxons again, whose complete subjection required a half century's continued struggle. The blows he struck at Aquitania were so fierce as to be decisive for that country. He first recovered Septimania from the Arabs, and then kept up a series of disastrous invasions into

the country south of the Loire for eight consecutive years. Waifar, its brave chief, defended himself with indomitable courage, but he was at last assassinated (768), and the subjugation of Aquitania followed.

Pippin died of dropsy in the same year, leaving to his two sons, Charles and Karlmann, the reorganized kingdom of the Franks, with its royal power revived and established, and having the twofold supports of material strength and spiritual authority.

The life of the growing empire was threatened by the division of power between the two sons. But the death of Karlmann, at the end of three years, restored unity and enabled his brother Charles to become Charles the Great (Charlemagne).

CHAPTER IX.

CHARLEMAGNE; UNITY OF THE GERMANIC WORLD— THE CHURCH IN THE STATE (768-814).

The Union, and the attempted Organization of the whole Germanic World under Charlemagne.—Wars with the Lombards (771-776).—Wars with the Saxons (771-804).—Wars with the Bavarians (788), the Avars (788-796), and the Arabs of Spain (778-812); the extent of the Empire.—Charlemagne becomes Emperor (800).—Results of his Wars.—His Government.—Literary Revival; Alcuin.

CHARLEMAGNE enlarged and completed the work which had only been begun by Charles Martel and Pippin. It was not alone that he had greater genius than his father and grandfather, but circumstances were also much more favorable to him. Born to the throne, while they had stood at first only on its steps, and heir to an authority which had been accepted by the nation for sixteen years, he was free both from the cares which precede and the dangers which follow an act of usurpation, and reigning for almost half a century, he had time to carry his plans to their completion. These plans consisted, in the first place, in the uniting, either by absorption or by the annihilation of the nationalities which still retained their independence, the whole Germanic world into a simple empire; and in the second place in the internal organization of this Empire, in attempts to give to it a life of order and general intelligence and civilization, an effort in which Charlemagne far surpassed all the barbarian sovereigns who had preceded him, not even excepting Theodoric.

Charlemagne made war successfully upon all the peoples with whom his predecessors had fought. He proportioned the obstinacy of his attacks to the obstinacy of the resistance he encountered. His eastern frontier was in great danger from the Saxons, the Danes, the Slavs, the Bavarians and the Avars; he led eighteen expeditions against the Saxons, three against the Danes, one against the Bavarians, four against the Slavs, and four against the Avars. He made

seven against the Saracens of Spain, five against the Saracens of the Mediterranean islands, five against the Lombards, and two against the Greeks. If we add to these those which he directed against peoples who were already in the Frankish empire, but not entirely subjugated, that is, one against the Thuringians, one against the Aquitanians, and two against the Bretons, we shall have a total of fifty-three expeditions, which were led for the most part by Charlemagne himself, and which give an idea of his remarkable activity. He doubled the extent of the territory possessed by Pippin. None the less Charlemagne is generally represented as a royal sage, a pacific prince who only waged war in self-defense; but let us restore to him his real personality, rugged though it be. He had no invasion to fear. The Arabs were divided, the Avars weakened, and the Saxons powerless to carry on a serious war outside of their forests and their morasses. And if he led the Franks across their frontiers it was because he was ambitious, like many others, to reign over more people, and to leave a name behind him which should dwell in the memories of men.*

The kingdom of the Lombards was always the refuge of the disinherited Frankish princes, and of whoever resisted the Carolingians. But if the Franks had a formidable enemy in Italy, they had also a very valuable ally there: the Pope, united with them by common interest, learned, either personally or through his many subordinates in the churches of Italy, the slightest movements made in the peninsula, and warned the Frankish king as soon as any open or hidden peril threatened their common cause. Having become sole master by the death of his brother Karlmann, in 771, Charlemagne had taken possession of the vacant throne of Austrasia, thus dispossessing his two nephews, who had taken refuge at the court of Desiderius, King of the Lombards. The aged Hunold, formerly duke of Aquitaine, who had left his convent in order to avenge the assassination of Waifar, had also gone thither. While Charles was defeating the Saxons

Wars against
the Lombards
(771-776).

* It must be noticed that this characterization of Charlemagne is an inference, an opinion, as is also the opposite one which the author rejects. The original sources give us almost no statement whatever as to his motives.—ED.

for the first time, letters from Hadrian I. and from the Archbishop of Ravenna came to him on the banks of the Weser, saying that Desiderius, on the refusal of the Pope to crown the sons of Karlmann King of Austrasia, had just invaded the Exarchate. Charlemagne, after vainly summoning the Lombard king to give back the domains of St. Peter to the Holy See, crossed the Alps (773), defeated the enemy, and occupied the whole of Lombardy. Hunold was killed, and Desiderius became a monk; the sons of Karlmann were confined in a monastery, and the conqueror triumphantly entered Rome, where he confirmed the grant made by Pippin to the Pope. He himself took the title of King of the Lombards, which gave him the whole of Upper Italy, at the same time that the title of Patrician assured to him the sovereignty over Rome, and over all the domains added to the Holy See (774). Two years later, when Adelgis, a son of Desiderius, encouraged by the court of Constantinople, and in league with the Dukes of Beneventum, of Friuli, and of Spoleto, tried to incite Italy to revolt, Charlemagne, victorious again, took the opportunity to substitute Frankish officers for the Lombard dukes in many places, though not in the case of Beneventum, whose duke continued independent, on the condition of paying a tribute, which he, however, never paid except when an army came to collect it. Nevertheless, Charlemagne allowed the Lombards to live under their own laws, as he generally did in the case of the people whom he conquered (776).

During this time, Charles was also at war with the Saxons. This war, which began in 771, did not end till 804; that is, it lasted thirty-three years. The Lombards were already a broken people; the Saxons were a young and vigorous people. The rude barbarian strength which the Austrasians had retained on the banks of the Rhine, and which distinguished them from the Neustrians, existed in still greater vigor among the Saxons on the banks of the Weser and the Elbe. They held by tribes the lands near the mouths of these two rivers, the Westphalians at the west, the Eastphalians at the east, the Engern (Angrians) at the south, and the north Elbe people (the Nordalbingien) on the right bank of the river Elbe. In the middle of the eighth century they were still precisely like the Germans of Hermann, and indeed Hermann himself, the hero of Teutonic independence, was the object of their

Wars against
the Saxons.

adoration, in the form of the idol they called *Irmensaüle* (*Hermann Säule*).*

This religion of independence made them hard to convert. Saint Lebuin, who was preaching the gospel to them, not having sufficient patience to win them over gradually, thought he could give more weight to his words by threatening them with the sword of Charlemagne. This exasperated them, and they destroyed the church of Deventer, and slew the converts there. Charlemagne at once entered their country to avenge this deed, and took the *Eresburg* and destroyed the *Irmensaüle*. From its ruins arose *Widukind*, the *Hermann* of a new age, and whenever Charlemagne left the country of the Saxons, a new revolt broke out, signalized by the destruction of the churches.

A series of expeditions against the Saxons succeeded the campaigns of 774 and of 776 in Italy; in the first, he defeated them on the *Weser*, in the second near the source of the *Lippe*, and this second time he neglected no means of enforcing obedience to his rule. The establishment of fortresses and garrisons in the conquered country, enforced baptism, and the exaction of an oath from all the assembly at *Paderborn* (777) to recognize Charlemagne as their king, to pay him tribute, and to impose no obstacle to the propagation of Christianity, were so many moral and material guarantees of obedience, but they proved powerless. *Widukind* had not taken the oath; instead of going to *Paderborn*, he had taken refuge among the *Danes*, and at his first reappearance raised anew the call to war (778). He had advanced as far as *Coblentz* and the banks of the *Rhine*, when he was stopped by the *Alemanni* and the *Austrasians*, while Charlemagne hastened toward him. Charlemagne was victorious at *Buckholz* (779), received the submission of the tribes settled to the west of the *Elbe* (780), and redoubled the severity of his measures. Ten thousand Saxon families were transported to *Belgium* and *Helvetia*.

The Saxons were deprived of their assemblies and their judges, and were made subjects to Frankish counts. Their territory "was divided between bishops, abbots, and priests, on condition of their preaching and baptizing among them."

* Only a fancied resemblance of the word. No real connection of the idol with *Hermann* existed.—ED.

Charlemagne hoped, by establishing what might be called religious garrisons among this people, to strengthen his power much more than by the presence of the military garrisons. The bishoprics of Minden, Halberstadt, Verden, Bremen, Münster, Osnabrück, and Paderborn were established during the reign of Charlemagne, and others, like Hildesheim, under his immediate successors.

However, the war was not yet at an end. Widukind, who had taken refuge with the Danes, rekindled the fires of patriotism and vengeance, and again defeated the Frankish generals. This time Charlemagne resolved to terrify the Saxons into submission. He had 4500 of the warriors who had taken part in the battle delivered up to him, and outdoing all his former severities, had them slain at Verden. But this terrible massacre only excited another desperate insurrection, and it was not until Charlemagne had gained two victories, at Detmold and at Osnabrück, and his son Charles had gained one, and until the army had passed a winter under arms in the snows of Saxony, that he triumphed over the obstinacy of Widukind, who, sorely pressed and without hope, finally consented to submit and be baptized (785). From this time he disappeared from the stage of history.

His countrymen, however, showed more perseverance. In 792 the Saxons revolted again, and lying in ambush took a body of Frankish soldiers by surprise. Charlemagne who had allied himself with the Abodriti, a Slavic tribe, who were settled beyond them on the farther side of the Elbe, attacked them from both directions at once, ravaged their country, and passed the winter among them on the Weser. In 798, when his commissioners sent to levy the tribute were killed, he returned to their territory and deluged it with blood. Their submission did not seem assured until 804.

Even then, in spite of their comparative weakness, Charlemagne did not dare impose a heavy tribute upon them ; he only kept up the tithe, and allowed them to retain their national institutions, though giving them Frankish judges. But he maintained the laws which he had given them in 780, and which punished with death all infractions of religious duties, even the neglect of a fast. Therefore the most stubborn of the people preferred to take refuge with the Slavs and the Danes rather than to make up their minds to such hypocrisy ; and the incursions of the Bohemians and Slavs

from 806-812 and of the Danes under their King Godfried (808-811) on the territory of the Empire may be considered as a continuation of the Saxon war. The lieutenants of Charlemagne repelled these incursions, but were obliged to march as far as the Oder before they could check the Slavs, and to the Eider in order to close the entrance of Germany to the Danes, which, however, did not prevent the men of the North, the Norsemen, from waging a more terrible war with his successor.

The Bavarians had been subjugated before the Saxons. They were the most powerful and most restless of all the

tributary peoples, and in consequence of their position formed a connecting link in coalitions between the peoples of the North and of the South. Their Duke Tassilo belonged to the Agilolfings, one of those old and illustrious reigning families which are found among most of the German peoples, and which looked

with disfavor on the recent elevation of the Carolingians. In 787, when Charlemagne was forced to fight not only with each people separately, but with a league which embraced almost the whole of Europe, the Lombard Duke of Beneventum and the court of Byzantium drew Tassilo into the contest. He brought with him the Avars and stirred up the Saxons, while at the same time the Arabs had taken up arms against Charlemagne in the South. After forcing the Lombards back to their allegiance, Charlemagne marched upon the Bavarians, who dared not resist him, advanced as far as the Lech, and sent the descendant of the Agilolfings to the monastery of Jumièges. Tassilo had before this time been guilty of "herisliz," that is, of abandoning the army of the Franks in an expedition against the Aquitanians (788). Bavaria was now divided by Charlemagne into counties.

The Avars as allies of Tassilo were now to undergo the same punishment that he had suffered. This nation, intimately related to the Huns, had appeared in Europe on the banks of the Don toward the middle of the sixth century, and soon after on the banks of the Danube. They took possession of Dacia and of Pannonia, and under their Chief Baïan had menaced Constantinople, which was, however, saved by Heraclius (626). Their capital, the Ring fortress, which was simply an immense intrenched camp,

Wars with the Bavarians (788), with the Avars (788-796), and with the Arabs of Spain (778-812); the extent of the Empire.

filled with the spoils of the world, was situated in the marshes between the Danube and the Theiss, not far from the place where Attila's royal town had stood. Charlemagne wished to remove from the frontiers of his empire this perpetual menace of Hunnish invasion. He attacked the Avars with three armies, but without permanent success (791). It was not till 796 that combats which devastated Pannonia, and internal discords among the Avars, gave the victory to the Franks, and that Pippin, the son of Charlemagne, took possession of the Ring. The remnants of this people continued to live in the same place under native princes, who promised to pay tribute and to be baptized. Eginhard says "the Franks brought back from there such great wealth that though until then they might have been considered poor, from this time they could call themselves rich."

Charlemagne did the same work at the south as at the east; he advanced even farther than was prudent. Charles Martel had been content to repel the invasion of the Arabs. Charlemagne returned invasion with invasion. In 778 he went to the assistance of the wali of Barcelona, who refused to recognize Abderrahman and the Caliphate of Cordova. He entered Spain, through St. Jean-Pied-de-Port, while another army entered further to the east. Pampeluna and Saragossa were taken and the two armies were joined together, when the hostile spirit of the Gascons in the Pyrenees recalled the conqueror.* In recrossing these mountains his rear guard was surprised in the valley of Roncesvalles by the Gascons, and was massacred with its leader Roland, Count of the frontier of Brittany, a hero who is better known to poetry than to history. In 793 the Arabs in their turn carried invasion into Septimania [as far as Narbonne,] and Louis, a son of Charlemagne, whom he had made king of Aquitania, was obliged to carry on a war for nearly twenty years before he succeeded in establishing the Franks on the farther side of the Pyrenees. Finally, after the capture of Barcelona and of Tortosa, a part of the valley of the Ebro was subjugated by them by the year

* This account of Charlemagne's campaign in Spain is somewhat inaccurate. Pampeluna, a Christian city of the kingdom of Asturia, is taken after a siege, but Charlemagne fails to capture Saragossa. On his return the fortifications of Pampeluna are destroyed, and this first expedition to Spain leads to no permanent results.—ED.

812. At the same time the Frankish vessels were defending the Balearic Islands, which had invoked the protection of Charlemagne against the Saracens, and took temporary possession of Sardinia and Corsica, which were a prey to attacks of pirates of the same nation.

By these wars the dominion of the Franks was extended in all directions. Since the subjection of the Saxons and the Lombards, the whole Germanic race, except the Anglo-Saxons and the Norsemen of the Danish peninsula, had been united into a single group. All the foreign and hostile races, whether Slavs, Arabs, or Avars, were either subdued or driven back. The confusion of the barbarian world was reduced to order, the multiplicity of authorities was done away with, and the stage of history now presents a scene more easy of comprehension. Only four great empires remained in existence, those of Charlemagne, of Constantinople, of Bagdad, and of Cordova. These four divided among them three quarters of the world as it was then known. The empire of Charlemagne was bounded on the north and west, from the mouth of the Elbe to the Spanish shore of the Bay of Biscay, by the ocean ; on the south by the Pyrenees, and in Spain, by a part of the river Ebro ; in Italy it extended to the Garigliano and Pescara, without, however, including Gaeta, which belonged to the Greeks, and Venice, which recognized the merely nominal sovereignty of Constantinople ; finally, in Illyricum, it extended to the Narenta, or the Cettina, without including the cities of Trau, Zara, and Spalato, which, after a maritime war of several years, remained in the possession of the Eastern Empire. The frontier at the east followed,—in Illyricum, the course of the Bosna and that of the Save until it joined the Danube ; in Germany, the course of the Theiss from its confluence with the Danube to the point where it receives the river Hermath. From that point, the line of the frontier turned toward the west, keeping across Moravia a nearly equal distance from the Danube, and from the Carpathian mountains to the mountains of Bohemia, which it left on the east, and passing to the north joined first the Saale, then the Elbe, which was guarded by eight fortresses, and finally the Eider.*

* The eastern frontier here traced must be regarded as only approximate. It was always somewhat uncertain and fluctuating.—ED.

All the peoples within these limits recognized the direct supremacy of Charlemagne. The Thuringians, who had revolted against it once, and the Aquitanians, who were in revolt at the time of Charlemagne's accession, had been entirely subdued. Outside of these boundaries other peoples, who were merely tributary to it, formed around the Carolingian empire a girdle of defense. Such peoples were those of Navarre, Beneventum, the North Elbe Saxons, the Abodriti, the Wiltzi, and other Slavic tribes, all of whom were under the careful surveillance of the Counts of the Frontiers [Markgrafen]. Brittany and Bohemia had been ravaged, but not conquered.

The master of this vast empire had not felt content with the barbarian title of King, and in the year 800 had become Emperor. In this year he was at Rome during the Christmas season, and on that day,

Charlemagne becomes Emperor (800). The results of his wars.

while he was praying in the church where Pope Leo III. was saying mass, in the presence of a great crowd, he suddenly felt a crown placed on his head ; it was the imperial crown, and was given him by the Pope. Undoubtedly it had all been arranged beforehand, and these two great personages in their long conferences must have discussed the advisability of restoring the Empire of the West, a question which seriously concerned the future of Europe. Nevertheless, Charles feigned surprise in order to deceive his Austrasian subjects, who would hardly receive with favor such a complete return to the Roman traditions.* This was the final consummation of the alliance which had so long united the Carolingians and the Pontiffs of Rome. Charlemagne well deserved this reward ; he who had founded not only a great Germanic empire but a great orthodox empire, who had conquered the enemies of Rome, the Lombards, and the pagan Avars, the Mussulman Arabs, and the idolatrous Saxons, and who had always identified the triumph of Catholicism with the triumph of his own cause ; and who, finally, had now come to Rome only to protect, by his authority as Patrician, the Pope who had recently been the victim of a conspiracy in his own city. His rôle of

* The original sources give us only the fact of the coronation and the surprise expressed by Charles. The conjecture of previous conference on the subject is a reasonable one ; any conjecture as to the reason for Charles's surprise is very uncertain.—ED.

benefactor and his great power prevented the Pope from deriving any right of supremacy from the fact that he had bestowed the crown upon him. Charlemagne succeeded to all the prerogatives of the Emperors, and from this time governed Italy and the Church by virtue of this title.

Rome again had an imperial prefect and imperial judges. Charles made laws, dispensed justice, confirmed the election of the Pope, as the Emperor at Constantinople had formerly done, and the Church of Rome did not differ from the other churches of the Catholic creed in any temporal power, except that the Holy See had the revenues and the administration of greater domains. Thus the Church had resumed the same place in the state that it had held under the earlier Emperors.

Nevertheless this gift by the Pope of the imperial crown carried with it a danger for the future. For when political unity ceased and religious unity alone remained, the popes not only considered themselves above the authority of the State, but claimed the right of controlling, and of always disposing of, what they had once given. It was then that the great quarrel between the Popes and the Emperors arose, which fills the history of the Middle Ages.

By the conquest of Charlemagne, Italy lost her nationality; for the German Cæsars, inheriting his title, always considered the peninsula as one of their provinces.

Some of the conquests of Charlemagne were permanent, some ephemeral; some were of value, others were not. Everything that he attempted beyond the Pyrenees failed. The country of Barcelona, joined by him to France,* did not remain subject, and of the marches of Gascony, nothing is retained by France except what belonged to her from its natural position on the northern slopes of the Pyrenees. He would have gained more if he had conquered the Bretons, and had succeeded in assimilating them sooner to the French life and nationality instead of contenting himself with their wavering allegiance. The conquest of the kingdom of the Lombards was of no value either to France or to Italy, but it raised the political posi-

* The original kingdom of Charlemagne should not be identified too closely with the modern France. The conception of the French nation and territory, as it was distinguished in later times from other European nations, was one entirely impossible to the men of Charlemagne's time. Charlemagne himself was always a thorough German.—ED.

tion of the Pope and assured his temporal power for the future. The country which gained the most by these long wars was the one which had suffered the most from them, namely, Germany. Before Charlemagne Germany was still a chaos of tribes, which, whether pagan or Christian, whether Franks, Saxons, Thuringians or Bavarians, were all barbarians, enemies of each other, and without any bond of union. After his time, there was a German people, and a German kingdom soon came into being. It is a great glory to have created a nation, but one which can be claimed by few conquerors, for they destroy much more than they build up.

The world was filled with the renown of Charlemagne. The title he had taken at Rome was no empty one : he was in very fact the Emperor of the West. Eginhard describes him in his palace of Aix-la-Chapelle as continually surrounded by kings and ambassadors from the most distant countries. Ecgberht, King of the Anglo-Saxons of Sussex, and Eardwulf, King of Northumberland, were among those who came to his court. The King of Asturia, and the King of the Scots, in writing to him, always spoke of themselves as his men, and the former rendered him account of all his wars and offered him a share of the booty ; following, says Eginhard, the Greek proverb still in use, "It is better to have the Frank for your friend than for your neighbor," the Eastern emperors made treaties with him, but did not acknowledge his title of *Basileus*, or recognize him as an emperor equal in rank to the Byzantine sovereigns. He sustained friendly relations with the Caliph of Bagdad ; the great Haroun-al-Rashid was well able to appreciate him, and it was for his interest to ally himself with the enemy of the Caliphs of Cordova. Haroun sent him the keys of the Holy Sepulchre, whither pilgrims had already begun to go. A clock with wheels of marvelous workmanship, silken tents, perfumes from Arabia, and monkeys from Bengal, astonished the barbarians of the West. The Mussulman ambassadors said to Charlemagne : "The Persians, the Medes, the Indians, the Elamites, indeed all the nations of the East fear you more than our master Haroun."

The greatness of the Carolingian Empire owed as much to the wisdom of its government as to its victories. Charlemagne early recognized that the vast extent of his domains,

and the individuality of the various populations, demanded a division of authority. And though he himself remained supreme over the German race and particularly over the victorious nation of the Austrasians, whose language and costume he continued to use, and in whose country, which was also the most central of his empire, he resided (Aix-la-Chapelle was his favorite residence), in 781 he had his sons Pippin and Louis crowned kings respectively of Italy and of Aquitaine. In 806, in the diet of Thionville, he arranged, under the form of a last will and testament, for a division of his empire between his three sons, Charles, Pippin, and Louis; and as the two former died in his lifetime, he made a new division in 813, by which Bernhard, son of Pippin, became King of Italy, while Louis had everything else with the title of Emperor. But even after they were kings, his sons were merely his lieutenants.

The national assemblies became nothing more than the council of the sovereign, and as they formerly had been gatherings of violent and ignorant warriors, it was a gain to withdraw from them the functions of government while leaving them those of counsel; bishops, nobles, freemen, and imperial agents came to these assemblies from the outermost parts of the empire, to inform the Emperor of all that happened in their provinces. It was customary to summon two such assemblies a year, though we only find thirty-five expressly mentioned by the chroniclers. There was no fixed place of meeting, but they were held wherever the Emperor happened to be at the time. While he was mixing with the multitude who collected there, and receiving presents from them, the assembly, composed of the dukes, the bishops, the abbots, and the counts, with twelve of the most important men of their counties, in a word of the *grande*es of the State, examined in his absence the projects for laws, prepared by him since their last meeting.* After receiving their advice, which he was at liberty either to follow or to reject, he promulgated those *Capitularies* which have come down to us. These treat of all the concerns of both the civil and the ecclesiastical government, and not only of the administration of the provinces, but of that of the Emperor's

* The methods followed by the assemblies differed very greatly at different times.—ED.

domain and even of the added benefices. Who is not familiar, if only through Montesquieu, with the Capitulary *De Villis*, in which he regulates the sale of vegetables and eggs in his domains? He commands that care shall be taken that none of his slaves shall die of hunger, "as far as that is possible with God's help." All proprietors did not feel the same solicitude in this matter.

He treated ecclesiastical affairs in the same high-handed way that he did everything else. Concerning the question of the worship of images, he wrote the following to his clergy: "I have taken the office of arbiter between the bishops; we have seen, and, by the grace of God, have decided what it is necessary to believe." The Pope accepted his decision without protest, although it contradicted his own position.

Another agency of the central government, which the Emperor employed in making his power felt throughout the empire, was the institution of *missi dominici*, imperial envoys who were continually traversing the provinces and returning to make their report to the throne. Two of them were always sent together; a count and a bishop, in order to act as a restraint upon one another, to provide both for the secular and religious needs of the community, and also to combine wisdom with strength. In all the departments of his government Charlemagne gave great weight to the bishops and the clerks, because they alone had any learning, but he never allowed himself to be ruled by them as did his weak successor. The *missi dominici* were supposed to traverse their circuits, which contained several counties, generally twelve, four times a year, and there to preside over the local assemblies, to publish the Capitularies, and personally to supervise every one and everything.

Charlemagne retained in almost its original form the method of administration established by the Merovingians over the provinces: the duke,* the count, and the centenarius, with their duties of raising troops, administering justice, and collecting all the dues of the public treasury. The departments under these last mentioned officers were called respectively, *comitatus* (county) and *centena* (hundred) a district composed perhaps originally of 100 households.

* The office of duke was no part of the regular organization of the state under Charles, but rather exceptional.—ED.

Military service continued to be rendered gratuitously. Every land-owner owed it to the state ; and possibly all free citizens even if owning no land, but several of the poorer freemen were allowed to unite in furnishing a man to represent them in this service.* The bishops and the abbots, by the capitulary of 803, were exempted from personal military service, on the condition of sending their men to the army.

Justice was administered by the local assemblies, but they no longer comprised all the freemen, as these had given up regular attendance. A certain number of *scabini*, seven at the least, formed a kind of jury which was presided over by the count or the centenarius. An appeal could be made from their decisions to the *missi dominici* when they came to hold their assizes in the county.

There had been no regular public imposts since the beginning of the seventh century ; all that the king received were the rents due to him as proprietor, by his numerous *coloni*, the fruits and revenues of his domain, the personal services and returns of the counts and of the holders of royal lands, the gratuitous gifts of the rich, and the tribute paid by conquered countries. The proprietors were obliged to furnish means of transportation to either himself or his agents when they passed through the country ; besides this, they were charged with the care of the roads, bridges, and so forth. The army equipped and supported itself ; the land which the soldiers had received took the place of pay.

Still another glory attaches to the name of Charlemagne : that of having raised learning from the low position to which it had sunk, and of having striven to dispel the ignorance which the barbarians had diffused over his empire. He himself could only write with difficulty, but he was none the less one of the most cultivated even of his times. Not all the nations subject to his power possessed at that time written laws ; in some cases their customs were recorded during his reign, and in others existing codes were revised. He had the same thing done for the barbarian poems which celebrated the

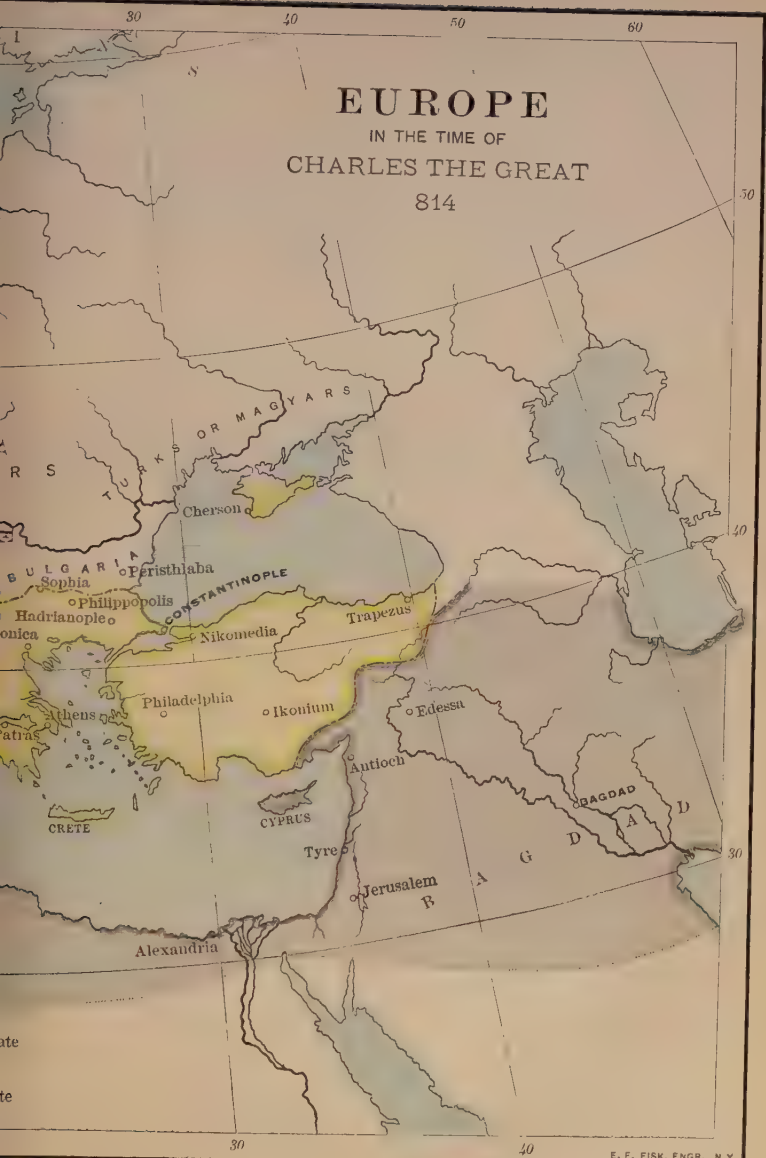
Literary Re-
vival. Alcuin.

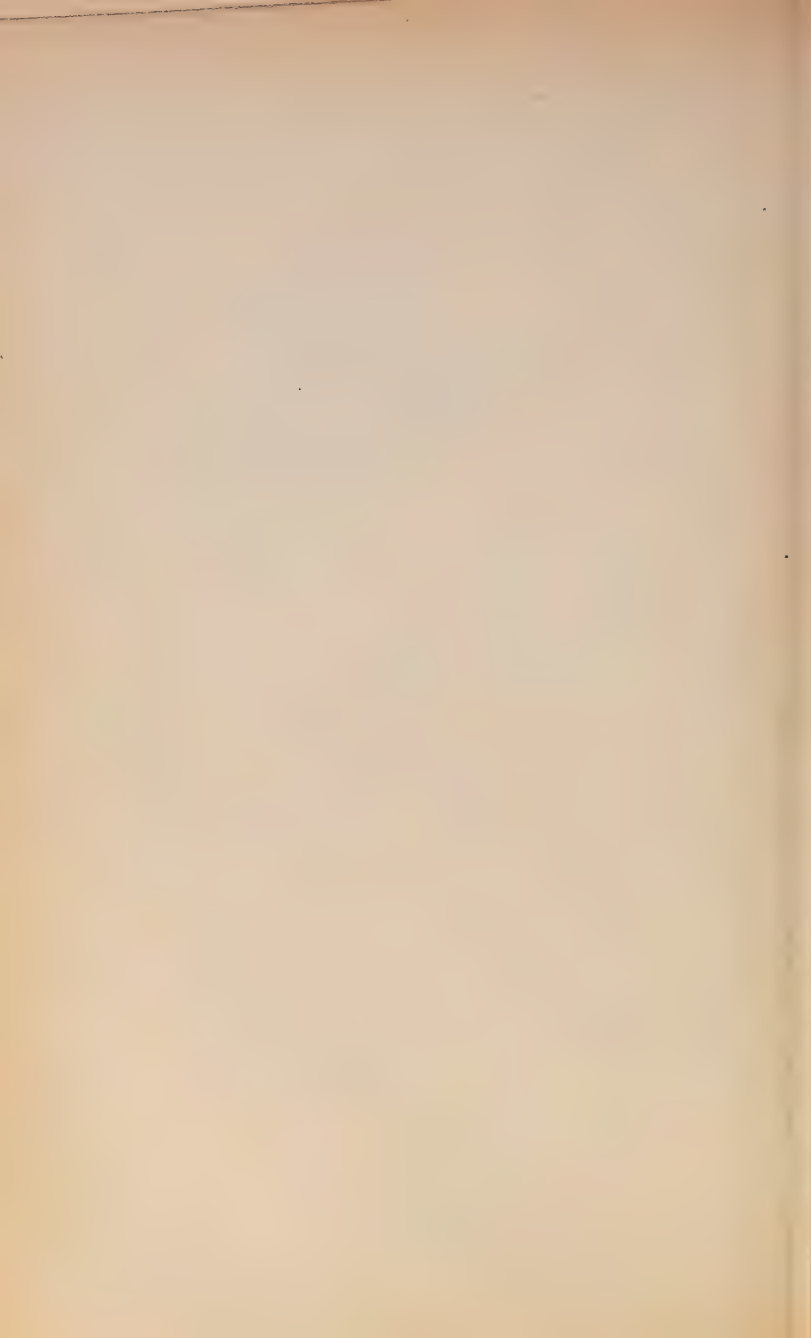
* The question upon whom the duty of military service rested in the Frankish state is a disputed one. The sentence above, which is considerably changed from the author's text, is the most that can be positively affirmed.—ED.

exploits of their ancient chiefs. He had a grammar of his national language begun, and had the four gospels revised by Greeks and Syrians. We read in one of his capitularies: "Desiring that the state of our churches shall more and more improve, and wishing by constant care to revive the cultivation of learning, which has almost perished through the indolence of our forefathers, we by our own example encourage all whom we can attract to the study of the liberal arts. We have also with the constant aid of God already corrected with accuracy the books of the Old and of the New Testaments, which have been corrupted by the ignorance of the copyists." He had founded a sort of small academy, called the School of the Palace, of which he as well as his three sons, his sister, his daughter, and all the important persons of his court were members. In this circle he was called David, Alcuin took the name of Flaccus, and Angilbert that of Homer.

Alcuin, the most remarkable man in the literature of that era, was his principal helper in his attempt to revive learning. He was an Anglo-Saxon monk whom Charlemagne had attracted to his court. In 796, Alcuin received from him the rich abbey of St. Martin of Tours, whose domains contained more than 20,000 coloni or serfs, and to which he retired in the year 800. Two folio volumes of his writings have come down to us. These contain works on theology, of which one refutes the opinion of Felix of Urgel on the difference between the two natures of Jesus Christ, a philosophical treatise on the nature of the soul, and books of poetry and history. The whole shows little originality, and is mostly borrowed from the writings of Boethius and the Fathers, but his style is superior by its precision to that of the writers of the age. Alcuin was truly a scholar; he was familiar with Pythagoras; often cites Aristotle, Plato, Homer, Virgil, and Pliny, and is one of the most notable instances of the union of those elements so difficult to harmonize, the spirit of ancient literature with the spirit of Christianity. The most interesting monument that he has left us is his letters, some 300 of which we possess, many of them addressed by this feeble Aristotle to one who equaled Alexander. They touch on all sorts of subjects, on theology, grammar, etymology, astronomy, chronology, and on the schools which they were both trying to restore and which prospered in certain places, especially in Tours, Fulda,





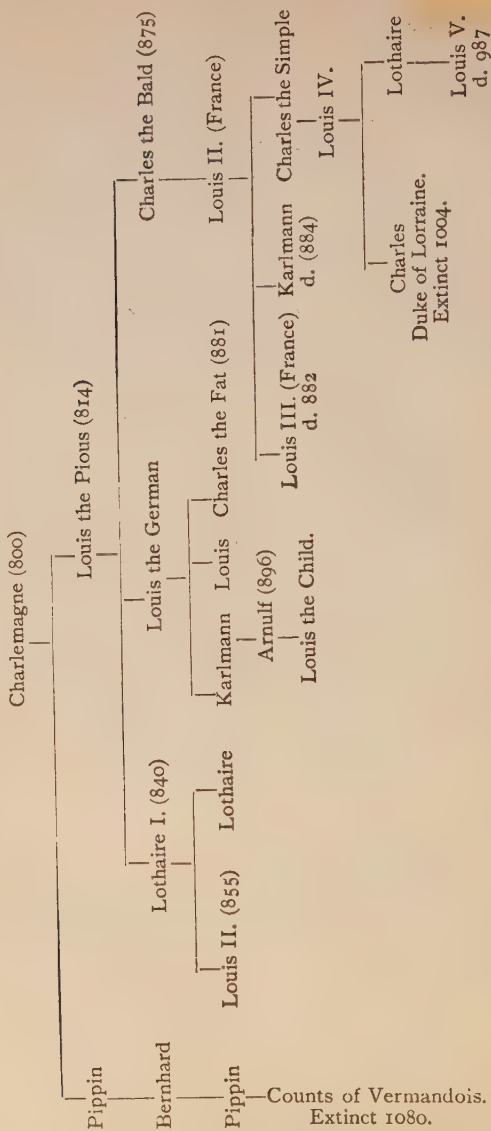


Ferrières, and Fontenelle, under the direction of pupils of Alcuin. Among these pupils was Rabanus Maurus, the archbishop of Mainz.

We must also mention Leidradus, archbishop of Lyons, Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, Smaragdus, abbot of Saint Mihiel, Angilbert, abbot of Saint Riquier, Saint Benedict of Aniane, the latter the second reformer of the monastical order in Aquitaine, and finally Eginhard, the secretary of Charlemagne, who wrote the Emperor's life and also annals of the epoch. His life of Charlemagne is characterized by a literary style, and a manner of looking at things which are truly remarkable for the times. Thus a real progress had been made over the two preceding centuries, which had only produced dry chronicles and coarse legends. This was the first revival of letters.

But this brilliant empire, this vast and wise organization, and this returning civilization were all to disappear with the man to whose existence they were bound. It was in vain that Charlemagne rekindled the lamp of learning ; its passing beams were soon again to disappear in the profound darkness that covered everything. In vain did he strive to create commerce and trace with his hand the plan of a canal that was to connect the Danube and the Rhine ; the age of commerce and industry was still far distant. In vain did he in his capitularies struggle against the tendency of the holders of royal lands to change their benefices into allodial land and extend their powers in all directions : these usurpations were to go on and to produce feudalism. In vain did he unite the whole German world into a simple empire ; he felt this empire breaking to pieces in his very hands. In vain did he fight to the end against the outside barbarians : they had retreats whose depths his arm could not reach, and whence they reappeared before his death to sadden his old age with mournful forebodings. He saw the Norsemen prowling around his coasts, and was obliged to take defensive measures against the enemies who were to do much to overthrow his empire.

THE CAROLINGIAN HOUSE.



Dates in parenthesis are those of accession to the Empire.

BOOK IV.

FALL OF THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE.— NEW BARBARIAN INVASIONS (814-887).

CHAPTER X.

LOUIS THE PIOUS AND THE TREATY OF VERDUN (814-843).

Instability of Charlemagne's Work.—Louis the Pious (814-840): His Weakness; Division of the Empire.—Revolt of the Sons of Louis the Pious.—Battle of Fontenay (841); Treaty of Verdun (843).

THE German race, unlike the Arabian, had passed from a disintegrated to a united condition. But it was only a transient union which put all western Europe under the sway of one man, and it perished with him who called it into existence. In the space of one century the Carolingian empire suffered a complete dismemberment, and the empire of Islam experienced a like fate. It was as if, instead of the great boulders which covered the soil of Europe, Asia, and Africa, at the end of the eighth century, nothing could be found but grains of sand after the lapse of a hundred or a hundred and fifty years.

Of these two empires it was the Arabian which still retained the greater unity, allowing for the vast extent of its territory. It preserved, for a time at least, unity of government, of religion, of law and of language, a unity which was prescribed in the Koran. Charlemagne's empire had unity of religion and government only, and no unity of language and laws. The Gallo-Romans and the Italians spoke the Roman language with various modifications; the Germans, the Teutonic languages. Charlemagne allowed the Lombards and the Saxons to keep their own laws; the Salian Franks, the Ripuarians, the Alemanni, and the Bavarians had also kept theirs.

Charlemagne had allowed them to retain, besides their own laws, their nationalities, or, if that is too strong an expression for the time, he had at least not destroyed the national characteristics and the love of independence possessed by each of the tribes gathered together in his empire. These tribes had not mixed or merged in each other ; they were simply held together by Charlemagne's force of will and strong administration, and this bond was their only union. When the bond was broken by Charlemagne's death, and his feeble successor found himself incapable of renewing it, the union was dissolved and the nations all separated. But the revolution did not take place without a struggle, for unity had its partisans ; and, moreover, those who demolished Charlemagne's great structure did not know what to do with its materials or upon what plan to build up the Europe of the future. Hence the confusion, hesitations, and divisions of the time.

The private ambitions of the princes of the imperial family assisted in the general dismemberment, while the ambition of the great proprietors and imperial governors encouraged the tendency toward a minute division.

In this conflict, the Church usually upheld the cause of unity ; nevertheless, as the ecclesiastical aristocracy had in general the same interests as the lay aristocracy, we see the bishops also in the party favoring division.

Of the tribes, only one demanded unity—the Austrasians, who had triumphed with the Carolingians, and who in the hands of Charlemagne had borne the imperial sceptre, the symbol of his power. The others, the Gallo-Romans of the West and the Teutons of the East, demanded independence and the abolition of the imperial unity which commemorated their defeat.* “The greatness of Charles's glory,” said the monk of St. Gall, “had led the Gauls, the Aquitanians, the Burgundians, the Alemanni, and the Bavarians to boast of being called the subjects of the Franks, as if it were a great distinction.” When Charlemagne and his glory departed, all that lent their servitude a semblance of honor departed with him.

Charlemagne's successor, Louis the Pious, did not con-

* This paragraph must not be understood to imply any conscious movement for national independence following on the death of Charlemagne, but rather the unconscious tendency of things.—ED.

tribute anything to restore the vanishing glory. His goodness, his virtues, the purity of his life, the efforts he made

Louis the Pious (814-840). His weakness; division of the Empire. from the beginning of his reign to banish from the court the loose morality which Charlemagne had allowed to prevail there, and to restore discipline among the monks and the secular clergy, were indeed worthy of praise, but he lacked the firmness necessary to sustain his authority. From the beginning he showed a deference toward the Pope which Charlemagne would have considered excessive. He allowed Stephen IV. (816) to have himself elected and take possession of the pontificate, without awaiting his consent, and was satisfied with tardy excuses from the Pope; when Stephen came to France he allowed him to consecrate him, and to pronounce the following words, which showed the tendency of the Holy See to lay claim to the imperial crown in order to gain uncontrolled disposal of it: "Peter is proud to bestow this gift upon you, because you sustain him in the enjoyment of his just rights." The papacy was already preparing to free itself a second time; the authority of the Western Empire was to be thrown off as that of the Eastern Empire had been.

If Charlemagne had considered it necessary to share his power with his sons, because of the extent of the empire, there was certainly a much greater necessity for Louis the Pious to do the same. But the manner in which he divided his states differed in no respect from the division of Charlemagne himself, and did not seem to call in question or to endanger the imperial unity. Two subordinate kingdoms, Aquitania and Bavaria, were erected for the second and third sons of the Emperor, Pippin and Louis; Lothaire, the oldest, was admitted to a share of the empire; Pippin and Louis could neither make war, nor conclude a treaty, nor give up a town, without his permission. Bernhard, King of Italy and nephew of the Emperor, rebelled against this division; but he was compelled to deliver himself into their hands; his eyes were put out, and he died from the effects of this punishment. His kingdom was given to Lothaire.

The tendency toward dismemberment, though to a certain extent yielded to, was checked by this division. Louis at the same time fought against the impending internal divisions by trying to bring the common freemen into direct relation with the Emperor and to call them back into

political life, ground down, as they were, more and more under the power of the great proprietors and the provincial governors. It was to this end that he exacted the oath direct of all of them,* and that he ordained that all should be consulted with regard to the new provisions added to the law.

But these efforts were at first poorly supported, and the disturbances on the frontiers of the empire made it evident that the restraint of Charlemagne's strong hand had been removed. The Norsemen renewed their ravages, the Slavs crossed the Elbe, the Avars rose in rebellion; the Croats made themselves independent; the Duke of Beneventum refused to pay tribute; the Saracens of Africa pillaged Corsica and Sardinia, those of Spain invaded Septimania and assisted in a revolt of the Gascons, and the Bretons made Morvan their king and invaded Neustria. It is true that the Franks regained the advantage they had lost at most points; especially in the case of the Bretons, Morvan was killed, and Louis gave them another duke.

But soon the miserable weakness of the Emperor became a well-known fact. "In 822, he convoked a general assembly at Attigny, and there, before the bishops, abbots, and noblemen of his kingdom, made public confession of his faults, and, of his own accord, underwent punishment for all that he had done toward his nephew Bernhard, as well as toward others." When Theodosius humiliated himself before St. Ambrose at Milan, he presented a noble spectacle to the world, and rose again stronger than he had been before, after the public avowal of his fault. Louis left Attigny with his power diminished and debased, because it was a political body—a rival authority to his own—that had given him absolution. After that every one knew how far it was safe to go with such a man.

His second wife, whom he married in 819, was Judith, the beautiful and learned daughter of a Bavarian chief; by her he had a son, whom he named Charles (823). Judith exerted over the Emperor and the empire an influence which she shared with her favorite, Bernard, Count of Barcelona, who was of a clever and intriguing turn of mind. In 829 she insisted upon her husband's giving a part of his dominion to

Revolt of the
sons of Louis
the Pious.

* This was always the practice under all the Frankish kings.—ED.

the son she had borne him; and, accordingly, at the assembly of Worms (829), Louis converted Alemannia, Rhaetia, Alsace, and a part of Burgundy, into a subordinate government for his son Charles.

This division caused ill-feeling among Louis's elder sons, who considered themselves wronged by it, and among the partisans of unity, who saw the basis of 817 disturbed; the nobles joined with all the dissatisfied elements in the hope of overthrowing the influence of Judith and of Bernard, who was trying to lessen their consideration in the State. The revolt broke out during an expedition against the Bretons, who had regained their independence. Lothaire, Pippin of Aquitania, and Louis of Bavaria took up arms against their father, made him prisoner, and confined him in a monastery at Compiègne, in the hope that the monks would induce him to embrace the monastic life of his own accord. At the same time they sent the Empress and her son Charles to a convent (830). The constitution of 817 was again confirmed. Louis the Pious, however, managed to have the general assembly of the nation, which was to legislate upon the new state of affairs, convened at Nimwegen, in the midst of the Germans, in whom he had confidence. His confidence was justified, for the Germans, coming to the assembly in greater numbers than the Roman Franks (830), sustained his cause. A wily monk sowed discord among the three brothers, and Louis the Pious, again master, confirmed the gift that he had made to his youngest son.* In 832 he did even more than that; tired of the never-increasing intrigues of Pippin, he took Aquitaine away from him to bestow it upon Charles.

This was the signal for a new revolt. The sons of the Emperor marched against him, taking with them Pope Gregory IV., who had come to France to defend the division of 817. Gregory was indeed an advocate of unity, but of that unity offered by the act of 817; that is to say, he upheld the cause of an emperor whose weakness would give more strength to religious unity. The army of Louis and that of his sons met in the plain of Rothfeld, near Colmar, in Alsace (833); his soldiers deserted without

* This was a new division, differing somewhat from that of 829, but the details of the numerous divisions of this reign are of little importance.—ED.

striking a blow, and this act of treachery gave the place its name of Lügenfeld, the *Field of Lies*.

The conquerors insulted the age and dignity of their father by subjecting him to public disgrace. He was obliged to read in public, in the Church of St. Medard of Soissons, a long recital of his faults, in which he accused himself of having exposed the people to perjury and the State to murder and pillage, by making new divisions in the empire and by provoking civil war; after which the bishops, with great solemnity, removed his military belt and gave him the dress of a penitent.

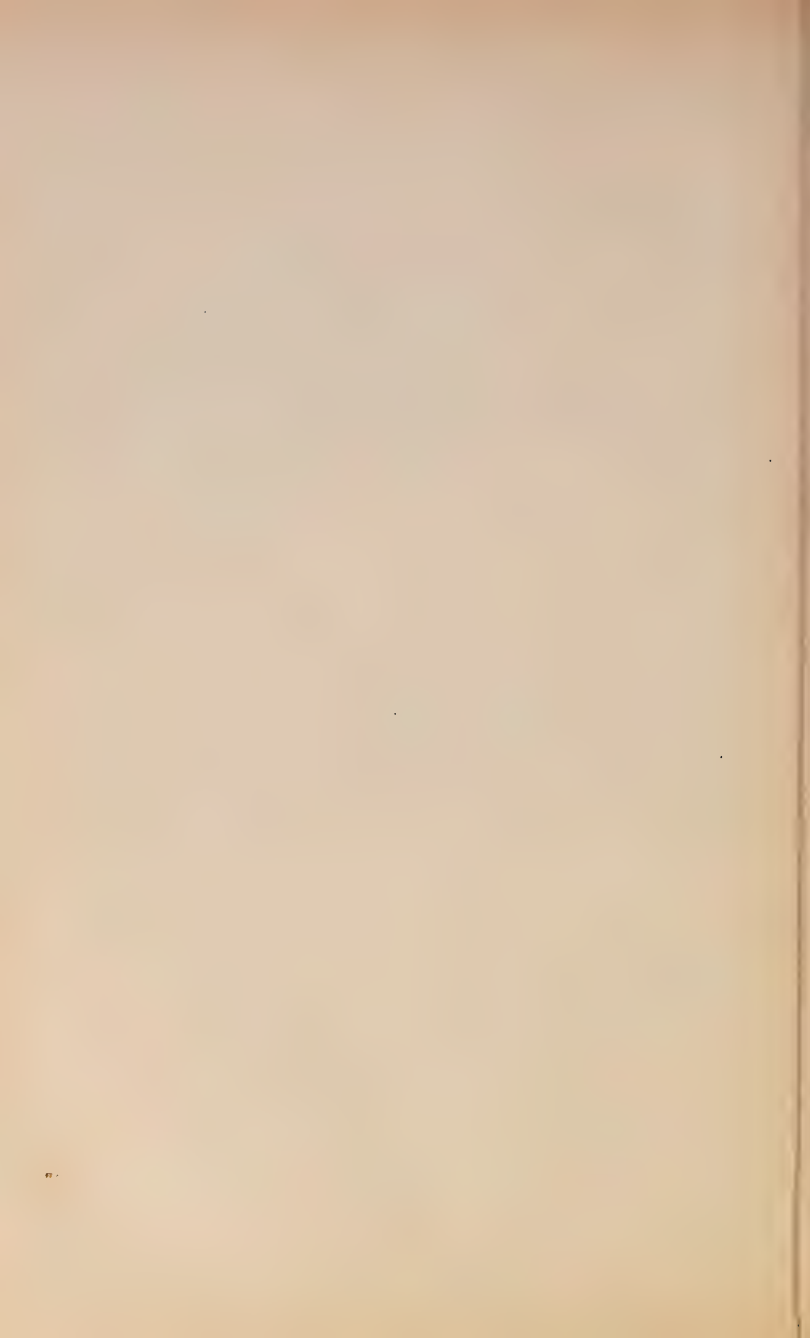
This humiliation of the empire, in the Emperor's person, gave Louis a party to uphold his cause. His pious resignation and the revolting harshness of his sons excited the compassion of the people. His sons, moreover, agreed no better than before. Louis and Pippin were not willing to be despoiled for the sake of Charles, neither were they willing to obey Lothaire, who aimed to maintain the unity of imperial command; and they found a sure support in the reluctance of their people to remain in the empire. They, therefore, released Louis from the monastery where he was held by Lothaire, and gave him back his power (835); but he would not resume the insignia of office, after his public penance, until he had received the permission of the bishops.

When the Emperor emerged from the cloister, for which he was well fitted, he relapsed into his old faults. His blind preference for his youngest-born made him forget that the cause of all his misfortunes had been the division that he had made during his lifetime between his sons. In 837 he formed a new kingdom in the north of France for Charles. When Pippin, King of Aquitania, died, in the following year, the children he left were robbed and their kingdom, too, was given to Charles. Then Louis the German, and Lothaire, whose kingdoms were reduced, the one to Bavaria, the other to Italy, took up arms. In order to avoid fighting with them both at once, the Emperor entered into negotiations with Lothaire (839). He gave to Lothaire all the provinces to the east of the Meuse, the Jura mountains, and the Rhone, together with the title of Emperor; the western provinces he allotted to Judith's son; Bavaria to Louis the German. The latter, with all Germany to uphold him, rebelled against the injustice of the division;

AS DIVIDED AT VERDUN

843





and the old Emperor spent his last days in this unrighteous warfare. He died near Mainz, on the Rhine. "I pardon him," he said to the bishops who were interceding for the rebel, "but let him know that he has killed me."

The Middle Ages were more affected by his virtues as a man than by his faults as a prince, and they have been full of indulgence toward the memory of the pious and good-natured Louis.

Lothaire succeeded Louis the Pious as Emperor. On his accession he claimed the rights of imperial authority and

**Battle of
Fontenay (841);
treaty of Ver-
dun (843).**

wished to exact the oath direct from all free men, even in the states of his two brothers. Charles II. (the Bald), joined Louis the German in resisting these claims, and even in fighting against them, while Lothaire found an ally in Pippin II., whose ambition it was to recover Aquitania from Charles the Bald. After several vain attempts to come to an agreement, a great battle was fought at Fontenay, near Auxerre, (841). All the nations of the empire took part in this general affray except the Gascons, the Goths of Septimania, and the Bretons. Lothaire came leading the Italians, the Aquitanians, and the Austrasians; Louis led the Germans, and Charles, the Neustrians and the Burgundians. Forty thousand of the army of Lothaire, who was defeated, are said to have perished, and this great loss of life among the freemen was felt throughout the Frankish countries, which were thus deprived of their defenders at the very moment when they were threatened by the Norse invasion. Several days after the council of Tauricum, which was held near the field of battle, decided that the judgment of God had been pronounced on the plains of Fontenay. But Lothaire still refused to accept this judgment, and the two brothers united to force it upon him. They met between Basel and Strassburg, and in the presence of their armies took an oath of alliance, which Louis the German pronounced in the Roman language of the West Franks before the soldiers of Charles the Bald, and Charles pronounced in the German language before those of Louis (842). Louis's oath is the earliest monument we possess of the French language.

Finally Lothaire yielded and contented himself with a third of the empire, "with something over and above, due to his name of Emperor." The treaty of Verdun (843)

sanctioned this arrangement by ordering a division of the Carolingian empire into three parts.

Lothaire received, with the title of Emperor, the whole of Italy as far as the duchy of Beneventum, and the country lying between the Alps and the North Sea along the Rhine, a long strip of territory separating the states of his two brothers. The boundary lines of this kingdom were complicated : the western boundary was a line following the Rhone from its mouth as far as Ardèche, then following the Cevennes as far as the heights of Macon, then the Saone, then the mountains of Argonne, passing to the right of the Ardennes, and finally the Scheldt, as far as its mouth ; the eastern boundary started at Istria, skirted the eastern Alps, and followed the Rhine, leaving on the right hand the towns and territories of Worms, Spyer, and Mainz, in order to give some vineyard land to the King of Germany, and crossing the river a little lower down, joined the Weser near its mouth.

All the territory to the west of this was given to Charles the Bald. France thus lost for the first time her natural limits, the Rhine and the Alps, which she has not yet entirely recovered.*

All the east was given to Louis the German.

In this division, so different from the Merovingian divisions, we see the first marking off of the two modern nationalities, France and Germany. Lothaire's part was the only one that had a temporary existence : the other two states soon fell to disputing over its fragments.† Yet we can readily conceive that many intelligent men of that time groaned over the fate of the great empire of Charlemagne now fallen to earth and broken on the field of Fontenay. "A beautiful empire," said the deacon Florus, a Latin poet of the day, "a beautiful empire flourished under a brilliant diadem ; there was but one prince and one people. . . . The Frankish nation shone with a brilliant light before the eyes of the whole world. Foreign kingdoms, the Greeks, the Barbarians, and the Senate of Latium, all sent their embassies

* There was of course at that time no such thing as France, in the modern sense of the name, and no really French nation ever possessed the Rhine and the Alps as its natural frontiers.—ED.

† And have continued to dispute over them down to the present moment.—ED.

thither. The race of Romulus, Rome herself, the mother of kingdoms, had bowed down to this nation ; it was there, in Rome, that its chief, sustained by the aid of Christ, had received the diadem by apostolic gift. Happy, if it had only known its happiness, was the empire which had Rome for its citadel and the bearer of the keys of heaven for its founder. Fallen now, this great power has lost at once its glory and the name of empire ; the kingdom, once firmly united, is divided into three portions ; there is no longer any one who can be called emperor ; instead of a king, we have only a kinglet, and instead of a kingdom, a mere fragment of a kingdom."

CHAPTER XI.

FINAL DESTRUCTION OF THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE (845-887).

Internal Discords ; Vain effort of the Sons of Louis the Pious to reconstitute the Empire.—Division of the royal Authority ; Heredity of Benefices and of Offices.—Louis the Stammerer (877). Louis III., and Karlmann (879) ; Charles the Fat (884).

IN the year 843, we have only reached the end of the first act of the drama of the dismemberment of the Carolingian empire. The terms of the treaty of Verdun were indeed sanctioned by posterity, but only after having been contested during the forty-four years (843-887) that the Carolingian family remained supreme on the throne ; until then, in spite of weakness, the Carolingians aspired to keep the whole of western Europe united in a single empire, and could not make up their minds to sacrifice the cherished hopes of Charlemagne. The final dismemberment did not take place till the downfall of their house.

Internal discords ; vain efforts to reconstitute the empire.

The internal struggles redoubled, in the midst of the general breaking up that was going on ; but these struggles were rather between the sovereign and the great nobles of each country, than between the groups of peoples. The aristocracy and the dignitaries of the Church acted in concert, and renewed their encroachments upon the central power which had been checked by the iron hand of the first three Carolingians. The nobles encroached in two directions. As holders of royal lands, they again began to dispute with the king the heredity of their benefices, and as officers of the sovereign power they raised new pretensions, those of making the offices which had been entrusted to them in the provinces hereditary, and of appropriating to themselves whatever of the royal authority had been delegated to them. The bishops, on their side, profited by the submissive and humble piety of the family of Louis the Pious to constitute

themselves judges of the conduct of the kings, and to keep them in a subjection which, if they had really succeeded in establishing it, would have given rise in France to an almost theocratic rule.

In the midst of the struggle, born of the events and the legislation of the times, the kingdoms called into being by the empire became more and more incapable of defending themselves against attacks from without. The Norsemen at the north and the west, the Saracens at the south in Italy, Provence, and the Alps, and later the Hungarians at the east, ravaged with impunity the country from which Charlemagne had so often emerged to strike terrible blows at the barbarians, and from which Louis the Pious had still succeeded in repulsing them, but where henceforth feeble kings allowed them to encroach.

It would have seemed that the division of Verdun, by limiting the authority of each sovereign to a smaller extent of territory, would at least have made this authority stronger and more secure in all the parts of the country where it did exist, but this was not the case.

In France, Charles the Bald did not really reign over Brittany, Aquitaine, or Septimania. The Bretons set up a virtually independent kingdom. William, son of Bernard, defeated the army which was sent against Septimania, and fickle Aquitaine, over which he wished to make his son king, first recognized Pippin II., then summoned a son of Louis the German to the throne, then accepted the son of Charles, and finally returned to Pippin. The latter, in order to have more strength for resistance, allied himself with the Norsemen and adopted their religion, and united with them in all their devastations up to 864, when he was made prisoner and tried by the council of Pitres. Charles then succeeded in enforcing his authority and in securing the recognition of his son, but only by placing him under the guardianship of the great nobles, the real masters of the country.

In Germany, Louis the German suffered the same fate which he had inflicted on his father : he passed his life in putting down the rebellions raised by his sons. Nevertheless he also gained several victories over the barbarians who were crowding up against his frontiers, and began the military organization of Germany.

In Italy Lothaire struggled in vain against the dukes of Naples and of Beneventum, who called the Moors of

Africa and of Spain to their aid, and even at the heart of the Peninsula he came into conflict with the pretensions of the Holy See and of the Roman aristocracy. Disgusted with the world, he retired to the abbey of Prüm, in the midst of the Ardennes, where he died. It bodes ill for the power of the crown, when the king shuts himself up in a cloister. Lothaire had divided his states between his three sons: Louis II., who had Italy and the title of Emperor; Charles, who had the country of Provence, between the Alps and the Rhone; and Lothaire II., who had Lotharingia (Lorraine), the country between the Meuse and the Rhine. The King of Provence died in 863, and his brothers divided his states. A few years later, on the death of Lothaire II., after the scandalous affair of his double marriage, where the Pope interfered with such arrogance, but with such success, Charles hastened again to Metz to seize Lotharingia. But Louis the German arrived with a superior force, and compelled him to consent to a new division (870).

These princes, like the last Merovingians, were short-lived. The Emperor Louis II. died in 875. He had driven the Saracens from Bari, but was taken prisoner by the Beneventins. His death left two thrones vacant; that of the empire and that of the kingdom of Italy. Two old men, who were each on the verge of the grave, disputed the succession. Charles the Bald was quicker than Louis the German, and was successful in gaining the title of Emperor.

Louis the German died the following year. Charles the Bald attempted to despoil his nephews, Karlmann, Louis, and Charles the Fat, of their three kingdoms of Bavaria, Saxony, and Swabia, and so to reconstruct the empire of Charlemagne, though he was not even able to defend Rouen against the Norsemen. He was defeated by Louis of Saxony, and Karlmann invaded Italy. When preparing to repel them, he encountered opposition from the great nobles of his own kingdom. He was therefore obliged to fly before Karlmann, and died on his retreat (877). Karlmann of Bavaria was crowned King of Italy.

Thus the career of the King of France was ended; there is a melancholy contrast between the grand memories and dreams of this heir of Charlemagne, on the one hand, and on the other his complete impotence in enforcing obedi-

ence from his nobles who, in perfect safety, refused him even military service, the first and most essential obligation of all vassals toward their sovereign.

This was really the result of the revolution which was going on, and in which the noble, who had in fact become independent of the king, stood between him and the simple freemen, and intercepted their allegiance. During this whole period the earlier custom of "commending" themselves to a powerful chief had been in use among the small proprietors, who were too weak to defend themselves from violence.* This custom became general and the earlier Carolingian kings contributed to make it so, by recognizing the right of every freeman to choose himself a lord, but on the condition of remaining faithful also to themselves. They may have expected in this way to give greater security to the state, and to prevent a return of the condition of violence and anarchy which had prevailed under the Merovingian kings, throughout the whole of Gaul. But in working to establish order, they were really working against their own authority, or rather against the authority of their own successors ; for the power of the first Carolingians was unassailable. In order to overcome the disadvantages of this method of "commendation," and to reap only good results from it, a direct oath had been exacted from all freemen who became vassals of any lord. This practice was continued by the later kings, but it became merely a reminder of a vanished power. The edict of Mersen in 847 regulated these affairs : "Every free man, it said, shall be able to choose a lord for himself, either the king or one of his vassals, and in ordinary wars vassals may appear in the field under the command of their lords."

These freemen had now nothing to do with any one but their own lord, and no longer knew more than the name of

* The poor man going to his rich and powerful neighbor confessed his inability to supply his own wants or to defend himself, and begged to be taken under the protection of the strong man, offering in return his personal services or surrendering the ownership of his lands, which, however, he would receive back again as a tenant of his neighbor, now become his lord. Beginning in the times of confusion at the fall of the Roman Empire, this custom of "commendation" continued through the whole feudal period, and aided greatly in the formation of the great feudal domains.—Ep,

the royal authority, with which they never came into contact. As those freemen who put themselves under the protection of others were generally land-owners, soon the land, which is permanent, came to be more considered than the men themselves, who pass away. Thus not only did the weak man look for protection to the great noble, but also the small field to the great domain; certain formalities symbolized this new relation, as when the small proprietor gave into the hand of the great a clod of earth or a branch of a tree to indicate the change of ownership. These were the earlier stages of the growth of the feudal system.*

Charlemagne once wrote to his son Louis, King of Aquitaine, to reproach him for not having taken more pains to attach his subjects to him by presents and grants of land, and alluding to his son's piety with delicate irony said: "You give nothing but your benediction, and that only when it is asked for; this is not enough." The King of Aquitaine responded to him that he had nothing more to give, as his vassals refused to give back the benefices they had once received, and insisted on transmitting them to their heirs. Charlemagne replied that he must not allow this usurpation of the royal domains, but must get them back from the usurpers; however, as a prudent sovereign and kind father, he did not wish to compromise his son's popularity, and undertook himself a task which would have been dangerous enough for any one else. Agents sent in his name forced the holders to give up the domains which they had illegally retained. This story illustrates very well the revolution which was taking place in these times. The obstacles which Charlemagne was able to overcome were insurmountable for his weak successors. Under them the heredity of benefices gained the authority of an established custom.

It was the same in the case of the heredity of the offices and titles of duke, count, etc., to which were attached an authority delegated by the crown, and which was all the more extended because the kings, and Charlemagne first of

* Considerable liberty has been taken with the text of the last two paragraphs. It must be kept in mind also that the forms and practices here described reach back into much earlier times, and that they are developed only, not originated under the Carolingians.—ED.

all, hoped to strengthen their own power by giving larger powers to their agents. But Charlemagne kept as careful a watch over the encroachments on the offices as on the benefices, and checked the growing independence of the counts ; we see him in his Capitularies continually restraining their crafty attempts to retain their appointments, rebuking their negligence, and never allowing them to forget that he was their master. To keep them in better control he avoided making them too powerful, and never gave more than one county to any one person.* His successors abandoned this wise and vigilant method. In the ordinary course of events what had been abuses passed first into customs, then came to have the force of laws, and in the famous Capitulary of Kiersy-sur-Oise, promulgated by Charles the Bald in 877, to persuade his nobles to follow him across the mountains, he implicitly recognized, at least as an established custom, the right of the son of a beneficiary to receive the benefice, and of the son of a count to receive the county, at his father's death.

The great nobles had powerful allies in the bishops, who, starting with the right of interference either to correct or punish the actions of all men, "who are prone to error," came logically to claim the right of deposing kings and disposing of their crowns.

In 858, the nobles and bishops with Wenilo, Archbishop of Sens, prominent among them, after having summoned Charles to respect the Capitularies signed in their favor, resolved to depose him, and called Louis the German to his throne. Charles fled and demanded the protection of the Pope. Some time later, a movement in his favor allowed him to return to his states, and he complained to the public assembly of the boldness of Wenilo and the bishops, in the following terms : "Wenilo, according to his own choice and that of the other bishops and the nobles of the kingdom, consecrated me as king, following the traditions of the Church. After that I could not be removed from the throne by any one, at least without having been heard by the bishops who consecrated me as king, and who are the thrones of the Divine Spirit. I have always been prompt to submit to their paternal corrections, and am so still." Hincmar, the great bishop of Rheims, a defender of the royal

* This is not absolutely without exception.—ED.

authority and one who was concerned in all the principal affairs of the times, wrote that "kings are subject to no one, if they govern according to the will of God ; but if they are adulterers, homicides, or ravishers, they should be judged by the bishops." It was certainly right that the kings should feel under some restraint, and should have to give an account of their actions to some moral power here on earth. But this accountability of the royal authority developed into servitude, and the institution of monarchy was shattered to its foundations.

It was in this deplorable state that Charles the Bald left the kingdom of France to his son Louis II., called the

Louis the Stammerer (877). Louis III., and Karlmann (879). Charles the Fat (884).

Stammerer (877). His reign and those of his two successors, his sons Louis III. and Karlmann (879), were uneventful. The two latter, to be sure, showed some activity against the Norsemen, whom they defeated several times, especially at Saucourt in Vi-


meu. But these victims knew no other means of holding Hastings in check than by granting him the county of Chartres, and they were unable to prevent Boso, who had assumed the title of King of Arles and of Provence, from being crowned in an assembly of bishops ; moreover, their reign was short ; Louis died in 882, Karlmann in 884.

They left no children, and the crown was offered to Charles the Fat, the only surviving son of Louis the German, who by the death of his brothers (882) had united all Germany with Italy, with the title of Emperor. When France was joined to these the empire of Charlemagne, with the exception of the kingdom of Provence, was again united, but only temporarily and for the last time. The master of this vast empire was not even able to drive back the Norsemen who were besieging Paris ; this city was defended by Eudes, [Odo] Count of Paris, the son of Robert the Strong, and by the bishop Gozlin. As for Charles the Fat he only paid the Norsemen a sum of money on condition that they should ravage a different part of his states, the valley of the Yonne, instead of the banks of the Seine.

His nobles, exasperated by his weakness, deposed him at the diet of Tribur (887).

Seven kingdoms were formed from the final and henceforth unchallenged dismemberment of the empire : Italy, Germany, Lorraine, France, Navarre, cisjurian Burgundy

or Provence, and transjurane Burgundy ; if we count Brittany and Aquitaine, which existed in fact if not in law, we have nine kingdoms. The power of the imperial crown declined in Italy, where petty princes disputed its possession ; elsewhere, no one could tell anything about it, for no real power was attached to it. National kings were chosen everywhere : Arnulf in Germany, Eudes Duke of France, in France. The separate existence of both these nations dates from this time. There was a general tendency toward isolation, and a new era in European history was about to begin.



CHAPTER XII.

THE THIRD INVASION, IN THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES.

The Norsemen in France and England.—In the Polar regions and in Russia.—The Saracens.—The Hungarians.—Difference between the Ninth century Invasion and those preceding.

THE names of Norsemen and Saracens have occurred frequently in the foregoing pages ; it will be necessary to retrace our steps for a moment in order to gain a correct idea of the new invaders, who assailed the Carolingian Empire of the West and were so instrumental in its destruction, just as, four centuries earlier, the Germans, the first invasion, had assailed and ruined the Roman empire of the West ; and as the second invasion, the Arabian, had in the seventh century robbed the Empire of the East of half of its provinces.

Norsemen in
France.

This movement had three separate starting-points : in the north, in the south, and in the east, gradually spreading to the west and enveloping the whole empire. The Norsemen were the first to appear.

After Charlemagne had restored peace and order in Germany, the movement of invasion, which had tended toward the Rhine for many centuries, was forced to change its direction. Instead of keeping to the land, it took to the sea and assumed a piratical character. The men of the North, Norsemen, left their crowded Cimbric peninsula, and in their barks set out in little fleets upon the "pathway of the swans," as the old national poems express it. Sometimes they coasted along the shores and lay in wait for their enemies in the straits, the bays and the little harbors, a habit which gave them the name of Vikings, or Children of the bays ; sometimes they flew in pursuit across the ocean. Their frail boats were scattered and wrecked by the fierce storms of the northern seas, and they did not all

rally again around the vessel of their chief at the signal agreed upon ; but those of them who survived their shipwrecked companions had neither lost confidence nor grown anxious ; they laughed at the winds and the floods, which had not been able to harm them ; “ The force of the tempest,” they sang, “ assists the arms of our oarsmen, the hurricane is at our command, it casts us whithersoever we wish to go.”—(Augustin Thierry.)

It was such men as these who had conquered a part of Ireland in the seventh century, and, under the names of Danes and Norwegians, had at different times ruled or swayed England. Charlemagne had seen them approaching the coasts of his empire. After his death they grew bolder and their light craft hovered about the shores of France. They entered the mouths of the rivers, and went far up their streams, establishing themselves there in bands of five or six hundred, and from these naval stations they overran the neighborhood, pillaging town and country and carrying their booty off to sea. In this way they seized the islands of Walcheren, at the mouth of the Scheldt ; of Betau, between the Rhine, the Wahal, and the Leck ; of Ossel, near Rouen ; of Her or Noirmoutier, opposite the mouths of the Loire. In 840 they burned Rouen ; in 843 they pillaged Nantes, Saintes, and Bordeaux, and then after rounding Spain, whose coasts they ravaged, and whose rivers they ascended, laying waste their banks, they advanced, led by their formidable chief, Hastings, to attack Italy and to pillage Luna, which they mistook for Rome.* In 845 they pillaged the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés, at the very gates of the Paris of that day. In the next few years they repeatedly sacked Saintes and Bordeaux ; in 851 they ascended the Rhine and the Meuse and devastated their banks ; in 853, they captured Tours and burned the abbey of St. Martin ; three years afterwards they were seen at Orleans. In 857 they burned the churches of Paris and led away to captivity the abbot of St. Denis. Soon Meaux and La Brie were laid waste. In 864 they were seen at Toulouse. They usually made the churches and abbeys the objects of their attacks, because it was there that all took refuge, and there that everything of

* The exploits of Hastings are somewhat mythical, this attack upon Italy especially so.—ED.

value was carried for safety. In the midst of the general inertia, one man alone fought bravely against the invaders, namely, Robert the Strong, to whom Charles the Bald had given the country lying between the Seine and the Loire, which came to be called the Duchy of France. Robert, who was the ancestor of the Capetians, defeated the invaders repeatedly, and perished in an encounter with them at Brissarthe, near Mans (866). Charles then had no other resource but to buy the retreat of the Norsemen. They willingly accepted his gold and went off to ravage some neighboring province, while another band came to take their place in the province they had left.

These devastations continued until the year 911, in the reign of Charles the Simple. They stopped then, and for the same reason that the earlier devastations of the Burgundians, the Franks and the Goths had ceased, because the invaders had conquered and were settling in the new country. The Norsemen grew tired of their life of pillage; moreover, having destroyed so much, there was nothing left for them to seize, and at last they settled down in the places which had become familiar to them in their raids. Finally their presence as enemies became so disastrous that his nobles advised Charles to give up to them a part of his territory, which they would be interested in cultivating when they no longer regarded it as foreign land, but their own domain. Charles accordingly caused propositions of this nature to be laid before Rolf, or Rollo, one of the most terrible of their chiefs. They offered him the land lying between the Andelle and the ocean, with the hand of the king's daughter in marriage, on the condition of his establishing himself there with the title of Duke, of rendering homage to Charles, and of embracing Christianity. Rolf accepted this offer, and the treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte confirmed the establishment of the Norsemen in the country which has taken their name (911). In the following year Rolf was baptized, and Neustria, repopled not only by the Norsemen, who were few in number, no doubt, but also by a crowd of adventurers who came to have a share in the new settlement, was placed by its dukes upon the high-road to prosperity and power. It is difficult to believe that the Norsemen could have treated those they had conquered with much kindness; but it is certain that serfdom soon disappeared from the soil of Normandy;

that the life of the husbandman was happy; that agriculture prospered; that the feudal system was more highly organized there than elsewhere; and that, in general, under these Norman dukes, the province enjoyed a high degree of prosperity and of civilization.

The Norsemen robbed France and the Netherlands of their security and of a part of their wealth, but from England they took her independence as well.

The Norsemen
in England.

Thus far we have spoken of this country only in connection with the sufferings she went through during the first invasion in the fifth century, because England, though soon to interfere often in the affairs of the continent, was as yet leading the isolated existence forced upon her by her insular position. From the time when the Roman power had been broken until the moment when William the Conqueror brought the British isles again under continental dominion, England's relations with the rest of Europe were slight. Her internal history is also void of interest. We need only mention the conversion of Æthelberht, King of Kent, to Christianity (596-616), whose example was gradually followed by the other states of the Saxon heptarchy.

In 829, after a troubled existence, these states were united under the power of one sovereign, the King of Wessex, Ecgberht the Great, who had spent several years at the court of Charlemagne, and had learned in the school of that great master how to reign. But England, like France and a part of Germany, was already beset by this last band of invaders emerging from the two Cimbric peninsulas, the Norse or Danish and the Scandinavian pirates. It needed only three days for those bold lords of the ocean to cross the North Sea in their ships with two sails, and to reach the coasts of the great island which lay opposite to their own country.

Ecgberht succeeded in repulsing them whenever they appeared during his reign. But, under his successors (836-871), the Danes renewed their inroads and sanguinary raids, and succeeded in establishing themselves in the north of the heptarchy, where they occupied successively Northumberland, East Anglia, and Mercia.

In 871, they encountered an unexpected obstacle—Alfred the Great ascended the throne in that year. For seven years, he succeeded in warding off the approach of Guth-

rum, the terrible chief of the Danes, from his states, which included only the southern and western part of the island. But at the end of that time he could no longer call forth from his subjects the necessary zeal and devotion to continue the hard struggle.*

His extensive knowledge, acquired by study and travel, inspired him with a disdain for his untutored people which he could not hide; the tendency he showed toward despotism, which he as well as the continent had derived from Roman traditions, wounded the independent spirit of the Saxon race. It is also necessary to add that this people seemed to have become enervated, as was the case with almost all the peoples who made the first invasion into the Roman Empire. Even the clergy abandoned Alfred, lest they should share his unpopularity. After a vain appeal to arms, he fled to the depths of Somersetshire and asked for shelter, according to tradition, without making himself known, in the house of a poor wood-cutter, where occurred the well-known incident of the burnt cakes.

For some months he remained concealed in the forest. In the mean time he carefully followed the state of affairs in the country, and noticing that the depredations of the foreigners roused the hatred of the Saxons more and more, he watched for a favorable opportunity to act. He had revealed his hiding-place to some of his former companions. He agreed to meet them at the stone of Ecgberht, in the seventh week after Easter. Guthrum and his Danes were encamped near that place, at Ethandune. Alfred made his way as the legend relates into the enemy's camp, disguised as a harper, and studied their position; then he attacked and completely routed them. Guthrum consented to be baptized and to withdraw to the north; a line was drawn between the Danish and Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, which followed Watling Street, the great highway built by the Britons and rebuilt by the Romans, reaching from Dover to Chester.

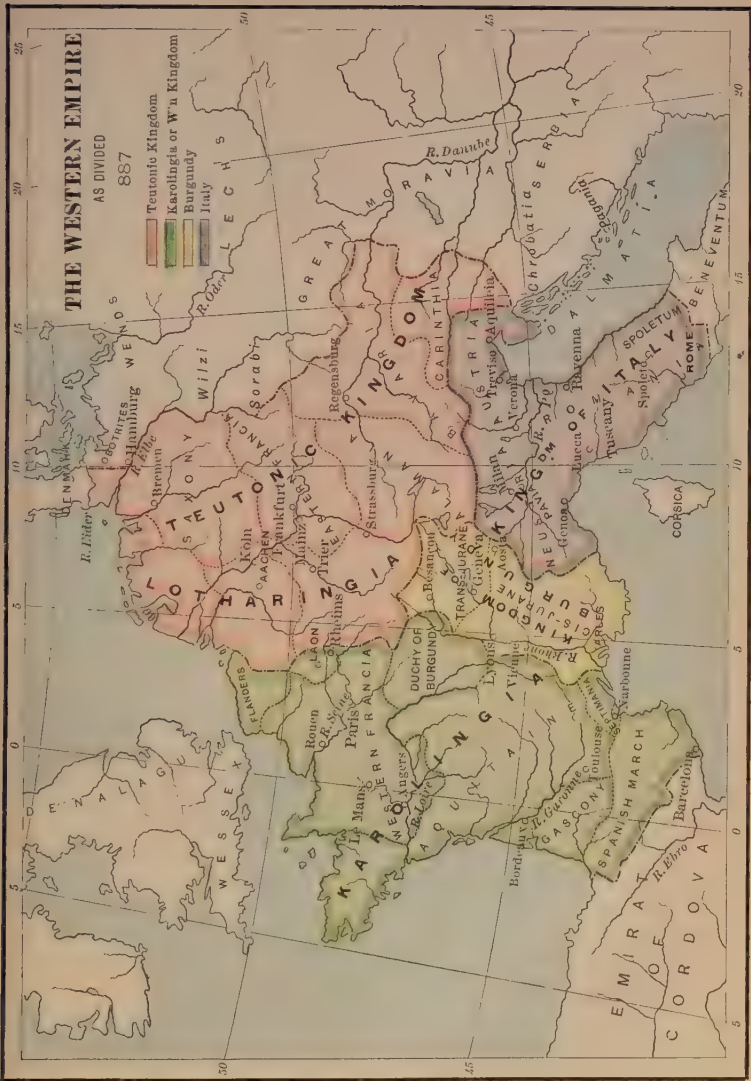
Alfred ruled with great wisdom. The division of England into counties and hundreds, for administrative pur-

* The occupation of Wessex by the Danes was due rather to their sudden and unexpected attack than to the causes here given. See also the histories of Green referred to above, p. 40, note, for a more just estimate of the character of Alfred.—ED.

THE WESTERN EMPIRE

AS DIVIDED
887

- Teutonic Kingdom
- Karolingia or W'n Kingdom
- Burgundy
- Italy





poses, a division found on the continent also, no doubt existed before his time, and was derived from German customs, but its more precise organization is usually, and probably correctly, attributed to him. The county or shire was divided into hundreds, and they, in time, were divided into townships, or sometimes tithings, that is, communities of ten families; the ten heads of families were conjointly responsible for the misdemeanors committed within their district. Every man had to be enrolled in a tithing.* The community itself decided on the cases brought before them. Any cases coming up for trial between members of one township were decided by the community itself;† actions between different townships were judged in the hundred's court by a body of twelve chosen freeholders.‡ Superior to the assembly of the hundred was the county assembly, which met twice in each year, and was presided over by the sheriff, with whom sat also the ealdorman and the bishop. The sheriff was appointed by the king, and represented his interests before this body and collected the fines.§ The general assembly, witenagemot (assembly of the wise men), was the highest grade in this hierarchical organization. It was open at first to all freemen, but later, as the size of the state increased, and the privilege grew more difficult to exercise, it became naturally reserved for the most powerful thanes or nobles alone.|| Finally, at the head of all stood the king, whose office was partly hereditary and partly elective, as among the Franks, and whose power was modified by the witenagemot.

* The subdivisions of the counties were not uniform but varied greatly in different parts of England. The common responsibility of the members of the tithing as here described did not exist in the time of the Saxon kingdom. Reference should be made to Stubbs' Cons. Hist. of Eng., vol. i., chaps. v. and vi., on the subject of this paragraph.—ED.

† All important cases would be likely to be taken to the hundred court.—ED.

‡ However similar this may appear to the later jury system, it must not be regarded as its origin. That was introduced in the germ after the Norman conquest, and developed in England still later into its present form.—ED.

§ The graf or count in the Frankish kingdom performed the duties of both the sheriff and the ealdorman in the Saxon system.—ED.

|| Or, perhaps more probably, the witenagemot represented the *concilium principum* of Tacitus instead of the general public assembly.—ED.

When Alfred had restored order through these vigorous institutions he showed himself a stern lover of justice. He united in a single code all the ordinances of the kings Æthelberht, Ine, and Offa, and laid very heavy penalties on magistrates who had violated their trust. "It was possible then," said the chroniclers, "to hang a golden bracelet over the highway and no one would dare touch it." The defense of the country, also, occupied his attention; he built a number of fortresses, and constructed vessels on a different plan from the Danish ships—longer and with higher decks—and he succeeded in driving away the formidable Hastings under a promise never to return. Finally, he endeavored to diffuse knowledge among his people and founded schools, Oxford among others.* He himself translated into Saxon the Ecclesiastical History of the Venerable Bede, the Epitome of Universal History of Paulus Orosius, and the Consolations of Philosophy by Boethius, and he corrected a translation of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great. He died in 901; his name is almost as famous among the English as Charlemagne's among the Franks.

The Anglo-Saxon monarchy, thus restored, continued under Alfred's successors. His son, Eadward the Elder (901-925), conquered Mercia and East Anglia, covered the country with fortifications, showed favor to the commoners of the towns, and founded the school at Cambridge.

Æthelstan (925-940) overcame at Brunanburh, on "the day of the great battle," a formidable coalition of Danes, Gaels, Scots, and nations of the Orkney Islands, armed with their terrible claymores (937). This victory brought all of the old heptarchy under one sceptre. Æthelstan's renown spread afar; his sisters, Edwina (Eadgyfa) and Edith, married the kings of France and of Germany, and his nephew, Louis d'Outremer, found a refuge at his court. He may be said to have been the first king of the whole of England.

But this prosperity declined after his death, hastened by discords and crime in the royal family. The influence of the bishops is conspicuous in this period, and especially that of their chief, St. Dunstan, also the attempts on the

* The connection of either Oxford or Cambridge with Saxon schools is entirely mythical.—ED,

part of the provincial governors to free themselves from royal authority. Then the Danes came back to renew the attack on England in its feeble condition. Æthelred II. believed that he had sent them away when, on the advice of the bishops, he gave them 10,000 pounds of silver; it was, however, the surest way to bring them back that could be devised. Olaf, king of Norway, and Swein or Swegen, king of Denmark, continued their attacks until the end of the century. A second and third ransom had no effect in driving them off; Æthelred then formed a vast conspiracy against them; all the invaders who had established themselves in England were massacred on the day of St. Brice (1002). The Saxon men and women took a terrible revenge on their conquerors for the oppression they had suffered. It was but a transient deliverance; for Swein made invasion upon invasion, and finally in 1013 assumed the title of King of England. Æthelred fled to the court of the Duke of Normandy, whose daughter, Emma, he had married. His son, Eadmund II., Ironsides, fought with wonderful heroism, but without permanent success, against Cnut, son and successor of Swein, with whom he was forced to divide England, as Alfred had done before him. Eadmund died in 1016, and Cnut the Great established the Danish power throughout the country.

His reign began in cruelty. He set to work with barbarian ferocity to rid himself of any obstacles in his path. But when his power was well secured he ruled more leniently and showed himself a great king. He became the representative and chief of the Scandinavian invasion, as Charlemagne had been that of the German invasion. By marrying Emma, the widow of Æthelred, he paved the way to a union of the conquerors and the conquered. He even had leisure to extend his power over Sweden and Norway and his supremacy over Scotland. He made wise laws and modified some of the severities of those of Alfred the Great, and took care that the Danes should not oppress the English; he sent Saxon missionaries to Scandinavia charged with the task of hastening the fall of paganism and with tempering the savage customs of its population. Finally, he strove to reform his own character, as many stories inform us. Having killed a soldier, in an access of fury, he gathered the men of his army together, acknowledged

his crime, and demanded punishment. All were silent. He then promised that whoever would express his opinion should do so with impunity. His guards referred the decision to his own wisdom. He condemned himself to pay nine times the amount of the usual penalty. On another occasion his courtiers were extolling him as the greatest of monarchs, he whose will was law for six powerful nations, the English, Scotch, Gaelic, Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian; he was then at Southampton, sitting by the shore of the sea. The tide was coming in; he commanded it to stop and to respect the sovereign of six kingdoms; the tide still rose and forced him to withdraw. "You see," he said to his flatterers,—“you see the weakness of earthly kings; no one is strong but the Supreme Being who rules the elements.” And on his return to Winchester, he took his crown from off his head, placed it upon the great crucifix in the cathedral, and never wore it again except on the occasion of public ceremonies.

In 1027, he made a pilgrimage to Rome and visited the most famous churches on his road. He was so prodigal of gifts that, according to a German chronicler, all those who lived upon the paths he traveled cried with reason: “May the blessing of the Lord be upon Cnut, King of the English.” England’s well-merited reputation for wealth dates far back, for the *Knytlinga Saga*, speaking of the countries whence Cnut derived his riches, mentions the British isle as the “richest of all the northern countries.” After spending some time in the Holy City, where he happened to be at the same time with the Emperor Conrad II., the Scandinavian monarch went directly to Denmark. He wrote from that country a letter to his English subjects, in which he gave them an account of his travels, and closed by recommending them to pay promptly each year their tithes and Peter’s pence. This was a tax of one farthing on each hearth which he had imposed in behalf of the Holy See. Cnut ended his glorious reign at Shaftesbury on the 12th of November, 1035.

We have just seen how the Norsemen gained a footing in France and England; we must now follow them on their less famous but more remarkable expeditions, and see them, on the one hand, discovering America, and on the other founding what afterwards became the empire of Russia.

Norsemen in
the Polar re-
gions and Rus-
sia.

The Anglo-Saxon king, Alfred the Great, preserved and handed down to us * an account of the routes taken by two Norse adventurers ; of Wulfstan, who sailed to the furthestmost parts of the Baltic Sea, a long journey in those days, and of Othere, who rounded the North Cape and reached Biarmia, that is to say, the regions lying on the White Sea and near the mouth of the Dwina. These hardy mariners were not daunted by the long voyage to the polar seas, nor even by the dangers there encountered. Accordingly it is not surprising to find that they reached the Faroë Islands in 861, and in 870 came upon Iceland, which owes to them its three or four centuries of prosperity ; or that, carried by the currents, tempests, or the spirit of adventure, they should have found Greenland, in 981, 200 miles to the west. It was while they were skirting along these shores that they discovered Labrador, covered in those days with vines, and they called it Vinland ;† they were then in America. About the same time they discovered the Shetland Islands, which were unknown to the Romans ; occupied the Orkneys, which Agricola had only seen from afar, and founded at the northern extremity of Scotland the kingdom of Caithness, which they held till the end of the twelfth century. They founded another kingdom in the Hebrides and on the peninsula of Cantire, which remained in their possession until 1266.

They spread to the east as well as to the west, though not in such large numbers, because that region, which Roman civilization had not reached, had less to offer. In the middle of the eighth century a few adventurous Norsemen, who are called by Russian writers Varangians, a name of doubtful origin, had made their way into the midst of the Slav settlements around Lake Ilmen, where they occupied the town of Novgorod. Though they were driven away at first, they were soon called back. In 862 three brothers, named Rurik, Sineus and Truwor, who had gone there with a number of warlike companions, were recognized by these powerful cities as their leaders in war. Rurik, who inherited the power of his two brothers, is

* Incorporated in his translation of Orosius's History.—ED.

† The exact location of Vinland cannot be determined, but it was probably not south of Nova Scotia.—ED.

regarded as the founder of the Russian empire, whose capital was first Novgorod and later Kief.*

Thus the Scandinavians, like the Arabs, had come forth from their sterile peninsula and had gone to the east and the west, and, like them, had spread along an immense belt of land from America to the Volga, narrow, except in Russia, and always keeping to the northern regions, as the Arabs had always kept to the south. Some Norse chiefs, it is true, came down into the South. We have seen how they pillaged Spain, and ventured into the Mediterranean through the Straits of Gibraltar. But that place was already occupied by other ravagers, namely, the Saracens.

The Saracens were to Italy what the Norsemen were to France. Like them, they long pillaged the coasts, and, like them, they settled down in certain places.

The Saracens. They came from Africa, from Kairowan, which the Arabs had merged in the province of Tunis, and which had been made the capital of a flourishing kingdom by the Aglabites. On this Punic land they had found relics of naval grandeur, and had turned the maritime habits of the nations they found there to their own profit. They equipped some ships, and for the third time—in succession to Carthage and Gaiseric—this point of Africa sent out tyrants to rule over the Mediterranean. As pirates at first, they devastated Malta, Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, and gave way only for an instant to the fleets of Charlemagne; when he died their incursions began again, and the corsairs became invincible. In 831 they subdued Sicily, and then passed over to the Great Land, as they called Italy. The rivalry existing between the Greek and Lombard chiefs enabled them to take Brindisi, Bari, and Tarentum, and to build a fortress at the mouths of the Garigliano. They burned Ostia, Civita-Vecchia, the suburbs of Rome, and the rich abbey of Monte-Cassino, and pursuing their disastrous course as far as Venice, they repeatedly threatened Naples, Salerno, Gaëta, and Amalfi, the last of which finally consented to negotiate with them. Malta, Sardinia, Corsica and the Balearic Islands were in their possession. Their domain extended over all the western Mediterranean,

* The early history of Russia is largely mythical. Even the date 862, which has received a sort of official sanction, is doubtful. So is also the origin of the name of Russia.—EP,

and their power, re-established by Khair-ed-deen Barbarossa in the sixteenth century, has continued down to the present day.

They were not afraid even to risk themselves in the very midst of the Christian nations. They landed on the coast of Provence; pillaged Arles and Marseilles, and in 889, they founded a military colony at Fraxinet, near St. Tropez in Provence. By means of outposts they commanded from this camp the passes of the Alps, and thus were safe during the whole of the tenth century to pillage Italy and France at their will. The terror inspired by these infidels reached such a point that one of them alone, says Luitprand, could put a thousand and two of them could put ten thousand to flight. From Provence they proceeded to the Dauphiné, Valais, and Switzerland, and there they met the other invaders coming from the east, the Hungarians.

The movement of invasion from the point from which the Hungarians came had never once ceased since Attila's time.

The Hungarians.

Masses of men had pushed their way in like the waves of a storm-tossed ocean, rising and and receding, continually asserting themselves

and then giving way to others.

After Attila's Huns, many of whom remained by the banks of the Danube in the neighborhood of their chief's favorite places of abode, came the Slavs, "those who can speak,"* who had recovered their independence after the fall of the Gothic kingdom and after the destruction of Attila's monarchy; following them came the Bulgarians, "the cursed of God"; the Avars, another horde of Huns, who were the terror of Constantinople for two centuries, and who fell beneath the sword of Charlemagne; and finally the Khazars, a cross between Huns and Turks, whose chagan dwelt in the Crimea. Among the subjects of the Khazars, in the ninth century, was found a tribe who were also of the Hunnic race, and whom the Latins and Greeks called Hungarians. After living many years between the Ural and the Volga, they had advanced at the beginning of the ninth century as far as the country between the Don and the Dnieper. In 888 a new stream

* *Slova* means speech; the *Slavs* are those who speak the same language, and, after their manner of speaking, the stranger, *Niemetz*, is a mute, that is, he does not speak the national tongue.

of invaders overwhelmed both masters and subjects. The Hungarians were forced back to the Danube and Transylvania, and were about to perish there with their leader Arpad, when a fragment of the Khazar nation, the tribe of Magyars, joined fortunes with them, revived their strength and courage, and were rewarded for the services they rendered, by the honor of giving their name to the whole nation. Those whom we still call Hungarians call themselves Magyars.

Arnulf, the king of Germany, induced them by means of gold to attack his enemies, the Moravian Slavs, who held dominion from the mountains of Bohemia to those of Transylvania. The Hungarians overpowered them, but seized upon the greater part of their country. There they found a population whose basis was of Hunnic and Avar stock, to whom they quickly assimilated themselves. As the wind of the desert piles up the sand into mountains in a moment's time, so victory among unsettled peoples brings a host of tribes to the conqueror's standard and gives him irresistible strength. Though they had just come down from the Carpathian mountains, the Hungarians, borne away by their enthusiasm, carried war into the plains of the Theiss and into Pannonia and gained complete mastery over them in the space of a few years' time. In 899 they were already at the gates of Italy and ravaging Carinthia and Friuli; in the year 900 they made their way into Bavaria, and the new king of Germany paid them tribute. The ease with which they acquired booty encouraged them to extend their raids. Their bold horsemen rushed down both sides of the Alps into the great plains of Lombardy and into the valley of the Danube. They even crossed the Rhine, and provinces like Alsace, Lorraine, and Burgundy, which up to that time had only looked with terror to the north and west, whence the Norsemen came, found out now by cruel experience that the east, too, could pour barbarians down upon them. The Hungarians spread such terror through these nations that in France their name was long remembered and used to express the utmost ferocity.

The destructive inroads of the Magyars had the same results as those of the Norsemen. As in France the country districts bristled with chateaus, so in Italy walls were built about the towns as a protection against them, and the city soldiery was reorganized, thus enabling them later to

regain their municipal independence. In Germany fortresses were built, which were occupied by men who first used them to defend the country and then appropriated them to their own use. The two greatest powers, Austria and Prussia, were originally two marches (marks) organized on a military basis to cover Germany against the attacks of the invaders from the east.

If we now compare the invasion of the ninth century with those that preceded it, we shall find this difference,


Difference between the ninth century invasion and those preceding.

that but for the double attack of the northern and the southern barbarians, the Roman Empire might have had a prolonged though not a happy existence, as there was nothing to necessitate its fall nor even to make it desirable ;* while, on the other hand, the new Carolingian Empire carried within itself the causes of dissolution, which, though assisted by the invasion, were in themselves sufficient to destroy its existence as a united empire.

Another point of difference was the manner in which the Norsemen and Saracens carried on the invasion by little bands ; the invasion did not mean with them the removal of whole nations in a body, as was the case with the barbarians of the earlier invasion, nor, as with the Arabs in the seventh century, did it mean a religious conquest. They were in search of booty rather than lands, and their raids resulted in a great deal of pillage, local destruction, and sufferings among the people, but they did not cause a general upheaval nor the substitution of a new social state for the old. The Hungarians alone, in the valleys of the Theiss and of the Danube, formed a permanent settlement, like those of the Franks, the Burgundians, and the Goths, but they did not attempt to extend their occupation to any great distance. What especially distinguished the ninth

* It is uncertain work attempting to specify what would have been, had some important event of the past not taken place, and yet the author is undoubtedly right here. There was no inner necessity compelling the fall of the Roman Empire. If no invasion had happened there would certainly have come a slow but sure recovery of good government, of all civilization, and, what is even more important, of the power of production and growth. The Eastern Empire lasted until the fifteenth century and then fell before an invasion. The Western Empire, if left to itself for as long a time, would undoubtedly have had a far more fruitful life.—ED.

century invasions from others was the fact that it promoted but did not create the general confusion ; that it hastened the fall of the Carolingian Empire, that is, the breaking up of political unity—though it was not the sole cause of this : in a word, the invasion was one of the forces which impelled society of that day to assume the form it did : namely, feudal anarchy, taking the last of the words in its etymological meaning, that is, the absence of a supreme power ; feudalism, as we shall see, was, in fact, the preponderance of local powers over the central authority.



BOOK V.

FEUDALISM, OR THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOMS FORMED FROM THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE, DURING THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

CHAPTER XIII.

FRANCE AND ENGLAND (888-1108); DECLINE OF THE ROYAL POWER IN FRANCE. INCREASE OF THE NATIONAL POWER.—NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND (1066).

The struggle of a century between the last Carolingians and the first of the Capetian dynasty. The accession of Hugh Capet (987).—Weakness of the Capetian dynasty: Robert (996); Henry I. (1031); Philip I. (1060).—Activity of the French Nation.—Downfall of the Danish dynasty in England (1042); Eadward the Confessor. Harold (1066).—The French Invasion of England. Battle of Hastings (1066).—Revolts of the Saxons aided by the Welsh (1067) and the Norwegians (1069). Camp of Refuge (1072); Outlaws.—Spoliation of the Conquered.—Results of this Conquest.

UNITY of history for the peoples of the Carolingian Empire disappears with the unity of that empire. The following century is full of disorder; it was no longer the confusion of the great contests of barbarian invasion, which were in a sense dignified and imposing, but confusion in which personal interests and local ambitions played a leading part. But at the bottom of all these, two important questions were agitated: whether the Carolingian family, which earnestly insisted on its right not only to the imperial but also to the French throne, should be entirely excluded from both, and whether the royal author-

The struggle between the last Carolingians and the first Capetians.

ity, in whosoever's hands it should be placed, should continue powerless, with all its rights disregarded. The course of events was to answer in the affirmative first the one and then the other of these questions.

The new king of France, Eudes, wished to be recognized by Aquitaine, which had formerly repudiated the Carolingians, but which now pretended to defend their legitimacy, intending to resist the sovereignty of the king of France, whoever he might be. While Eudes was in the South, Charles III., the Simple, a posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer, had himself proclaimed king in a great assembly held at Rheims. The king of Germany, Arnulf, an illegitimate prince of the Carolingian house, in whom the imperial ambition still lived in spite of the revolution which overthrew Charles the Fat in 887, received the pretender in the Diet of Worms, and declaring himself his protector, commanded the counts and bishops on the banks of the Meuse to sustain his pretensions. Eudes defeated him, and ended this quarrel by granting several domains to his rival. This brave and active prince was carried off by premature death in 898. His brother Robert inherited the duchy of France, and Charles the Simple was recognized as king.

The most memorable deed which is connected with the name of this prince is the cession of Neustria to the Norsemen, which has already been mentioned.

His life and reign ended sadly. The nobles, jealous of the little power he had left, formed a conspiracy against him. Robert, Duke of France, assumed the title of king, and was consecrated at Rheims (922), and at his death in the following year, Rudolf, Duke of Burgundy, took his place on the throne. Thus, whether the king came from France or Burgundy, in either case the center of ancient Gaul seemed destined to retain the monarchy. The extremities, the north as well as the south, were hostile to these lords at the center. The Duke of Normandy and the Count of Vermandois supported the claims of Charles the Simple for a time, though they betrayed him later, and this unhappy descendant of Charlemagne died a prisoner in the castle of Peronne (929). Rudolf was recognized by the most powerful nobles and reigned till 936. During his reign the Hungarians penetrated into France as far as Toulouse.

At his death the crown was at the disposal of Hugh the Great, Duke of France, master of the richest abbeys of the

kingdom, and supreme over the country to the north of the Loire. He preferred to make kings rather than to assume the title himself, and recalled Louis IV., called d'Outremer, a son of Charles the Simple, from England (936). But he soon deserted him, and formed against him a league in which Otto I., King of Germany, joined. When besieged in the city of Laon, his sole remaining possession, Louis was forced to take refuge in Aquitaine, where the nobles formed an army to defend him; the Pope's intervention reëstablished him on his throne.

Soon after, everything was again changed. Upon a new quarrel between Hugh and Louis IV., the German king turned against his former ally instead of against the king. He laid waste the country as far as Paris, but gained no important success, and finally withdrew beyond the Rhine, followed by the descendant of Charlemagne, who, in the council of Ingelheim, humbly offered to defend himself from any accusations made against him, and who besought Otto to judge the case himself, or to order a decision by single combat. Although justified by the council, which excommunicated Hugh the Great, Louis spent the rest of his life in begging help on every side, and never regained the slightest shadow of authority.

Nevertheless the Carolingian dynasty had not quite come to an end. Lothaire succeeded Louis IV., thanks to the support of Hugh the Great, who was his uncle. His reign shows some evidences of strength; many of the great vassals were alarmed by Otto's pretensions to restore the empire, for their one policy was to prevent, whether in France or in Germany, the restoration of the old imperial sway, which would have obliged them to retrace the steps they had made in the path of usurpation since Charlemagne's time, and in consequence they rallied around the King of France. This was the case with the nobles of Lorraine, who summoned Lothaire to oppose Otto. Hugh the Great was no longer living, but his son, Hugh Capet, was devoted to the cause of Lothaire, who had paid well for the devotion of the Duke of France by giving him Burgundy, which he succeeded in maintaining, and Aquitaine, of which he did not even get possession.* Lothaire penetrated as far as

* Both Burgundy and Aquitaine had been granted to Hugh the Great before his death.—ED.

Aix-la-Chapelle and just missed taking the Emperor prisoner. Otto, in turn, marched as far as Paris, ravaging the country as he went, but he was forced to make a disastrous retreat, and the greater part of his army perished on the banks of the Aisne.* It was a great triumph for Lothaire to have even held his own against so powerful a monarch, and though forced to give up Upper Lorraine (980), he at least obtained the duchy of Lower Lorraine for his brother Charles.

This last evidence of power ever shown by the Carolingian dynasty was due to the circumstances of the moment and to the aid given it by the House of France. The latter possessed a well-established feudal power; but the Carolingian dynasty, after a century of disturbances, was undermined to the very roots. The tree had no life left in it; the slightest push would send it over. And it was not long before this happened. Lothaire was so conscious of the real state of things that on his death-bed he implored Hugh Capet to protect his son Louis V., and to allow him to be king. Hugh promised and kept his word—but Louis V., after reigning one year, died and left no children (987).

The Dukes of France for a century had been, in relation to the last Carolingians, what the Mayors of the Palace had been to the last Merovingians, but with certain differences. They had less splendor, less authority, and a narrower power, but also, perhaps, a more independent situation as they possessed a territorial power of their own. The Mayors were at once leudes, great proprietors, and royal ministers; they drew much influence and consideration from these first two sources, from the last alone came all their political power: and this office in strict law, if not in fact, had something essentially subaltern about it. The first of the Capetians, on the contrary, had no office at court, and wielded only a narrow power, but they wielded it for themselves. In the

Accession of
Hugh Capet
(987).

* This is the Emperor Otto II.

It is perhaps natural that there should be a slight and unconscious exaggeration of the influence of France in Lorraine at this time, and of the disasters suffered by the Germans in these invasions of French territory. These certainly were the days when the two nations were beginning to distinguish themselves from one another, and in a slight way beginning their national rivalries. Charles holds Lorraine under Otto, and not under Lothaire.—ED.

case of Pippin the Short, a man raised himself above all the other men of the nation. In the case of Hugh Capet, a fief, that is a land governing itself in virtual independence, raises itself to a position of legal right above all the other fiefs. This is the characteristic nature of the revolution of 987, which Montesquieu especially emphasizes, when he says: "The title of king was joined to the most important fief." But the new king, also, governed hardly more than his own estates, while the Mayor of the Palace become king had succeeded to the still real prerogatives of the prince over the whole state.

Besides this there were certain other striking analogies. It was the Pope who again gave the signal of revolution, and in words which greatly resemble the famous response of Pope Zacharias, "Lothaire is king only in name," said Silvester II., "Hugh has not the title, but is king both by his deeds and in very fact." A second time the final sentence over a fallen dynasty was pronounced by the mouth of the sovereign pontiff.* The owner of the abbeys of Saint Denis, Saint Martin of Tours, and Saint Germain well knew the efficacy of religious sanction for such a revolution, and he obtained it from the Pope, the bishops, and the saints. When he was building a tomb for Saint Valery, the latter said to him: "Thou and thy descendants shall be kings to the most distant generation."

Hugh Capet received another sanction, and one without which no revolution can be permanent, the sanction of necessity and the very force of events. As long as the Carolingian empire lasted it extended from the Pyrenees to the Elbe; its center was somewhere near the Rhine, where, besides, the people who founded the empire lived, and where was situated the capital and the seat of government, Aix-la-Chapelle. After the division of the empire this city was no longer the center either of Germany or of France, but, on the contrary, was near the borders of both. France extended from the Pyrenees to the Meuse, and the national life was centered toward the middle of this territory, and there seemed to be a tendency to choose the ruler from the duchies of France and Burgundy. The memories of ancient

*This comparison is entirely unhistorical. Gerbert of Rheims does not become Pope under the name of Silvester II. till twelve years later. The leading part in this revolution is taken by Adalbero, Archbishop of Rheims.—ED.

Neustria, and the fact that Clovis and several of the Merovingians had resided at Paris, fixed attention particularly upon the Duchy of France. In this region, now that each group of peoples had separated, the Carolingians were considered foreigners, men from the Rhine, speaking the Teutonic language and not the Roman (Romance) idiom of the banks of the Seine and Loire, the language of Hugh Capet.

This is the character of the revolution which elevated him to the throne, and this is the argument which justifies it.

On July 1, 987, in an assembly held at Senlis, at which hardly more than the bishops and the nobles of the duchy of France were present, he was elected and proclaimed king. A few days later Adalbero, Archbishop of Rheims, consecrated him at Noyon.

The Carolingian race was, however, not yet extinct, and Charles, duke of Lower Lorraine, the brother of Lothaire, made an attempt to annul the election of Hugh Capet. His cause was sustained in the North and the South, in Flanders, Vermandois, and Aquitaine. But he was finally betrayed into the hands of Hugh Capet by the bishop of Laon, and was shut up in the tower of Orleans; his sons succeeded to his claims, but without being able to establish them. One of them died leaving no children, and we know nothing certain of the fate of the two others. To confirm his house in the possession of the throne, and to prevent the alternate succession of Carolingian kings and kings of a new race, which had frequently been the case since 887, Hugh Capet had his son Robert recognized as his heir in an assembly of the bishops and nobles held at Orleans, a practice which was followed by all the kings of France down to Philip Augustus.

Hugh Capet did not succeed in gaining recognition in the South. The Aquitanians dated their acts, "In the reign of God, until there shall be a king." He made war against the Count of Poitiers, and against the Count of Perigord, who having been asked by him, "Who made you a count?" replied, "Who made you king?" Brittany also remained entirely independent. But the countries bordering on the duchy of France were more submissive, and it was in these that the ascendancy of the monarchy was in form most nearly established. The Count of Anjou and the Duke of Normandy paid homage to Hugh Capet.

Moreover, the king knew how to obtain the most substantial and important support by a close alliance with the Church ; not so much with the head of the whole Church, like the first Carolingians (the connection no longer extended so far) as with the local clergy, whom he favored in every way, giving them complete freedom in their elections, and loading them with gifts. His successors followed the same method.

At the death of Hugh (996), his son Robert had no difficulty in succeeding him on the throne. He was a mild, pious, and docile man, occupied in writing hymns, singing in the choir, and wore the cope as well as the crown and sceptre. He fed more than a thousand poor people each day. He was ruled by his wife and by the priests. He was, however, excommunicated for desiring to continue to live with his

first wife, Bertha, who was related to him, for the Church forbade marriage between relations as far as the seventh degree. He yielded and took Constance, daughter of the Count of Toulouse, for his second wife. "Then," says the chronicler, Rodulfus Glaber, speaking of those who followed the new Queen to the court, "we find France and Burgundy overrun by a new kind of people, who were at once the vainest and most frivolous of men. Their mode of life, their clothes, their armor, and the trappings of their horses were all equally fantastic ; true buffoons, whose shaven chins, small-clothes, ridiculous boots, and indeed their whole inharmonious exteriors, announced the disorder of their minds. They were men without honor, without law, and without shame, whose contagious example corrupted the whole French nation, which had formerly been well ordered, and threw it into every sort of debauchery and wickedness." This curious passage shows what bitterness of hatred, and what antagonism of character, customs, and even of clothing, separated the north and the south of France.

This Robert, so peaceful a prince, and utterly without ambition, received the offer of a crown. The Italians wished to recognize him as king to avoid acknowledging the Emperor Conrad. He drew back before the dangers of this position, and refused. This policy was, after all, the most favorable for the new dynasty ; the Carolingians had

Weakness of the monarchy of the Capetians ; Robert (996) ; Henri I. (1034) ; Philip I. (1060). The activity of the nation.

lost everything by trying to gain too much, and nominally to rule Western Europe, instead of planting themselves firmly in some corner of Europe and taking deep root there. Robert obtained, by the death of his uncle Henry (1002), an acquisition less splendid but more valuable than that of Italy, namely, the Duchy of Burgundy. Before he could take possession, however, he was forced to carry on a war for twelve years, aided by the Duke of Normandy, because the son of his uncle's wife, by a former marriage, disputed his succession. Such is the weakness of royalty. When Robert tried to interfere in the affairs of the Count of Champagne, the latter said to him: "I am hereditary Count by the grace of God; this is my rank. As to my fief, it comes to me by inheritance from my ancestors, and in no way is connected with your domain. Do not oblige me to do, in defense of my honor, things which will be displeasing to you; for God is my witness that I would rather die than live without honor."

We must notice the customs of this era of feudalism. The middle of the eleventh century is the time when the royal authority was least recognized, and when the independence of the nobles reached its highest point. They ruled their little states like kings; they tried to acquire others, and carried on wars in other lands on their own account. Such was preëminently Eudes (Odo) the Count of Blois and Champagne, who took possession of certain parts of the kingdom of Arles, which had been united to the empire at the death of Rudolf III. (1032), and who died in an attempt to conquer Lorraine, with the hope of restoring the ancient kingdom of Lothaire I. If he should succeed in this he expected to accept the royal crown to be offered him by the Italians. His rival, the famous Fulk Nerra, Count of Anjou, was a man of the same order. After defeating his son Geoffrey, who had stirred up a revolt, he made him creep several miles on the ground with a saddle on his back. "You are vanquished," said he, kicking him,— "You are vanquished at last." "Yes," replied Geoffrey, "but by my father; for every one else I am invincible." This reply disarmed the severity of the old man. Soon afterwards he started on foot for the Holy Land, and died, on his return, from the fatigue of the journey and from the penances he had inflicted on himself. Such traits are characteristic of the crude and savage

energy of the times. Another active and dangerous neighbor was the Duke of Normandy. William II., the Bastard, came to the ducal throne in 1035, a child of seven years. The early years of his reign are filled with contests with the turbulent nobles and with France; later he conquered England, while some of his vassals subdued Southern Italy.

In the midst of these rough and turbulent nobles, who were as powerful and more warlike than the king, Henry I. seemed quite cast in the shade. Without having much influence, he was mixed up in almost all their quarrels, as ally of one or the other. However, he was king, and there were attached to his title certain rights which proved valuable enough in time. The most remarkable event of Henry's reign was his marriage with a daughter of Jaroslaf, Duke of Russia. He went so far in search of his wife in order to be sure to avoid the mistake made by his father in marrying a relation.

The reign of Philip I., who succeeded his father Henry in 1060, was no more brilliant, though it was at the very time when Europe roused itself from its inactivity and its narrow life, and became the stage of great events. The first crusade took place, and the long quarrel between the Papacy and the Empire began between Gregory VII. and the Emperor Henry IV. But Philip took no part in either. His reign was passed in petty wars with William the Conqueror who attacked Maine; with William Rufus who ravaged the French Vexin; with Robert the Frisian, whom he wished to prevent from taking possession of Flanders; and with Fulk Réchin, the Count of Anjou, who had ceded the Gâtinais to him, and whom he repaid by robbing him of his wife Bertrade. On being excommunicated for this crime by Pope Urban II., at the Council of Clermont (1095), he gave up Bertrade, took her back again, then gave her up again, and once more took her back, until the Church, occupied with the greater events of the crusades, finally overlooked his conduct.

Philip I., with his vices and his indolence, with his sales of ecclesiastical benefices and his debasing of the coinage, an example often followed by his successors, failed to cause the royal authority either to be respected or to be feared. At the time of his death (1108) the power of the Capetian dynasty was at its lowest point.

But though the king slept indolently on his throne,

the nation was energetic and full of earnest purpose, and Frenchmen were going forth in all directions in search of conquest. The spirit of adventure, so dear to the ancient Gauls, seemed to revive with a strength which had increased in the six centuries of enforced repose. Five hundred thousand men crossed the Alps and the Rhine, and marched eight hundred leagues farther to deliver the Holy Sepulchre. Norman cavaliers conquered principalities in Italy. A Burgundian prince of the house of the Capets founded the kingdom of Portugal beyond the Pyrenees; and finally 60,000 Frenchmen crossed the Channel and subjugated England. This last event was of the first consequence for the future and for the destiny of France.

After Cnut, the Scandinavian empire crumbled away, as did the Frankish empire, after Charlemagne. Cnut

had apparently intended to leave Norway to Swein (Swegen), and Denmark and England to Harthacnut, the son of Emma. The latter was in Denmark at the death of his father, and the Danes of England proclaimed

Harold, another son of Cnut's king. He was, however, only recognized north of the Thames. The people of the south upheld the cause of Harthacnut. It was from the very start a question of race. Harold represented the Danes, Harthacnut the Saxons. The death of Harold left the whole country in the hands of Harthacnut, whose reign prepared the way for the return of the Saxon dynasty. Eadward III., or the Confessor, son of Æthelred and Emma, ascended the throne of his fathers in 1042.

Eadward was Saxon by his father, Norman by his mother. He himself preferred the Normans, as he had passed his childhood among them when in exile, and because they were the more civilized of the two. He drew many of them to his court, gave them the principal bishoprics, and showed great favor to his brother-in-law Eustace, Count of Boulogne. The Saxons were jealous. They were represented at court by Godwine, a man of great power and of Saxon origin, who, though for a time allied with the Danes, was always the protector of his countrymen. Godwine, either personally or through his son, governed a great number of counties. He took the side of the Saxons in a dispute between them and the Normans, and so fell into disgrace. He was absent from court when a new Norman visitor appeared—namely,

Fall of the
Danish dynasty
in England
(1042). Eadward
the Confessor.
Harold (1066.)

William II., the illegitimate son of the Duke, Robert the Devil. William found Normans everywhere, at the head of the troops, in the fortresses, in the bishoprics, and all received him as a sovereign; it seemed to him that the conquest of England was almost accomplished, and he returned to his country thinking that a royal crown was much better worth having than a ducal crown. His journey at any rate made a strong impression upon the Saxons, and public opinion compelled the restoration of Godwine to favor, while the Normans were driven from the court.

Godwine died in 1053, and his oldest son Harold succeeded to his offices and influence. It is told us that somewhat later Harold was thrown by shipwreck into the hands of William, who compelled him to take an oath upon cunningly concealed relics of saints that he would aid him in gaining the throne of England.

Not long after Eadward died, and the Witenagemot elected Harold king. William immediately sent over to remind him of his promises "made on good and holy shrines." Harold replied, "that as they were drawn from him by force they were of no value, and that, besides this, his royal authority belonged to the Saxon people." William treated the Saxon as a usurper, and a person guilty of sacrilege, and appealed to the court of Rome, whose policy was now directed by Hildebrand. The pope, alleging that the Peter's pence had not been paid, excommunicated Harold, and invested William with the kingdom of England, and sent him a consecrated banner as symbol of military investiture, together with a ring containing a hair of St. Peter set under a diamond, as symbol of ecclesiastical investiture. The duke then published his proclamation of war. Throughout all France a crowd of adventurers responded, and on September 27, 1066, an army of 60,000 men in 1400 ships embarked from St. Valery-sur-Somme.

They disembarked at Pevensey (Sussex), while the Saxon fleet that was guarding the Channel had put in for supplies.

Just at this time Harold was fighting his brother Tostig in the north, who had rebelled and joined the Norwegians. He was victorious and rapidly returned to the south, where, though his army was only a quarter the size of the enemy's, he confronted it on an eminence in the neighborhood of Hastings. The Saxons made palisades

Norman Invasion of England. Battle of Hastings (1066).

with strong stakes. Mirth and disorder reigned in their camp, and it is said that they spent the night before the battle in singing and drinking; the Normans, on the other hand, spent it in praying and receiving the sacraments. The latter made the attack on the following day, but the Saxon axes dealt destruction to all that approached them. William vainly commanded his archers to aim in the air so as to avoid the palisades. Harold lost an eye, but the intrenchment was not forced.* Finally a feigned retreat enticed the Saxons to break their lines, and they were then cut to pieces. Harold was killed, and the beautiful Edith, of the Swan's Neck, was the only one who could recognize the body of the last Saxon king (1066).

William marched against London, and soon received its submission. He entered, and at once began the construction of the famous Tower, "the bridle of London" as the inhabitants themselves called it. He was there crowned King with the usual ceremonies, though in the midst of a tumult excited by the setting on fire of some houses near the church.

William had obtained what he desired, the crown, together with the treasure of the former kings. It was now the turn of his companions. Their reward was adapted to their rank, and the services of each. Barons and cavaliers received castles, great domains, market-towns, and even cities. Some of them married the Saxon widows, with or without their consent, and installed themselves in the home whose master they had either driven away or killed. Those who on the continent were perhaps only ox-drivers or weavers, were now warriors and gentlemen, and possessed serfs, vassals, castles and manors. They transmitted to their descendants their coarse names indicative of their origin: *Front du Bœuf*, William le Chartier, Hugh le Tailleur, etc.

The Anglo-Saxon clergy was also treated with severity. Some of them, influenced by the Pope's bull, had gone over to the conquerors, but the majority, who were of Saxon origin, were devoted heart and soul to the national independence. Among the bodies found on the field of Hastings were those of thirteen monks; the abbot of Hida and his twelve companions. The Saxon clergy was despoiled and

* The breaking of the line by the pretended flight comes before William's order to his archers and the fatal wounding of Harold.—ED.

persecuted ; the primate Stigand was driven from his archiepiscopal see of Canterbury and replaced by the celebrated Lanfranc whom Alexander II. charged to reform the Anglo-Saxon clergy. The Normans pretended to have received this mission, and, if we believe Matthew Paris, the Saxon clergy had passed their days and nights in eating and drinking. Lanfranc asserted for the see of Canterbury not merely the slight supremacy of former times, but authority over all the bishoprics of England, in order that he might secure the foreign occupation of all the ecclesiastical benefices of the country. Normans, Frenchmen, and men of Lorraine were all provided for in some way or other. The Saxon clergy were persecuted. One of the new prelates is said to have forbidden those in his diocese the use of nourishing food and of instructive books, for fear lest they should gain too much physical and intellectual strength. Even the Anglo-Saxon saints did not escape the hatred of the conquerors, and perhaps nothing wounded the feelings of the vanquished so much as this.

All spirit of resistance had not died with Harold on the field of Hastings, but during the next six years revolts broke out all over the country. The first revolt took place during a journey of William's to the continent (1067); it was helped by the Welsh, and caused some stir in London. But William had already gained the favor of the inhabitants of the capital by promising them, in a charter in the English language, to give them back the laws of the times of King Eadward. He struck a blow at the rebels by the capture of Exeter, and by the destruction of from 300 to 700 houses in Oxford, besides the complete ruin of Leicester.* He built fortresses and established garrisons on the ruins of these towns. The bravest of the Saxons fled before this military occupation, and took refuge in Scotland and Ireland, where they were well received. They sent from there an appeal for aid to their ancient foes the Scandinavians. Osbeorn, brother of the King of Denmark, landed at the mouth of the Humber, in the midst of provinces occupied by the ancient Danish population (1069). The Saxons rushed to his standard with their prince, Eadgar, and the other

Revolts of the Saxons aided by the Welsh (1067) and by the Norwegians (1069). Camp of refuge (1072). Outlaws.

* The destruction of Oxford and Leicester is doubtful.—ED.

exiles, the untiring friends of liberty, at their head. But Osbeorn was bought over by the rich offers made him by William, and left the country, to be outlawed by his brother for his treachery. Thrown upon their own resources, the wretched Saxons were obliged to yield, after all Northumberland had been visited by fire and sword.

As the combined forces were defeated, the resistance now took another form. Between the outlets of the Ken and the Ouse, on the island of Ely, the Saxons opened what they called "a camp of refuge," and thither hastened all who had been proscribed. This camp of refuge was finally surrounded by William's troops, a causeway was constructed across the marsh which had been its protection, and it was taken in spite of the heroic defense of the Saxon Hereward.* The latter even consented to be reconciled with the Norman king; but we are told that one day when he was resting after his dinner, he was attacked by a band of strangers and perished after killing fifteen of them with his own hand.

Though now without the power of combination and without their camp of refuge, the Saxons still resisted the Norman king. They resisted individually, in the forests, where like bandits they lived on the king's game, and drew the bow of William Tell against any Norman noble who should pass.† They were hunted and outlawed in vain; and this race of patriot poachers continued to exist for more than a century, and their popular hero Robin Hood was born about 1160. William made the following law: Whenever a Frenchman is killed or is found dead in any hundred the inhabitants of that hundred must seize and produce the murderer within five days; or else must jointly pay 46 silver marks.‡ As after that decree the men of the hundred took pains to remove all means of identification from the bodies of their victims, the Norman judges declared that every man

* Charles Kingsley's novel, "Hereward," collects the various legends concerning him into a connected narrative.—ED.

† The continuance of this sort of resistance to the Normans, and the connection of Robin Hood with it, are legendary, unsupported by any trustworthy evidence.—ED.

‡ See the law as enacted by William, in Stubbs, "Select Charters," p. 80, (see also p. 193), and in Freeman, "Norman Conquest," iv. p. 217, n. 3. (American edition).—ED.

who was assassinated should be considered a Frenchman whose "Englishry," as they called it, could not be proved.

These, with a revolt in Maine, and a Norman conspiracy, were the obstacles which William was forced to overcome.

Even while he was combating them he was busy in regulating and organizing his conquered territory. Between 1080 and 1086 a register was prepared of all the properties occupied by the conquerors ; * the number of houses owned by each, the resources of the inhabitants, and the rents paid before the invasion were all taken down. This formed the great Survey of England called by the Saxons the Domesday-book, because it recorded the irrevocable sentence of their dispossession. On the lands thus divided and registered was established the most regular feudal body of all Europe : of 600 barons and under them 60,000 knights.† At the head of all was the king, and with no feeble power like the French king. He was the chief of the conquest, the victorious captain : all others were only his lieutenants and soldiers. Thus the Anglo-Norman monarchy, reserving for itself much territory, 1462 manors and all the principal towns, and taking pains, by exacting a direct oath of allegiance from even the knights to attach all the vassals, no matter of whom they held their lands, to itself by the closest ties, was from the first so powerful that later the nobles and the commons were forced to combine in order to avoid being utterly crushed by it.

We must not be misled by the name of the Normans into thinking that they were Scandinavians. These conquerors were Frenchmen, and with them French civilization, customs, language, and feudal institutions all took root in the English soil. We can still find French names among the

* It includes both races alike. The name probably meant only that the disposition made of the land was regarded as final.—ED.

† The numbers given in this paragraph must not be considered as exact. Besides taking an oath from all landholders, even if they were the vassals of his own vassals, and retaining in his own hands larger domains than he granted to any single person, he introduced also another check on the tendency of feudalism to destroy the central power. He scattered the largest estates which he gave to any of his followers through various parts of England, to prevent the formation of local and practically independent principalities, such as his own Duchy of Normandy was in France. See Stubbs, *Cons. Hist. of Eng.*, I. pp. 259 ff.—ED.

English peerage, and until the reign of Edward III., that is until the middle of the 14th century, French continued to be the language of the court and of the tribunals.*

France paid dear for this conquest made by her arms, her customs, and her language. The dukes of Normandy, when kings of England, wielded a power that long held that of the French kings in check, and two centuries of war and eight of jealous hostility have been the results of this great event.

The new monarchy, by its very origin, was doomed to lasting disturbances. The Channel could not be filled up, and Normandy and England always continued two separate countries, a fact which was the cause of many disagreements in the Anglo-Norman kingdom and even in the royal family. Besides this, the manners of William the Conqueror and of his followers were rude and violent, and his sons were like him. They had many bitter quarrels, and even before the death of their father they began to try to overreach each other. The Conqueror, himself, died during a war with his eldest son, who wished to seize Normandy, and who was aided by the king of France (1087).

* French becomes the language of the courts and of the records not under the Norman but under the Angevin kings in the thirteenth century.—ED.

CHAPTER XIV.

GERMANY AND ITALY (888-1039).—REVIVAL OF THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE BY THE GERMAN KINGS.

Extinction of the Carolingian family in Germany (911).—Election of Conrad I. (911), and of Henry the Fowler (919); Greatness of the House of Saxony.—Otto I., or the Great (936); his power in Germany; he drives out the Hungarians (955).—Condition of Italy in the tenth century.—Otto re-establishes the Empire (962).—Otto II., Otto III., Henry II. (973-1024), and Conrad II. (1024-1039).

By the treaty of Verdun in 843, which had divided Charlemagne's dominion between his three grandsons, the imperial crown had been bestowed upon Lothaire, together with Italy and the long strip of territory which separated France and Germany. When this unsubstantial empire was destroyed, the crown continued to be attached to Italy, in memory of the Roman empire. If a powerful state had been formed on the peninsula the imperial crown, defended by a strong arm, could no doubt have been permanently secured to it. But as the fall of Italy followed its division, this token of power over the whole world, and of the political unity of Europe, could not remain in the hands of a petty king, lord over a few provinces in Lombardy. It seemed as if it ought to belong by just rights to one of the two great States formed by the dismemberment of the Carolingian empire, to France, or to Germany. What we have seen of the history of France in the tenth and eleventh centuries shows us that the imperial sceptre was not for her. The dukes of France, who had, moreover, no claim to the empire, understood that it would be foolish for them to entertain such an ambition, and that, if they did, they would probably lose their own feudal royalty. The kings of Germany, on the other hand, were the real heirs of Charlemagne, primarily because their people gloried in everything that related to him, and also because the carrying out of his work devolved

upon them by force of circumstances. The country over which they reigned had been brought into existence by Charlemagne, the nations surrounding them had first been encountered and subdued by Charlemagne. Everywhere within and without their domains they found and followed the traces of his footsteps.

Germany showed great love for his family. While France was choosing her kings from her native-born lords, Eudes, Robert, Rudolf, and Hugh Capet, Germany, on the deposition of Charles the Fat (887), chose one of Charlemagne's descendants, Arnulf, the illegitimate son of Karlmann, so that the Carolingian dynasty continued on the throne until it died out in 911. Arnulf was an able and warlike man, and his activity forms a strong contrast to the indolence of the other Carolingians. He assumed high prerogatives; he tried to restore the lately shattered empire by claiming suzerainty over all the new sovereigns who were appearing throughout Europe. He exacted recognition of this suzerainty of Eudes, king of France, of Rudolf, the Welf, king of transjurane Burgundy, of Louis, king of Arles and son of Boso, and of Berengar, king of Italy, formerly Duke of Friuli, who had assumed this crown after the deposition of Charles the Fat.

He soon claimed a more direct sovereignty over these countries. He appointed his son Zwentibold king of Lorraine, but he was not recognized, and, indeed, he met his death there. In 894 Arnulf was called by the pope to cross the Alps and protect him from Guido, duke of Spoleto, who had proclaimed himself emperor and king of Italy. In a second expedition Arnulf took possession of those two crowns for himself (896). Though they gave him nothing but a title, yet they pointed out the way to his successors. His power in Germany was a more firmly established one. The foreign tribes, against whom Charlemagne had fought, were also held in check and repulsed by Arnulf. The Norsemen in the north and the Slavs in the east, like the waves of an angry ocean, were forever beating on the frontiers of Germany. Arnulf drove the Norse pirates from the banks of the Dyle, where they had settled. Since the victories of Louis the German, the Slavs had invaded Germany four times between the years 844 and 874. At their head were the Moravians under their formidable chieftain Zwentibold. Arnulf's success against

these enemies was much less decisive than against the Norsemen, but on the death of Zwentibold, in 894, his kingdom fell to pieces, and the danger was removed. Christianity had shortly before been carried into the lands occupied by the Moravians by Methodius, and Cyrill, missionaries from the East. But other enemies, the Hungarians, speedily appeared, and once in Germany they could be driven out only by long and sustained efforts. During the reign of Louis the Child, son and successor to Arnulf (899-911), they won a great battle near Augsburg, and committed outrages which were never avenged.

The German branch of the Carolingian family became extinct on the death of Louis the Child, and Germany was obliged to choose a king from another family.

**Extinction of
the Carolingian
Family in Ger-
many (911).**

At that time Germany, like France, consisted of a number of large fiefs; but it was divided into two parties, differing in their customs and character. One party included the old Alemannic and Austrasian federations, where the great towns were situated with the chief ecclesiastical sovereignties; the other party represented Saxon Germany, and still retained its barbarous and warlike characteristics. The difference between these two parts of the country gave rise to a spirit of antagonism later on. The territory formerly belonging to the Alemanni and the Boii went to form two duchies, Alemannia (Swabia) and Bavaria. Another duchy, Franconia, was in the Austrasia of the Frankish kingdom. Saxony included Thuringia and a part of Friesland. These were the four primitive grand-duchies of Germany.*

In 911, the electoral system, which had only been temporarily banished by the glory of the Carolingians, was restored to its place among the political customs of Germany at the very time when it disappeared from those of France. As a result of this the fortunes of the two countries have been widely different. The great vassals of France saw the throne so weak and so stripped of all power, while they themselves were rich and strong, that they did not even

* These great duchies, abolished for the moment by Charlemagne, begin to reappear under his son Louis. They were based largely on the old tribal differences, and helped greatly to perpetuate those differences—a serious obstacle, even down to our own times, in the way of the formation of any united German State. Lorraine should be added to those mentioned, making the number five at the end of the Carolingian period.—ED.

think of taking away the hereditary descent and of territorial ownership, those two great sources of power. On the other hand, the vassals of Germany, who knew that the power of their kings was well sustained, did their best to undermine it by taking away that double advantage. So in the former case, the power of the crown, which had been weak, became strong, while in the latter, though strong at first, it became weak; and the two countries reached, the one an extreme centralization, the other an extreme division. It is noticable in this connection that the family of Hugh Capet has existed for nine centuries, and still exists, while the German dynasties, by a singular fate, have died out very rapidly in the second or third generation; so that Germany, being constantly called upon to choose a new royal race, adopted the doctrine of succession by election, while France, on the contrary, adopted that of hereditary right.

Conrad I., who was elected in 911 by the three nations of Saxony, Thuringia, and Franconia, was a descendant of Charlemagne in the female line. He began the struggle between the king and the great feudal lords, which continued throughout the middle ages. The warlike dukes, rude representatives of the feudal spirit, endeavored to shake off the royal yoke from their unruly shoulders, and yet they continually placed royal authority over themselves in order to keep the glory of the imperial title in their country, and by union better to resist all acts from without.

Conrad was a Franconian; he tried to sap the strength of Saxony and to take Thuringia away from it, but was defeated by Duke Henry at Eresburg. The Duke of Lorraine, in the west, refused to acknowledge him, and gave his allegiance to the king of France; but Alsace remained under Conrad. To the south, those who held the power in Swabia also refused to him the name of king, and allied themselves with Arnulf, Duke of Bavaria. He defeated the latter and forced the former to appear before a national assembly; the diet of Altheim condemned them as felons, and had them beheaded. Conrad had succeeded in some, if not all, of his undertakings, when he died, mortally wounded, it is said, in a combat against the Hungarians in 918.

After the death of this Franconian emperor, the crown

Elections of
Conrad I. (911)
and Henry the
Fowler (919);
greatness of the
Saxon House.

came into the possession of the House of Saxony, where it remained for more than a hundred years (919-1024). As Conrad was dying he designated his old enemy and conqueror, Henry, as the one most capable of defending Germany against the Hungarians, and it was this Saxon duke who was elected king.

The deputies who brought him the news found him busy catching birds ; thence, his surname. Henry I., or the Fowler, brought order into Germany, which, before, had been unorganized and defenseless. He has the credit of being the one to institute, in behalf of royal authority, the *Pfalzgrafen* or palatine counts, whom he placed in the provinces by the side of the dukes, and whom he entrusted with the oversight of the crown lands.* In the object sought they were an imitation, on a smaller scale, of the *missi dominici* of Charlemagne. There was at that time no *heerban*, no Field of May, nor any assemblies of estates at regular intervals. Henry attempted to re-establish the *heerban* by renewing earlier laws, that whoever had passed his thirteenth year should be obliged to carry arms ; if he did not appear within three days after the levy, he incurred the penalty of death.

To check his enemies from without he instituted a complete system of defense ; he formed the mark, [called afterwards] Schleswig, as a defense against the Danes, the north mark, or mark of northern Saxony, against the Slavs, and the Wends, the mark of Meissen, against the Hungarians and the Poles, and also the strongholds of Quedlinburg, Meissen, and Merseburg. The latter was made the center, as it were, of the whole defense ; he put down there a colony of thieves and vagabonds, who were henceforth to defend the country they had formerly ravaged, and plunder only its enemies. He ordained that every ninth man of the district should be stationed in the nearest "burg" or fortress, while the others were to keep his fields in cultivation. He built also storehouses in the fortresses in which one-third of all the crops were to be deposited, and he required that their assemblies and markets, their public festivals and marriages, should be held within the walls.

The effect of these excellent institutions was felt even in

* The credit for this institution is to be given to Otto I. rather than to Henry.—ED.

Henry's reign. His great victory at Merseburg on the Saale * (933) forced back the Hungarians, and the recovery of Lorraine for the German kingdom protected it on the west, as it was protected by Bohemia on the east and Schleswig on the north.

Henry had summoned a diet at Erfurt some time before his death, and had asked it to recognize his second son,

Otto I., the Great (936), his power in Germany; he drives out the Hungarians forever.

Otto, as king. Otto proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), where the dukes, princes, and all the great noblemen of the country, assembled in the "Hall of Columns," where stood the throne of Charlemagne, proclaimed him king; after his election the archbishop

of Mainz presented him to the people assembled in the church, with these words: "This is he who has been chosen by God, designated by our late lord and king, Henry, and who has been raised to the throne by all the princes—the noble Lord Otto. If the choice pleases you, raise your right hands." The people all raised their hands. It was a last remnant of the old custom of election by the whole tribe, and not by its chiefs alone.

The accession of another Saxon king raised opposition in the west and the south, as it had in the last reign. The dukes of Bavaria and Franconia joined Lorraine in resisting Otto, and obtained the assistance of Louis IV., king of France. Otto defeated the rebels and pushed into Champagne, with the help of his brother-in-law, the Duke of France, and the Count of Vermandois, then in arms against Louis IV. Finally, a treaty of peace was made between the kings (942). By a happy combination of circumstances the great duchies hostile to the king became vacant, and he succeeded in conferring them upon members of his own family. Bavaria was given to his brother Henry, Swabia to his son Ludolf, Lorraine to his son-in-law Conrad the Red, the archbishopric of Cologne to his other brother, Bruno, and that of Mainz to another son, Wilhelm. He strengthened his authority still more by extending the powers of the palatine counts, who were appointed in several of the great fiefs under the dukes to administer justice in the king's name, and to rule the royal domains; he was further strengthened by the favor he

* This battle is now supposed to have been fought some distance west of Merseburg, near the village of Rietheburg.—ED.

showed the church in Germany. He bestowed counties and even duchies upon the bishops, with all the prerogatives of secular princes,* though in many cases these prerogatives and the temporal jurisdiction were exercised not directly by the bishop, but by another officer called the Vogt (*advocatus*.) Later, the counts palatine either made themselves independent or were made subject by the dukes, and the bishops also became sovereigns of little states, virtually independent of the general government; but there was no reason why it should enter into Otto's calculations that his successors would not know how to rule.

The reign of Otto I. is celebrated for a great military feat, the decisive victory, near Augsburg (955), over the Hungarians, who, it is said, lost 100,000 men, and after that their incursions into Germany ceased. Territory across the Enns, which was taken from them, was annexed to the East mark, and formed the foundation of the later Austria. In his external policy with regard to the Bohemians, the Poles, and the Danes, Otto followed the example of Charlemagne with the Saxons, in attempting to make them at once Christians and subjects of his empire. Thus in Bohemia, he forced Boleslav I., who was persecuting Christians, to pay him an annual tribute, and to encourage the religion he had been persecuting (950). The Duke of Poland was obliged to render homage to him and to allow the bishopric of Posen to be founded; the Danes, whom he pursued to the remotest parts of Jutland, obtained peace only when they had promised that their king and his son should be baptized.† Charlemagne had founded the bishoprics of Saxony, in the valleys of the Weser; and Otto, following in his steps, established in the valleys of the Elbe and the Oder the archbishopric of Magdeburg and the bishoprics of Brandenburg, Havelborg, Meissen, Naumburg (Zeitz), Merseburg, and Posen; on the Cimbric peninsula, those of Schleswig, Ripen, and Aarhus; in Bohemia, that of Prague.‡ It was a formal taking possession of

* Otto I. may, perhaps, be taken as a representative of this tendency, though it does not take the exact form here described until a later time.—ED.

† Otto's expedition to the extremity of Denmark, and the conditions of peace exacted rest only on later traditions, but the Danes were certainly held in check.—ED.

‡ The bishopric of Prague was established under Otto II.—ED.

those lands by Christianity and civilization, but the empire did not long retain its hold over them.

Germany's claims upon Italy had lain dormant since the death of Arnulf. They were revived by Otto. From the beginning of the tenth century Italy had been given over to the most frightful disorders. The uniformity established by Roman conquest had disappeared with the imperial power, the country had lost all unity of character and customs; it was German on the north, where the Lombards and the Franks were settled; Roman at the center, where the Holy See protected the Roman spirit; Greek, and almost Saracenic in the south, where Constantinople's power was still supreme, and where the Arabs were now establishing themselves.

A host of little sovereign powers had sprung up. Among the lay nobility, the Duke of Friuli on the east, and the Marquis of Ivrea on the west of Lombardy, the Duke of Spoleto in the center, and the Dukes of Beneventum, Salerno, and Capua in the south. Among ecclesiastics, the pope, the archbishops of Milan and Ravenna, the bishops of Pavia, Verona, and Turin; and among free towns, Venice, Genoa, Gaëta, and Amalfi.

Of these, the Dukes of Friuli and Spoleto, and the Marquis of Ivrea, were most powerful, and they had long been contending for the throne among themselves and with the king of Provence. Intrigues, which bring the dagger and poison into play too often, soil the pages of Italy's history at this time and for many years after. Marozia, a dissolute woman, who was stained with the blood of many murders, had, at one time, the disposal of the crown of Italy and the papal tiara.

In 924, the imperial crown had fallen from the head of the assassinated King Berengar I., and in the prevailing confusion no one had taken possession of it. Rudolf, King of Burgundy, and Hugh, Count of Provence, followed by Lothaire, son of the latter, laid claim at least to the throne of Italy. In 951, Berengar II., Marquis of Ivrea, and grandson of the emperor of the same name, poisoned, it was said, Lothaire, took his place, and, to insure the succession to his own son, Adalbert, he tried to compel Lothaire's widow, Adelheid, to marry him. But she took refuge in the castle of Canossa, and called upon Otto for assistance.

Condition of Italy in the tenth century. Otto re-establishes the Empire (962).

Otto, who was victorious over all his enemies, holding uncontested authority within Germany and without, a supremacy founded on victory, needed nothing but the crown of iron and the imperial crown to enable him to re-establish almost exactly the empire of Charlemagne. He went in quest of these. In 951 he crossed the Alps. All the clergy of Lombardy came to meet him. The Peninsula was tired of having a sovereign always present with them, and imagined that the authority of an absent monarch, of a German king beyond the Alps, would be less oppressive. It was a mistake which Italy has made several times, to her misfortune. She thought she offered the kings of Germany a title only, but they, when masters of the title, claimed the authority also.

The King of Germany did not get possession of the crowns Italy had to offer on his first journey. He merely married Adelheid and received the homage of Berengar II. But when he returned in 961, and found that Berengar was trying to resist him, he caused himself to be proclaimed King of Italy, at Milan, and to be crowned Emperor at Rome (Feb. 2, 962). He agreed to respect the donations made by Charlemagne to the Holy See, and the Romans promised not to elect a pope save in the presence of envoys sent by the emperor, and with his consent.

By this act Otto restored the Empire in favor of those princes who should be elected kings of the Germans to the north of the Alps, and he established the German power in Italy. These measures were not put through without resistance. The Romans were indignant when they saw him disposing of the papal throne. They banished John XIII., appointed by him, and elected a prefect and twelve tribunes. For this, Otto punished them with severity. Rome and the Pope realized, for the third time, that they had found their master.

Otto had not yet gained possession of the southern part of Italy. He sent Bishop Luitprand as ambassador to Nicephorus, Emperor of the East, charged with the duty of asking the hand of the Princess Theophano for his son Otto. Nicephorus refused, and accompanied his refusal with outrageous behavior toward the ambassador; whereupon Otto ravaged the Grecian territories to such an extent that the new Emperor of Constantinople, John Zimisces, was induced to yield Theophano. The marriage took

place, but the treaty with the eastern Emperor granted to the House of Saxony no rights in Southern Italy.

Otto's position resembled that of Charlemagne in some respects. They were both all-powerful at home, both conquered and Christianized the peoples to the north and the east, they both exalted the Empire of the West, both controlled Italy and the papacy, and both tried to negotiate a marriage under very unpleasant conditions with the Emperors of the East, who showed always a harsh and disdainful spirit toward the barbarian "basileus." To the parallel must be added the wide renown of Otto and the numerous embassies, which he received even from the Saracens, after his victory over the Hungarians. He died in 973.

The last emperors of the Saxon line, Otto II. (973), Otto III. (983), and Henry II. (1002), lost the ascendancy gained

by their predecessors. The first was detained by insurrection in Germany, and by an expedition into France, which took him as far as Paris, and he did not reach Italy till seven years from the beginning of his reign. The little feudal States, lay and ecclesiastic, had profited by the long absence of their sovereign, and had risen on all sides and made themselves practically independent. Moreover Otto II. cared less about enjoying his authority in the northern or central part than he did about gaining possession of the south. He met a severe defeat in Calabria, and was taken prisoner by Greek pirates. He escaped from them by swimming, and died a few months after (983).

Otto II., Otto III., Henry II. (973-1024), and Conrad II. (1024-1039).

Otto III., who was possessed by romantic ideas of the Roman empire and by an ambition which had been nourished by his mother Theophano and his grandmother Adelheid, gave most of his thought to Italy, though his long minority prevented him from going thither to obtain the imperial crown until 996. He bestowed the papal office upon his relative Gregory V., who saw in the Germans "the arm of Christianity," and afterwards upon Silvester II., his former teacher, whose dream it was to unite all Christendom under the two powers and to send it forth into Asia to the conquest of Jerusalem. The tribune Crescentius rebelled against the German domination in Rome, and assumed the titles of patrician and consul. Upheld by the court of Constantinople he tried to revive the Roman republic. Otto III. repressed the sedition with great cruelty; he imprisoned

Crescentius in the castle of St. Angelo, and condemned him to be hanged on a gibbet 70 feet high (998), but his wife is said to have avenged him by poisoning the emperor (1002).

The cruel experiences which Italy had undergone during the period of German domination seemed to make the substitution of a national king advisable, and Arduin, Marquis of Ivrea, was proclaimed in Pavia. Henry of Bavaria, great-grandson of Henry the Fowler, had just succeeded Otto. He was a prince of such zealous piety that it is related of him that at one time he wished to abdicate and become a monk. His reign was none the less on this account a troubled one. He had to struggle in Germany against many of the great vassals and the King of Poland, and he crossed the Alps three times. The second time (1013) he overthrew Arduin, aided by internal rivalries, which were always the ruin of Italy. Milan had declared against Arduin because she was jealous of Pavia; her archbishop carried most of the prelates with him into the imperial party, for they saw that their power would be curtailed by a temporal sovereign near at hand. On his third trip (1014), Henry II. attempted again, unsuccessfully, the conquest of the Greek dominions in the south of Italy, but his appearance did for the moment give to the church the preponderance of power in the peninsula.

On the death of Henry II., called Saint Henry (1024), the imperial crown was restored to the Franconian house, which had already possessed it once. This seemed to keep the balance between the two parties of Germany. But the change of dynasties did not bring a change of policy. The German royalty, represented for the most part by men of talents and energy, continued to grow stronger and to extend its power.

Germany was almost forced to maintain an offensive policy toward the east in order to keep the foreign tribes at a distance. Henry II. had been obliged to keep up a long struggle with the Poles, from whom he had taken Bohemia, but who forced him to renounce all right of sovereignty on the part of the empire over their country.* Conrad II., the Salic, recovered this right, but he yielded the mark of Schleswig to the King of Denmark, Cnut the Great. He stopped, however, the attacks of the Slavs to

* This is very doubtful.—ED.

the north of the Elbe, making them tributary to the Christians, and, to hold them in check, he rebuilt Hamburg, which they had destroyed.

Since the time of Otto I., the great vassals had been more directly under control. Conrad was able to secure the condemnation and imprisonment of the Duke of Swabia as a disturber of the public peace, in his efforts to get possession of the kingdom of Burgundy. This country Conrad kept for himself. By the treaty of Basel, which he induced Rudolf III., the old king of Arles, to sign, he annexed the Valley of the Rhone, Franche-Comté, and Switzerland, to the empire (1033).

Conrad, the Salic, managed affairs in Italy in much the same way as his predecessor; he depended for support upon the bishops, who were the soul of the German party, and especially upon Heribert (Aribert), archbishop of Milan, who had crowned him; and he increased still more the power of their leading men. He thought himself sure of their dependence upon him, because they received from his hand their insignia of office, the crosier and the ring. But the great favor shown to bishops did not prove wise in the event; the bishops, who were the masters of Italy, believed that they were able to slight the imperial sovereignty on the one hand; and on the other, to oppress the smaller vassals and the burgesses. The latter were not to be despised when they were found in the rich Italian communes. The burgesses and smaller vassals joined forces; but, following the usual inclination to secure the triumph of the moment rather than to think of the future, they called upon the emperor. Conrad came again, and this time in a very different frame of mind. He seized Heribert, with the Bishops of Vercelli, Piacenza, and Cremona, and in order to keep the episcopal power forever within bounds, he published his famous edict of 1037, which declared the fiefs of the vassals or valvassors to be irrevocable, hereditary, and practically immediate.* This was the constituting act of Italian feudalism; but it was a peculiar feudalism, shorn of the hierarchical development which it had in other countries, because of this condition of immediateness which did away with the intermediary office of the

* That is, held directly of the emperor, the lord paramount, and not of the emperor's vassals.—ED.

great vassals between the emperor and the subordinate vassals.*

Conrad II. died in 1039, and his son, Henry III., succeeded him, the most powerful of the German Cæsars, but whose very power brought on the ruin of the second empire and the greatest conflict of the Middle Ages, namely, the struggle between the Church and the Empire.

* The policy of this act did not differ materially from that which Conrad had been following out in Germany, and its influence upon Italian feudalism can easily be overstated.—ED.

CHAPTER XV.

FEUDALISM.*

Beginning of the Feudal Régime.—Reciprocal Obligations of Vassal and Lord.—Ecclesiastical Feudalism.—Serfs and Villeins.—Anarchy and Violence ; frightful Misery of the Peasants ; several good Results.—Geographical Divisions of Feudal Europe.

THE real heirs of Charlemagne were from the first neither the kings of France or those of Italy or Germany ; but the feudal lords. When Charles the Fat was deposed it was not only the empire that was dismembered, but also the kingdoms and the great fiefs. The dukes and counts had been as powerless as the kings against the Saracens, the Norsemen and the Hungarians, and equally incapable of keeping their vast territories under one government. The people, no longer led by their chiefs to common expeditions of war, had little by little become accustomed to rely only on themselves.

After they had for years been in the habit of taking refuge in their forests among the wild beasts at the approach of the pagan, at last some men of spirit made a stand and refused to abandon their whole substance without even attempting to defend it. Here and there in a mountain gorge, at the ford of a river, on a hill overlooking the plain, they built intrenchments and walls, which were defended by the bravest and strongest. An edict of 853 ordered the counts and vassals of the kings to repair the old castles and to build new ones. The country was soon covered with them,

* The history of the early stages of the feudal system has long been and still is a subject of controversy and disagreement among scholars. Consult the suggestive chapter (XV.) in Emerton's Introduction to the Middle Ages ; chap vi., sections 3-6, of Andrews's Institutes of General History ; and two articles by the present editor in the *Andover Review*, vol. vii., pp. 366-375 and 505-518. The older accounts in English are without value.--ED.

and the invaders often were repulsed. A few defeats made the latter more wary. They did not dare venture so far into the midst of the fortresses, which sprang from the ground on every side, and the new invasion, hindered and obstructed in this way, ceased in the following century. Later, the masters of these castles were the terror of the country, but they saved it at first, and though feudalism became so oppressive in the latter part of its existence, it had had its time of legitimacy and usefulness. Power always establishes itself through service, and perishes through abuse.

But what was this new régime? We have seen the system of land tenure becoming more uniform throughout the barbarian world, through the confirmation of the right of hereditary transmission of the lands granted by the kings, and we have seen the law giving its sanction also to a usurpation of another kind, the hereditary transmission of the royal offices. Generally, the holders of these offices were also proprietors either of allodial or of royal lands, with the result that authority and landed property were united in the same hands. This union is the essential characteristic of feudalism.

Under the absolute monarchy of the Roman empire, all the appointments to public office, high or low, were in the hands of the monarch, and remained always at his direct disposal, so that he could recall them at will. And more than this, the public officer neither owned the soil of the province which he governed, nor did he have any rights of government over the landed properties which he might possess as a simple citizen. He was, therefore, amenable, as proprietor, to the civil law of the whole empire, and as governor to the arbitrary will of the sovereign. The feudal system was just the reverse of this. A lord who granted, as an inferior fief, a certain part of his own fief, made over to the grantee or vassal at the same time both the property and the sovereignty over it, neither of which he could reclaim unless the vassal failed in some of the services agreed to by him when he received the investiture.

If one lord wished to obtain land from another and become his vassal, he must seek him out, and then the ceremony of "homage" took place between the two; the would-be vassal must kneel before his future lord, and placing his hands in those of the latter, must declare in a loud voice that from that time forward he would be his man

(*homo*), that is, that he would be devoted and faithful to him, and would defend him at the risk of his own life, much as the ancient Germans did in the *comitatus* relationship. After this declaration, which was really the "homage," he gave the lord his oath of fealty or of faith, and swore to perform all the duties which devolved upon him from his new relation of vassal of his lord. After the vassal had performed this double ceremony, the lord did not fear to entrust his land to the man who was so strongly bound to him, and granted it to him by "investiture," which was often accompanied by some symbol, a clod of turf, a stone, a switch, a branch of a tree, or any other object, according to the custom of the fief. Otto of Freising says: "It is customary when a kingdom is delivered over to any one that a sword be given with it, when a province is transferred, a standard is given."*

In the first place, the vassal was under certain moral obligations to his lord, those of keeping his secrets, of disclosing to him the plots of his enemies against him, of defending him, giving him his horse in battle, if the latter were unhorsed, or of taking his place in captivity; of respecting his honor and causing others to do the same; of assisting him with good advice, etc. The material obligations or the services owed by the vassal were of various kinds:

I. Military service, which was the very foundation of the feudal relation, and the principle by which this state of society, which knew nothing of standing and paid armies, existed. The vassal was obliged, at the bidding of his lord, to follow him either alone or with a certain number of men, according to the importance of his fief. The duration of this service also varied in proportion to the size of the fief; in some cases it was sixty days, in some forty,

* The ceremony of simple or franc homage was performed by the vassal standing up and placing his hand on the Bible, and wearing his dagger and spurs, which he must remove for the ceremony of liege homage. In the latter ceremony the vassal, bareheaded, knelt on one knee, and placing his hands in those of his lord, gave him the oath of fealty and promised to serve him in the army. The latter promise was not included in the simple homage. A vassal sometimes paid liege homage for one fief and simple homage for another. Thus the Duke of Brittany agreed to the former for the county of Montfort, but pretended only to owe the second for his duchy.

and in others 20, a variation which made distant expeditions impossible, and made the forces thus raised available only for wars in the near vicinity, or for private wars. There were fiefs where military service could only be claimed within the limits of the feudal territory, or even only for defense.

II. The obligation to serve the suzerain in his court of justice. As under the feudal régime the lord filled the place of the State and was invested with the functions of the public power; he was obliged, in order to exercise these functions, to collect about him the powers divided by his vassals. Making war was one of his functions and the administration of justice another. The lord summoned his vassals to come to his courts, and it was their duty to come either to serve him with their counsel or to take part in judging the quarrels that were brought before him. They also promised to give their assistance in carrying out the sentences which they had pronounced.

III. The aids, some of which were legal or obligatory, the others gracious or voluntary. The legal aids were generally due in three cases; when the lord was made prisoner his ransom was to be paid, when he armed his eldest son as knight, and when he married his eldest daughter. The aids took the place of the public taxes of the ancient and modern States, but were of a very different character, as we have seen; they neither recurred at regular intervals nor were exacted by a general system for the public needs; but they had the appearance of a voluntary gift, given under especial circumstances. An annual impost would have seemed like an affront to the vassals.

In addition to these services we must mention certain feudal rights by which a lord, in virtue of his sovereignty, could interfere in any important changes occurring on a fief granted by him to a vassal. Some of these were sources of new revenues to him. The rights were those of *relief*, a sum of money paid by each heir on his succession to a fief, especially if his succession was not in the direct line; of *alienation*, which must be paid by any one who should sell or in any way alienate his fief; of *escheat* and of *confiscation*, by which the fief returned to the possession of the suzerain if the vassal died without heirs, or if he had forfeited it and deserved to be deprived of it; of *wardship*, in virtue of

which the lord during the minority of a vassal assumed his guardianship, the administration of his fief, and used the revenues ; and finally the right of *marriage*, that is the right of proposing a husband to the heiress of a fief and of obliging her to choose one among the lords whom he presented to her.

The vassal who performed all his services with exactness was virtually master of his fief. He could grant either a part or the whole of it to others, and become in his turn suzerain lord of vassals of a lower rank or of *vavassors* (valvasors), who owed him services of the same kind that he had promised to his own suzerain. In this way a hierarchy was built up.

The suzerain had obligations as well as the vassal. He could not withdraw his fief from his vassal arbitrarily, or without good cause ; he must defend him if he were attacked, and treat him with justice, etc.

We must notice that as the feudal system developed, everything became a fief ; everything that could be granted, such as the right to hunt in a forest, to fish in a river, or to furnish an escort for merchants along the roads ; the village oven,* and in fact any useful privilege granted on the condition of fealty and homage became a fief. The lords multiplied these grants in order to multiply the number of men who owed them military service. But the fief itself to which rights of justice were attached, as a rule remained undivided, and the whole of it was inherited by the oldest son.

The obligation of the vassals to assemble at the court of justice of their lord, a court which they composed, shows us that judgment by peers was the principle of feudal justice, a principle equally marked in the German customs and institutions, where we saw free men judged by the assembly of free men. Peers (*pares*, equals) were the vassals of the same suzerain, established around him on the same territory and invested with fiefs of the same rank. Even the king had his peers, those who held their lands directly from him, as king, not as duke of France. Every vassal had a right

* The term *banal* was applied to everything which the vassals could be forced to use by the lord of the fief, in order to obtain certain dues. Examples are the oven, the mill, and the wine press, to which the vassals were obliged to bring their bread to be baked, their grain to be ground, and their grapes to be pressed, and to leave part of what they brought as a payment to the feudal lord for the service rendered.

to be judged by his peers and in the presence of his lord. If the latter refused him justice, or if the vassal considered that he had been unjustly judged, he preferred a charge of *default of justice* and appealed to his lord's suzerain. Whenever a disagreement arose between a lord and his vassal, it could always be brought before the next higher step in the hierarchy.

This right of appeal, however, did not content the spirit of individual independence which animated this warlike society. The lords reserved with jealous care another right of appeal, the appeal to arms. They preferred to take justice into their own hands rather than to wait for another. In this way the private wars arose, a practice which was so common among the early German peoples, that they had a special name for them (*fehde*). The formalities which should precede these wars, and give the party who was to be attacked sufficient warning, were established by law. Our international wars really arise from the same principle and are no more justifiable. The lords made war with their little armies just as it is now waged with our great armies, only then the hostilities had a narrower character, as the states were smaller. Such contests, like our duels, the combats of one man with one other man, were unknown to antiquity. In reality the duel itself was one of the procedures of justice, at this time, and the judicial combat fought in the lists, a practice handed down from the barbarians, was customary throughout the Middle Ages.

The courts held by the lords did not all have the same extent of jurisdiction. There were three different degrees in France, the *haute*, *basse*, and *moyenne justice* (the high, low, and mesne justice). The first alone could decide questions of life or death. Generally the largest fiefs had the most extended jurisdiction; but sometimes a mere vavassor held one of the highest courts, and sometimes a lord, who only possessed the lower power, could punish with death a thief taken in the act. Within these variable limits the lord had the sole administration of justice over his fief; and when later the central government recovered this right, it amounted to a revolution.

Before finishing the enumeration of the sovereign rights that had fallen to the feudal lords, we must add two more. The first was, they acknowledged no legislative authority superior to their own throughout their fiefs. In the last

capitularies of Charles the Simple, at the beginning of the tenth century, we see the final manifestation of a public legislative power ; after that there were no more general laws, either civil or political, but there were everywhere local customs, which were isolated, independent of each other and different in different places,* and above all, territorial as opposed to the personal character of the barbarian laws. The second of these rights was that of coining money, which is always a sign of sovereignty ; even before Charlemagne it seems that certain private persons had the right to coin money. After his time this was one of the rights usurped by the nobles, and at the accession of Hugh Capet there were no less than 150 men in France who exercised this right.

Every political system displays its character by the place from which its power is exercised. The ancient republics had their agora and their forum ; the great monarchy of Louis XIV. had its palace of Versailles ; the feudal lords had their castles ; these were enormous buildings, either round or square, massive, without ornaments or any pretensions to architectural style, and generally built on a hill. They were pierced by a few loopholes, from which arrows could be shot, and had a single gate opening on a moat which could only be crossed by a drawbridge ; they were crowned with battlements and machicolations from which masses of rock, pitch, and melted lead were thrown upon any assailant who had been bold enough to approach the foot of the wall. These castles now look like gray, jagged, and broken crows' nests torn by storms, and, seen from a distance, these monuments at once of legitimate defense and of oppression, entirely eclipse our modern, small, and lightly built habitations. Nothing less than these impregnable fortresses would have been sufficient defense against the incursions of the Norsemen, or later, during the feudal wars, and all fled to them at any alarm. Those who had no right to live inside the castle itself, who were neither nobles or warriors, established themselves at the foot of its great walls under their mighty guardianship. In this way many of our cities were formed.

* This wide diversity of the local customary law is an extremely important fact to be remembered in any study of the feudal system. It makes any detailed description of feudal arrangements true only of localities.—ED.

Even the clergy were included in this system of feudalism. The bishop, formerly "defender" of the city, in many cases had become its count, either through a gradual usurpation or by express concession of the king, which united together the county and the bishopric, the ecclesiastical and the civil authority, and made the bishop the suzerain of all the lords in his diocese. The Church possessed, in addition to the tithes, immense estates which had been given her by the faithful. To defend these against the brigandage of the time, she resorted to secular means, and chose among the laymen men of judgment and courage, to whom she confided domains on the condition of their defending them with the sword, in case of need. These *avoués* (*advocatus, vogt*) of the monasteries and churches did just as the counts of the kings did, made their functions hereditary and took possession of the estates given to them to protect. They consented, however, to consider themselves vassals of those they had despoiled, to pay them fealty and homage, with the usual conditions of rents in kind and of personal services. Thus the abbots and the bishops became suzerains, and temporal lords, with many vassals ready to fight for their cause, with a court of justice, and in short all the prerogatives exercised by the great proprietors. There were bishop dukes, bishop counts, themselves vassals of other lords, and especially of the king, from whom they received the investiture of the lands attached to their churches, or as they were called, their "temporalities."

This ecclesiastical feudalism was so extended and so powerful, that in the Middle Ages it possessed more than a fifth of all the lands in France and nearly one-third of those in Germany. There was this difference between the Church and the king, that the latter, after the conquest, gained nothing more but was always giving, so that finally he possessed nothing but the city of Laon; while the Church, though she might lose a few domains, which was however unlikely, as she had the ban of excommunication for a weapon of defense, was always acquiring more property, as few of the faithful died without leaving her some land, so that she was always receiving and gave little or nothing, and only when forced to do so.

Thus by the eleventh century the Europe of the Carolingian times was divided into innumerable fiefs, each of which

formed a state with a life, laws, and customs of its own, and with an almost independent secular or ecclesiastical chief.

Serfs and Villeins. We have now given a description of the social life and privileges of the suzerains; but it by no means applies to the whole feudal society. This was the life led by the warlike and fighting part of society, the part that rules, judges, punishes, and oppresses. Below this was a society which worked, supported the other, made clothing and armor for it, built its castles and baked its bread, the society of the serfs, or rather of the men under power, *homme de poeste* (*gens potestatis*). Freemen were no longer to be found; they had entirely disappeared, some having raised themselves and become the fortunate lords, and others having been pushed down into the lower ranks of society and become serfs or villeins. The class of simple freemen which had been almost entirely destroyed by the invasions in the Roman empire, had again been swallowed up. There were no longer any men who possessed freeholds (allodial lands), or at least so few that they are hardly worth mentioning.*

The villeins were very numerous. The lord or noble had not only vassals but also subjects living on those parts of their estates that they had not made into fiefs, and from the first these serfs, or more properly men of the soil, [*servi glebæ*] were completely at his mercy. Beaumanoir says: "The lords can deprive them of all they possess, imprison them as often as they please, whether justly or unjustly, and are responsible only to God for their acts." †

In spite of this the condition of the serf was better than that of the slave of antiquity. The improved condition of slaves at the end of the Roman empire survived the catastrophies of the invasion, and continued in feudal society.

* These statements need considerable modification. The tendency of the feudal system was toward such results, but they were never completely attained. There always remained free men, and allodial land continued to exist in very considerable quantity; there was indeed a very strong tendency to turn land held by a feudal tenure into allodial land wherever circumstances were favorable.—ED.

† In what follows concerning the servile classes it must be remembered that the utmost possible diversity existed in the same country and even on the same domain. There were innumerable gradations of service and of right, and assertions which are true of one place may be very misleading as to the facts in another.—ED.

The freeman in ancient times had been harder on the slave than was the barbarian, in whom a certain instinct of liberality had been cultivated by the moral teachings of the Christian religion. The serf was looked upon as a man, as having family relations and, like his lord, descended from the Father of all men, and like him made in the image of God. The serfs could also enter the clergy, and in that way often rose to a higher position than that of the most powerful lords.

Above the serfs were those who had their lands under a mortmain tenure, who, continues the old jurist Beaumanoir, "were treated more kindly, for their lord can claim nothing from them unless they do some wrong, except the rents and services which custom has fixed for them to pay." But the mortmain tenant could not marry without the consent of his lord, and if he married a free woman or one born outside the seignorial lands he must pay a fine according to his lord's will. This is the right of *formariage* [*forismari-tagium*]. The children were to be divided equally between the two lords. If there were only one child it should belong to the lord of its mother. On the death of a mortmain tenant without heirs in the same domain, all possessions belonged to his lord. There was no way in which they could escape from these claims. No matter where they went, the right of *pursuit* followed their persons and their property; the lord always inherited his serf's possessions.

One step higher than these were the free tenants, called villeins (*roturiers*). Their condition was less uncertain. Unlike the serfs, they had retained their liberty, and on condition of a yearly rent and of services (*corvées*) they held the lands granted by the proprietor of the domain, which lands and all they possessed they were able to transmit to their children. But while the beneficiary tenures or fiefs were guaranteed by a public and well determined law, these servile or *censive* tenures were under the absolute jurisdiction of the proprietor, and were only guaranteed by private agreements. Therefore the villeins, especially those of the country who did not need to be treated with as much consideration as those of the cities, were subject to a power that was often unbounded. We read in an ancient document in respect to the lords: "They are lords of the heavens and the earth, and they have jurisdiction over the land

and what is under it, over body and soul, over the water, the winds, and the meadows." The villein could not appeal from a sentence, because the feudal law said: "Between you, the suzerain, and you, the villein, there is no judge but God."—"We acknowledge as belonging to our gracious suzerain," says another formula, "both ban and summons, the great forest, the bird in the air, the fish in the running water, the animal in the thicket as far as our gracious lord or his servitors can hunt.—In return our gracious suzerain will take under his protection and care the widow and the orphan as well as the peasant." Thus the lord possessed all rights, but owed, in return, protection to the weak. This was the principle of the feudal society in regard to its subjects. Royalty no longer performed the duties for which it was instituted, and the protection which could not be obtained from the nominal head of the State was now sought from the bishops, counts, barons, and all powerful men.*

Everything belonged to the suzerain; but as neither industry nor commerce existed, nor that luxury which allows one person to consume in a few moments the result of the work of many, the demands of the lords were not at first oppressive, and these claims, as far as they respected the villeins, were as definitely fixed as the rights of a land-owner in regard to his tenants now are. Only, in considering the Middle Ages, we must always take into account that arbitrary and violent acts, which the law would not tolerate in the present times, could then be performed with impunity. The obligations of the villein toward his lord were either rents in kind, as provisions, grain, cattle, or poultry, products of the land and farm; or labor, or services of the body, the *corvées* in the fields or the vineyard of the lord, the building of the castle or cleansing of the moat, the repairing of roads and the making of furniture, utensils, horse-shoes, ploughshares, carriages, etc. In the cities and wherever the villein was prosperous the lord was not sparing in the exaction of rents in money and arbitrary taxes. But a change was to come in time, and one of the clergy

* This sentence states the great social and political cause which called the feudal system into being—the necessity, felt during all the intervening ages, which transformed a few simple practices and institutions of the fifth and sixth centuries into the complicated institutions of perfected feudalism.—ED.

had already spoken these words : " The lord who demands unjust dues from his villeins does so at the peril of his soul." If the fear of heaven was not sufficient restraint, the communes were already appearing, and the law officers of the crown were close behind. There were also certain fantastic feudal dues to enliven this dreary life lived by the feudal lord, shut up between the dismal walls of his castle from one year's end to another. In Bologna, in Italy, the tenant of the Benedictines of Saint Proculus paid as a fine the fumes of a boiled capon. Each year he brought his capon to the abbot, placed between two plates, uncovered it, and as soon as it stopped smoking, his rent was paid and he carried off his capon. Elsewhere the peasants brought solemnly to their lords, on a cart drawn by four horses, a little bird, or perhaps a maypole decorated with ribbons. The lords themselves often condescended to take a part in these popular comedies. The Margrave of Juliers, when making his solemn entrance, must be mounted on a blind horse, with a wooden saddle and a bridle of linden bark, and wearing two spurs of hawthorn, and carrying a white staff. Whenever the abbot of Figeac entered the city the lord of Monbrun received him in a grotesque costume and with one leg bare.

So the feudal lords, wearied with the monotony of their lives, joined sometimes in the laugh of the common people, as the Church did also when she authorized the celebration of the feast of the ass in her basilicas. Surely the powerful and the happy, in these times of sadness and poverty, with misery everywhere and no security to be found, owed to their serfs and villeins, at least, these few moments of forgetfulness and gayety.

The Middle Ages were indeed hard ages for the poor, when, in spite of all rules and all agreements, the nobles

Anarchy and violence, terrible misery of the peasants. Some good results.

recognized no right but that of force. Theoretically the principles of the feudal relations are very admirable, but in practice they led to anarchy ; for the judicial institutions were so defective that the bonds of the vassal relation were continually disregarded. This was the cause of the interminable wars which sprang up throughout all feudal Europe and which were the greatest scourge of the period. As every one at once appealed to the sword if he had suffered any wrong or if he considered any sentence

pronounced against him unjust, this society was usually in a state of war. Every hill became a fortress, and every plain a battlefield. Fortified in their strong castles, covered with iron armor, surrounded by warriors, the feudal lords, tyrants as they were called by a monk of the eleventh century, delighted in combats and knew no other way of enriching themselves except by pillage. There was no more commerce, for the roads were unsafe,* no industry, for the lords who were masters also of the cities, taxed the burghers the moment they saw the least sign of wealth. The customs were different everywhere, as there were no general laws, and each noble possessed the whole legislative power over his fief; the profoundest ignorance also prevailed everywhere except inside the walls of a few monasteries. The clergy, the guardians of the moral laws, were not able to forbid the prevailing violence, but only to regulate it somewhat by establishing the truce of God, which prohibited private war from Wednesday evening till Monday morning.

To the question, upon whom weighed the heavy burden of these feudal wars, we may answer that they were exceedingly fatal to the noble, though he was armed with iron; but they were much more so to the serf who was almost without all protecting armor. At Brenneville, where a battle took place between the kings of France and of England, of the 900 knights who fought, only three were killed. At Bouvines Philip Augustus was unhorsed, and was left some time without defense in the hands of the foot-soldiers of his enemy; but they sought in vain for some defect in his armor through which to thrust the point of a dagger, and they struck him with many weapons without being able to break his cuirass. His knights could take their time in coming to his rescue and in replacing him on a horse. After this he rushed with them into the midst of the tur-

* The variety of money was also a great obstacle to commerce. One hundred and fifty lords coined money in the eleventh century, and often would only receive their own in payment; so that merchants were forced to use a different kind in almost every fief to which they came; a great disadvantage to them. We must also mention as other impediments to commerce, the *droit d'aubaine*, by which any stranger who lived a year and a day on the fief became, in a sense, the serf of its feudal lord. His possessions fell to the lord on his death. The suzerain also possessed the right of obtaining lodgment from his vassal and the right of requiring horses, carriages, food, etc., when he was traveling.

moil, and their long lances and heavy axes never struck in vain. Besides, if a noble were taken prisoner, it was another calamity, for his ransom must be paid. But who would pay for the burned cottage and harvest of the serf? Who would bind up his wounds, and who would care for the many widows and orphans?

Two contemporary authors, historians of the crusades, describe these disastrous times in the following words. Guibert of Nogent says: "Before the Christians started for the lands beyond the sea, the kingdom of France was a prey to continual disturbances and quarrels. The one subject of conversation was the brigandage on the public ways. There were numberless fires and wars waged in every direction for no better cause than insatiable cupidity. In short, covetous men showed no respect for property, and gave themselves up to pillage with unbridled audacity." William, the archbishop of Tyre, says: "No property was secure. If any one was thought to be rich it was considered reason enough for imprisoning him, keeping him in irons, and subjecting him to cruel tortures. Brigands, armed with swords, beset the roads, lay in ambush, and spared neither foreigners or the men consecrated to the work of God. Even the cities and strong places were not safe from these evils, for hired assassins made the streets and squares dangerous for men of property." During the seventy years from 970-1040 there were forty years of either famine or plague.

Nevertheless, the progress of civilization is never so completely obstructed that three centuries can pass without bringing some good to mankind. Among the men of the Church there was a renewed activity of thought, and in secular society poetry again made its appearance.

There was also some progress in morality, at least among the ruling class. In the isolation in which every one lived the soul gained a new vigor with which to face the ever present perils. The consciousness of the dignity of man, which had been destroyed by despotism, was felt again, and this society, that shed blood with the most perfect freedom, often showed a moral elevation formed only during that epoch. The low vices and indolence, the cowardice of the Romans of the age of decline and of conquered peoples, were utterly unknown at this time; and we have inherited from it our sense of honor. The nobles of the feudal ages

knew how to die, and this is the first step toward knowing how to live.

Another happy consequence of this system was the reorganization of the family. In the ancient cities a man lived anywhere but in his own house, his life was spent in the fields, or in the forum; he hardly knew his wife and children, while he had the power of life and death over them. In the first age after the conquest, the custom of virtual polygamy and the ease with which divorces could be obtained prevented the family life from being reformed. In the feudal society, where men lived in isolation, the father drew nearer to his family. When he was not busy with combats he was idle in his castle, which was perched like an eagle's nest on the top of some mountain, and had nothing but his wife and children to occupy his heart and life. The Church, which had succeeded in making these rude soldiers bow down at the feet of a virgin, and had made them respect in the Mother of the Saviour all the virtues of women, softened the wild spirits of these warriors and prepared them to feel the charm of the finer spirit and more delicate sentiments bestowed by nature on the weaker sex. Woman returned to her proper place in the family and in society, the place assigned her by the Mosaic law. And more than this, she became the object of a worship which created new feelings, which were celebrated by the troubadours and trouvères, and was practiced in chivalry. Thus, as in the beautiful legend of St. Christopher, the strong was overcome by the weak, the giant by the child.

This can be seen in an institution of the times. Robert d'Arbrissel founded near Saumur, at Fontevrault, about the year 1100, an abbey which soon became famous, and in which were recluses of both sexes. The women were cloistered, and spent their lives in prayer. The men worked in the fields, drained marshes, cleared the land, and were the constant servitors of the women. The abbey was governed by an abbess, "because Jesus Christ at his death had given his best beloved disciple to his mother as her son," says the bull of confirmation.

Except as regards the family, the state was certainly badly organized. We must, nevertheless, in spite of all things to the contrary, carefully observe the political theory which this society represents. Though the serf had no rights, the vassal had, and very extended ones too. The

feudal relation was never formed except on conditions which were well known to him and accepted by him ; no new conditions could be imposed upon him without his consent. From this fact the following great maxims of public right, in spite of a thousand violations of them, have come down to us : that no tax can be imposed without the consent of the tax-payers, no law is valid unless accepted by those who are to owe it obedience, and that no sentence is lawful unless pronounced by the peers of the accused. These are the rights maintained by feudal society, which were discovered under the ruins of absolute monarchy by the States-General of 1789 ; and as a guarantee of these rights, the vassal could break the tie which bound him to his lord by giving up his fief, or he could answer a refusal of justice from his suzerain by war. This right of armed resistance, recognized even by Saint Louis, led, indeed, to anarchy, and made the individual strong at the expense of society in general. But this was the proper place at which to begin. Before the state could be well organized it was necessary to raise the individual and the family ; and this double task was the work of the Middle Ages.

The Church did much toward this end by establishing the sanctity of the marriage tie, even for the serf, by preaching the equality of all men before God, which was a continual protest against the great inequalities on earth ; by proclaiming, in applying the principle of election to her highest office, the rights of intelligence as opposed to the only rights recognized by the feudal world, the rights of force ; and finally by crowning with her triple crown, and by installing in the chair of St. Peter, a position higher than that of the kings, a serf, as was, perhaps, Hadrian IV., or the son of a poor carpenter, as Gregory VII. was said to be.

Such were the customs which ruled in all the countries comprised within the limits of the empire of Charlemagne ; that is, in almost the whole of the Germanic world, in France, Germany, Italy, and the north of Spain. The political geography of all these counties was formed on the lines of their feudal organization. Since the words, "no land without a lord" were the fundamental axiom of feudalism, there was not a single domain, however small, that was not to some extent incorporated in the hierarchy. Among all these rising ranks of

Geographical
description of
Feudal Europe.

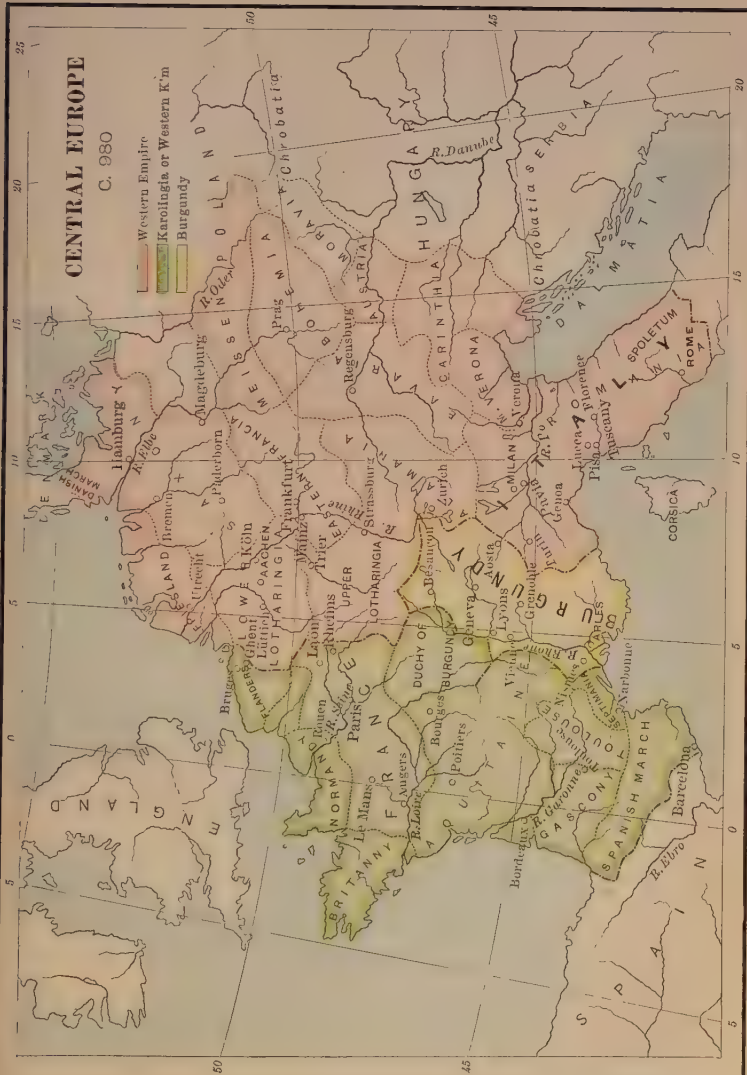
suzerainties the royal suzerainty was the only one whose limits in any way corresponded with those of the different nationalities, which were already showing themselves though in the vaguest outlines.

It is on the basis of this suzerainty, an empty word enough at the time, but containing all the future of the royal power, that we comprise, under the name of France, countries not then known by the name, but which were under the suzerainty of the Duke of France, in his quality of king. The duchy was still the most valuable and substantial possession of the king, although even this great fief had been much diminished in extent. The former vassals of Robert the Strong, the counts of Anjou, of Blois, and of Chartres, had become powerful feudatories; and of the former duchy of France Philip I. possessed only the counties of Paris, Melun, Etampes, Orleans and Sens, and did not even possess the right of free passage from one of these cities to another. Between Paris and Etampes there was the chateau of the lord of Montlhery; between Paris and Melun the city of Corbeil, whose count hoped sometime to be able to found a fourth dynasty; and between Paris and Orleans the chateau of Puiset, which was finally taken by Louis VI. after a three years' war. Still nearer to Paris were the lords of Montmorency and of Dammartin; and to the west the counts of Montfort, of Meulan, and of Mantes, all of whom robbed merchants and pilgrims, even when armed with the safe conduct of the king. These were the domains of the Duke of France; he also had powerful vassals in the counties of Ponthieu between the Canche and the Somme, of Amiens, of Vermandois and of Valois, and of Soissons and Clermont in Beauvais.

Surrounding the Duchy of France, now a royal domain, and between the Loire, the ocean, the Scheldt, the upper part of the Meuse and the Saône, were vast feudal principalities whose possessors rivaled their suzerain, the king, in wealth and in power. These were the county of Flanders, which extended from the Scheldt to St. Omer or beyond, and which was held under the emperors, as well as the kings of France, as the count had bought in the tenth century several German fiefs on the farther side of the Scheldt; the duchy of Normandy, which extended from the Bresle to the Couesnon, and whose owner had been master of England since 1066, and also claimed to hold

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☐ Western Empire
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Brittany in his tenure; the county of Anjou, to which Saintonge and Maine had been added, and whose proprietors often leagued themselves with the kings of the Capetian dynasty against Normandy, and in this way gained the dignity of grand seneschal; they were also related to the Capetians by various intermarriages; the duchy of Burgundy, which had been held since 1032 by a younger branch of the family of France; and finally the county of Champagne, which was exceedingly powerful under Eudes II. (1019-1037).

Between the Loire and the Pyrenees the ancient kingdom of Aquitaine was divided into four great fiefs (*fiefs dominants*); the duchy of Aquitaine at the north, belonging since 845 to the powerful counts of Poitiers, at the southwest, between the Garonne and the Pyrenees, the duchy of Gascony, the title to which had been bought by the count of Poitiers in 1052; the county of Toulouse, to which had been joined the marquisate of Provence; and finally the county of Barcelona which lay partly to the south and partly to the north of the eastern Pyrenees. Thanks to their remoteness from their suzerain, most of the lords of these fiefs styled themselves dukes and counts by the grace of God.

The great feudatories, immediate vassals of the crown, were called the peers of the king. When the institution of the peerage * was regulated in the twelfth century, there were six lay and six ecclesiastical peers. The former were the dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Aquitaine, and the counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse; the latter, the archbishop-duke of Rheims, the two bishop-dukes of Laon and of Langres, and the three bishop-counts of Beauvais, Châlons, and Noyon.

Among the rear fiefs (*arrière-fiefs*) there were at least one hundred counties and a great number of vice-counties, signories, episcopal counties, seignoral abbeys, baronies, etc.

It will not do to try to simplify the aspect of Europe by attributing too great an extent to the imperial suzerainty. The emperor at times pretended to consider France as a vassal state, and was justified in this by the tradition of former times; but his right was never recognized. The

* The origin of this institution is a matter of great uncertainty. There is, however, no good evidence of its appearance before the reign of Philip Augustus at the beginning of the thirteenth century.—ED.

Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, reconstituted by Otto the Great in 962, really only comprised the kingdoms of Germany, Italy, and Arles. The kingdom of Germany, on becoming an empire, was directly subject to the emperor, as was Arles since the union of 1033. The kingdom of Italy, which extended as far as and included Beneventum, had also been directly subject to him since 962, though the Pope and the other great feudal lords at the center were almost independent. The popes had themselves received the homage of the Normans of Southern Italy. The kingdom of Arles itself soon became completely separated from the empire. The kingdom of Germany was bounded on the west by the Meuse and the Scheldt; on the northwest by the North Sea; on the north by the Eider, the Baltic, and by the Slavic territory; on the east by the Oder, with the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland; and on the south by the Alps. It was divided into nine great territorial divisions, namely:

The great duchy of Saxony, which extended from the Oder almost to the right bank of the Rhine, and from Friesland and Denmark, at the north, to Thuringia and Bohemia at the south.

Thuringia, which lay between Bohemia, Franconia, and Saxony, and was regarded as a province of the latter.

Bohemia and Moravia, subject to the same hereditary duke who had recognized the suzerainty of the empire, and who often succeeded in having his own suzerainty recognized by the King of Poland.

The duchy of Bavaria, which lay between the Alps and the mountains of Bohemia, and included the East Mark, which later became Austria.

The duchy of Carinthia, on the upper part of the Drave and the Save.

Alemannia, which included Swabia, which latter name was beginning to predominate over the other, and which extended to the German Switzerland and to Alsace.

Franconia, which lay between Swabia to the south, the Bavarian Nordgau, and Thuringia to the east, Saxony to the north, and the Rhine to the west.

Lorraine, which extended from Franconia and Saxony to the Scheldt and beyond the upper part of the Meuse.

Friesland, which was situated on the shores of the North Sea. These were the eight great German duchies, for

Thuringia, as dependent on Saxony, did not count.* Besides these there were nine or ten marken (margravates), a great number of counties, and several prince-bishoprics, and seignorial abbeys. This German feudalism was as yet not very thoroughly organized, but it was to become powerful, while the royal house, which was at this time much richer and stronger than in France, was to lose all its domains and power. We shall see the causes that led to this result in later chapters.

The kingdom of Arles, lying between the south of France on the west, the Mediterranean on the south, and the Alps, the Reuss, the Rhine, and the southern part of the Vosges on the east and north, was at the same time within and without the boundaries of modern France, and extended over Languedoc, Provence, the Dauphiné, Lyonnais, Franche-Comté, Savoy, and Switzerland. Like the others, it contained both ecclesiastical and lay principalities. The county of Savoy was destined eventually to have a brilliant career. The power of the kings of Arles disappeared, however, very early. It was first divided into two states, transjurane Burgundy and cisjurane Burgundy, then reunited in 933, and finally, a century later, was bequeathed to the King of Germany. He made it nominally a part of the German empire, but in reality it only belonged to its feudal chiefs, its bishops, and counts.

We have seen that, by his edict of 1037, Conrad prevented the formation of any extended feudal system in Italy, and as a result many of the cities had become virtually republics. The kingdom of Italy was composed of the following states and cities: Lombardy, in which were the two great cities of Milan and Pavia, around one or the other of which most of the other Lombard cities were grouped; on the coasts of the two seas there were situated three rich and powerful cities: Venice, which already possessed the coasts of Dalmatia across the Adriatic; Genoa, the mistress of Corsica; and Pisa, the mistress of Sardinia; the duchy or marquisate of Tuscany, the most powerful of all the Italian fiefs. In the center of the peninsula were situated the domains of the Church, in the ancient *Exarchate* which was claimed both by the Pope and the Archbishop of

* Nor was Friesland at any time under a duke. Lorraine was divided into two duchies under Otto I.—ED.

Ravenna, and also the republic of Rome, whose jurisdiction extended over the whole Roman Campagna, the ancient Latium. In the south the Lombard Dukes of Benevento at first kept a better hold on their duchy than did Charlemagne's successors on his crown, and the emperors of the Eastern Empire still retained various points on the coasts, which were continually harassed by the Arabs. The latter had landed in Sicily in 827.

Some newcomers, the Normans, were trying to reconcile these various masters of Southern Italy with each other by subjugating them all; and in the eleventh century they founded four states in Southern Italy, the principality of Capua and Aversa, the duchy of Apulia and Calabria, the principality of Tarentum, and the great county of Sicily.

Spain was engaged in bitter struggles with the Moors, but by the end of the century succeeded in conquering Oporto, Toledo, and Valencia; the kingdom of Oviedo became the kingdom of Leon. The Carolingian mark, at the source of the Ebro, had also become a part of the kingdom of Navarre; that of Barcelona, in Catalonia, "the land of the Goths," had remained a county and was dependant on France, though very powerful. Since 1035 there had been a fourth kingdom, the kingdom of Aragon. We shall return to these Spanish kingdoms and give their history later on.

The feudal system had been carried to England by the Normans, but under conditions and with consequences which were peculiar to the country, and which impelled it in quite a different direction from the rest of feudal Europe. As feudalism arose from the institutions and the vicissitudes of the Carolingian empire, it did not exist, strictly speaking, in the Slavic and Scandinavian countries. We will, however, give a slight sketch of the political geography of these countries during the eleventh century.

The kingdom of England, conquered by William the Bastard in 1066, extended from the Channel to Carlisle and Bamborough in the north, which served as a bulwark against Scotland; the country of Wales was beyond the Norman dominion, and they were obliged to build a line of strong castles, which were given into the keeping of the lords of the frontiers (Marches), to arrest Welsh incursions; Scotland had lost Cumberland, which was now attached to England, and several of her peninsulas at the west and north

were held by the King of the Isles. Ireland was still independent, and divided among several native kings.

Denmark was composed of Jutland, of the Danish Isles, and of Scania, on the coast of Sweden. Norway was composed of the county of Orkney, the Faroe Islands, etc.

Sweden had the islands of *Æland* and of *Gotland*, a part of Lapland and the coasts of Finland. The piracy of the vikings had ceased in the three Scandinavian kingdoms, and monarchical unity was re-established ; but the ambitions of the different families, internecine wars, and the geographical position of these countries, which seemed to put them outside the general range of the affairs of Christendom, prevented their inhabitants for a long time from taking any part in European politics.

There were Slavic states on the shores of the Baltic, and we have also the duchy of Poland ; the state of the Prussians and that of the Lithuanians ; the Grand Duchy of Russia, which was divided into a number of rival principalities, and the kingdom of Hungary, which was separated from Bohemia by the Moravian mark.

In Europe, the Empire of the East possessed the great peninsula to the south of the Danube and the Save, between the Archipelago, the Adriatic, and the Black Sea, with the exception of Croatia, which had been recently conquered by the Hungarians ; and in Asia Minor it still held some fortified cities on the coast. Menaced by the Normans of Italy, who wished to get possession of Greece, by the Arabs of Egypt and Africa, who infested the Archipelago, by the Turks of Asia Minor, who were encamped on the opposite side of the Bosphorus, by the Russians, who had besieged Constantinople four times, and by the Petchenegs, who had quite recently taken possession of Thrace, and besides this, ill supported by the barbarians of every race who lived in his provinces or were in his pay, the Emperor Alexis was soon obliged to call the Christian peoples of the west to the aid of the last remains of the Roman empire.

CHAPTER XVI.

CIVILIZATION IN THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES.

Charlemagne's fruitless efforts in behalf of Literature.—Second Renaissance after the year 1000.—Latin language.—Language of the common People.—Chivalry, Architecture.

WE have seen how complete a dissolution of the social order of things followed Charlemagne's death. Civilization shared the same fate, though its elements had begun to draw together and take shape under his hands. He had clearly seen that unity of ideas is the cement which is indispensable to political unity, and, like all great minds, he had a strong desire to reign over a civilized rather than a barbarian empire. Hence his letters and capitularies, in which he ordains that "schools for children shall be formed, and the sons, not only of serfs but also of free men, shall be called in"; that is to say, not only the children of the poor country people to whom the warriors disdainfully left the humble and peaceful career of the clerk and the monk, but also those who were one day to take the places of those warriors and carry the great swords of their fathers in battle. "You are counting," he said to the sons of his noblemen, when, after examining them himself he found that they knew less than the children of the poor, "you are counting on the services rendered by your fathers, but I wish you to know that they have had their reward, and that the State owes nothing except to him who has deserved it by his own efforts."

Mandates like those, uttered by such a man, could have no other result than to form an enlightened community of laymen which would have changed the character of the Middle Ages. Though he had to make a stubborn fight against the obstinacy and boorishness of his people, Charlemagne had already succeeded in opening public schools near every monastery and every cathedral church in the

empire. The counts and knights sent their children to them whether they wished to do it or not. On his death there was, no doubt, a feeling of universal joy, as on the death of Louis XIV. All the school-going nobility threw their Latin and Teutonic grammars to the winds ; they saw with joy a career of civil war opening before them, when every one could do as he chose, and where there was room for as much license as valor.

All hope was lost of forming an enlightened society. The ecclesiastical body at least had retained something of the impetus which Charlemagne had given to learning. Beneath the ruins of the great structure which he had raised, and which had not been entirely overthrown, a refuge was found for an intellectual development possessing a certain grandeur of its own. Alcuin's place was filled by Hincmar, and Charles the Bald endeavored to imitate Charlemagne. In 855 the law and a council vied with each other in recommending instruction in both divine and humane literature ; in 859 they made fresh attempts to restore the Carolingian schools, "because the suspension of study in this way leads to ignorance of the faith and to a dearth of all knowledge." We find in the year 882 the first mention of the episcopal school at Paris, whose later career was so brilliant, and in the catalogue of the St. Requier library for the year 831, 256 volumes are noted, among which were the Eclogues of Virgil and the Rhetoric of Cicero, Terence, Macrobius, and perhaps Trogus Pompeius, which last is lost to us.

About that time there was a philosophical movement and disputes which foreshadowed those of the great centuries of the Middle Ages ; the German monk Gottschalk believed that he had found the dogma of predestination in the writings of St. Augustine. After being opposed by the learned bishop of Mainz, Rabanus Maurus, a disciple of Alcuin, and being condemned by two councils, he was confined in a cloister by Hincmar, until his death, but he did not once show a desire to retract his words. The celebrated Irishman, John Scotus Erigena, who was charged by Hincmar to reply to him, had to be in turn suppressed because his argument was so exclusively dialectic and philosophical, as he himself called it, and drawn, in fact, from the study of the ancient philosophers. But the political confusion was daily increasing ; the empire was entirely broken up ; the nobles

were fighting, despoiling, and working havoc at their will. There was no room for scholarship in the midst of such confusion. So it vanished, except in a few isolated monasteries where the last feeble rays of science found their only refuge from the fierce blasts of the tenth century. Outside these walls there reigned profound darkness; frightful misery, both physical and moral; plagues and famines, when human flesh, and flour mixed with chalk, brought their weight in gold. It seemed as if physical death was about to get possession of the world which had already been overcome by intellectual death; indeed, mankind itself was persuaded of this fact. As the year 1000 approached no more building went on, no repairing, no laying by for a future day, at least for a future here below. They gave their lands and their houses to the clergy, *mundi fine appropinquante*, for the end of the world was at hand.*

But, like all other hours, this hour of anguish and irrepressible terror passed by. The sun rose again on the first day of the year 1001. Suspended animation returned with new vigor. The world gave thanks to the God who had let them live, by conceiving a glorious thought of Christian unity and of religious heroism, which was expressed by the head of Christianity: "Soldiers of Christ," cried Sylvester II. (999-1003), referring to the ruin of Jerusalem, "Soldiers of Christ, arise, you must fight in his cause." A century had not elapsed before millions of men had responded to this call.

In the mean time, all went to work; the earth seemed to cast aside its age and to deck itself in a fine array of new churches. Basilicas were rebuilt, monasteries were founded. Only 1108 had been built in France in the space of eight centuries, while 326 sprang up in the eleventh, and 702 in the twelfth century. In the rest of Christian Europe the same pious duties were being performed, and in equal number, for in those two centuries the movement which put a fourth part of the soil into the hands of the clergy was at its

* This dark picture could easily be relieved by touches of another sort. There was no peculiar fear of the approaching end of the world connected with the year 1000. It was a common feeling for two or three centuries of this period. See *New Englander and Yale Review*, vol. xii., p. 369.—ED.

height. It was at that time a useful measure, though it had bad results later on.

At the same time life returned to the intellectual world. Silvester II. set the example. While yet a simple monk of Aurillac, under the name of Gerbert, he went to study literature, algebra, and astronomy, among the Mohammedans of Spain, and to open up to Christian Europe a new source of knowledge, Arabian science ; he collected a large library, constructed globes, and contrived a pendulum-clock, such a wonderful thing to the multitude, that he passed in their eyes for a magician who had sold himself to the devil. In 1022 heretical opinions made their appearance in Orleans : it was not a symptom of declining strength but of a new growth of religious feeling ; the human mind was anxious to be convinced of what it believed. Thirteen heretics, condemned by a council, perished at the stake.

Society had already grown tired of brigandage ; by instinct it was led to emerge from the general confusion, to take its stand on the new foundations which had been formed in the midst of the chaos, to lead a more regular social life, and to develop with some security the new civilization born of the stormy elements and convulsions of the tenth century. As interpreter of the public need, whence she drew the authority for her commands, the Church was not afraid to place bounds upon the violence of the barons : she established the Truce of God (1041), which forbade all private warfare from Wednesday evening till Monday morning, and threatened all who transgressed this law with the most severe punishments, both temporal and spiritual.

The two societies, the ecclesiastic and the lay, the one owning as it did, but one master, obeying one idea, mature and well wrought out, and undertaking to correct and repress the other society ; the latter of recent growth, developing spontaneously and having no guide but its passion and instincts, these two societies have henceforth their separate languages. The speech of the first had not changed ; in its churches and convents, sheltered from the storms without, it had preserved the language of universal domination and of learning, the Latin language—not, it is true, in its pristine purity, but adapted to present needs, a living and national language, so to speak, in the domain of the Church. The second language, emerging from its infancy, brought with

The Latin
language.

it many new idioms, still imperfect, rough, uncertain, and variable, but they were used by all, they had life and vigor, and were the expression of the thoughts and feelings which animated all men. In Germany the spoken language was Teutonic, confined, perhaps, after the tenth century, to the other side of the Meuse ; in Italy, the Italian language, which had not yet produced anything, though, thanks to Dante and Petrarch, it was destined to reach its perfection sooner than the others ; in France, the Romance language, which was already divided into the northern Romance, (*langue d'oïl*), and the southern Romance or Provençal, (*langue d'oc*), following the different manners and characters of these two portions of Gaul. The Romance language developed from the Gallo-Roman language, which was spoken in the two Gauls at the time of the Roman empire, and which the barbarians of Germany and the north had modified, according as their genius or their ignorance led them. Its foundation is Latin ; almost no changes occur except in the forms. Analysis takes the place of synthesis. Inflexion by terminations to indicate the case of substantives and the person of verbs was too subtle for the barbarian mind and gave way to articles, pronouns, and auxiliary verbs. The sonorous quality of the languages of the south took on a hard sound in the harsh voices of the north. The Normans, who adopted the language of the conquered nations among whom they settled, have been most active in the work of language formation. For instance, out of *charitas* they have made *charité*, while the southern tribes stopped at the first transformation which this word underwent, namely, *charitad*. We have before us then the two instruments of the literature of the Middle Ages : first, the Latin, imposing in its unity ; and second, the common and national idioms in all their diversity ; one the organ of the spiritual, the other the organ of the temporal world. Debates on religious and philosophical subjects were held, and the chronicles were written in Latin, and no longer, as in Charlemagne's time, was it the will of one man, but the needs of all, which caused this revival in letters. The monasteries were now the centers of learning.

All France joined in this second renaissance, and especially the province of Normandy, where the warlike spirit of feudal society had already showed itself in its highest form of expression. The magnificent abbey of Fontenelle or of

St. Vandrille, restored by the duke in the year 1035, was a Norman possession ; also that of Jumiéges, whose imposing ruins can still be seen, and the Abbey of Bec, founded in 1040, which acquired fame at the very beginning of its existence owing to the presence of two great doctors there, Lanfranc and St. Anselm, not to mention the monasteries of St. Stephen of Caen, of Rouen, of Avranches, of Bayeux, of Fécamp, and of Mt. St. Michael, "in the midst of the dangers of the deep" (*in periculo maris*). William the Bastard was called the Conqueror, but he also earned the name of the "great builder." If the noblemen did not know how to write, by right of birth, and "in the capacity of barons," the monks, in the retirement of the monasteries, were no longer content merely to copy the rare manuscripts which have survived the shipwreck of ancient civilization ; they took an interest in the events going on about them, and wrote them down, or they made great efforts to strengthen their faith by theological discussions, which again showed signs of learning. Richer, who was a pupil of Silvester II., and a physician as well as a monk, wrote in the Abbey of St. Remi a history of the tenth century, in which he imitates Sallust, as Eginhard imitated Suetonius. Abbo, a monk of St. Germain, sings in rather limping verse the exploits of Count Eudes and the Parisians against the Norsemen, while another monk, William, at the abbey of Jumiéges, wrote the history from the Norman point of view.

While some were writing others were teaching, and scholars flocked from far and near. More than four thousand gathered to listen to the Italian Lanfranc (1005-1089) at St. Stephen's of Caen. He tried in vain to find a refuge in the solitude of Bec from the reputation which followed him even there ; in spite of himself he was raised to the archbishopric of Canterbury. The intellectual activity thus reviving sometimes turned aside from the beaten track. The heresy which led thirteen unfortunate beings to the stake in 1022 has already been mentioned. Another heresy, stirred up by Berengar of Tours, troubled the Church for more than thirty years (1050-1080). Berengar, like Scotus Erigena, looked upon the Eucharist as a symbol merely, and subjected the articles of his faith to a process of reasoning. "You must, however, be resigned not to understand," the Bishop of Liege, his friend, said to him, "for can you ever understand the mystery of God?"

But Berengar wished to account to himself for his belief and boldly carried his reasoning powers into the midst of the mysteries. He is one of the forerunners of Luther, though Luther did not know any of his writings. Lanfranc was his principal adversary.

St. Anselm, an Italian like Lanfranc, and his successor at the Abbey of Bec and in the see of Canterbury, gave a fresh impulse to dogmatic theology, which had been almost neglected since the time of St. Augustine, that is, for six centuries. He took his stand upon the dogmas of Christianity, with an absolute faith in them, and employed all the force of his powerful intellect and all the resources of dialectics, that is to say, of the art of reasoning, to demonstrate their truth. He has sometimes Descartes' power of close reasoning, and the famous proof of the existence of God, which was given by the father of modern philosophy when, starting from the sole fact of thought, he reached the absolute being who is in himself the cause and origin of thought, is in fact, one of St. Anselm's arguments.

Like Lanfranc, St. Anselm had to cope with bold innovators who, with the aid of dialectics, so dangerous an ally of theology, shook the foundations of the dogmas in their desire to submit them to the tests of reasoning according to the rules of Aristotle's logic. Berengar had attempted to interpret the mystery of the Eucharist; Roscelin, about the year 1085, attacked the mystery of the Trinity, and the growing scholasticism began with the quarrels between Realists and Nominalists, those subtle discussions which wasted the efforts of many hard-working minds.

While the human mind was being led back by scholasticism to the exercises of its noble speculative functions, and while the cool shades of the cloisters of Bec and of St. Victor resounded with the Latin argumentations of Christian philosophers, other voices, other subjects, and another language roused the echoes in the castles or mingled with the clashing of arms on the field of battle.

The Popular Languages.

The barbarian warriors loved the songs of their bards, which stimulated their courage, and doubtless, also, opened new fields to their imagination in the inevitable periods of repose. The feudal warriors, who were equally eager for battle and the adventures of war, but who were condemned sometimes to shut themselves up for long seasons in their

dull castles, loved to hear tales of warlike deeds. They had their bards, called in the north *trouvères*, and in the south *troubadours*, and also their *jongleurs*. The *trouvère* and the *troubadour*, as their names indicate, invented and composed the poem, the *jongleur* (*joculator*) recited it. Sometimes the same man combined both functions. The *jongleurs* are seen in very early times; there were some attached to the court of Charlemagne and to that of Louis the Pious; a capitulary of the year 789 forbade all bishops, abbots, and abbesses to have them in their service. Later, their numbers multiplied. They wandered from castle to castle with a musical instrument on their back or attached to their saddle bows, if they were able to afford a mount. The barons, the *châtelains*, the squires and noble ladies all welcomed the *trouvère* with joy; he brought diversion with him and romance, which shortened the long evenings when books were rare things, and usually he went away again richly rewarded. Such was the first noble use to which the popular language came.

The *trouvères* drew their songs from many sources, and their long epic poems, or *chansons de gestes*, of twenty, thirty, or fifty thousand verses each, may be classified in several cycles. First came the Carolingian cycle, of a religious and at the same time feudal character. Here the principal hero is Charlemagne, glorified in story. He is no longer the energetic and skillful leader of the Austrasians, who makes himself Emperor, fights the Saxons, and signs capitularies; he is a monarch for the fancy, like the figures in a confused dream, which extend and expand until their outlines are lost in uncertainty. Charlemagne is the type conceived of by the popular imagination; other kings of earlier or later times are rarely if ever mentioned; and their great deeds are almost always imputed to him; according to them he gained the great victory at Tours. Hatred toward the Saracens is the ruling religious feeling of the eleventh century, the century which gave birth to the crusades. Accordingly the popular epic forgets Charlemagne's long-continued efforts to establish his markgrafen on the banks of the Ebro, but makes him victorious over the Saracens even as far as Asia, and leads him in triumph from Jerusalem to Constantinople. Nevertheless this colossus who bestrides the seas is at the same time a weak creature, almost a nonentity, and much abused; it is his twelve

peers who do the work. It is a picture of the rebellious feudal society of the eleventh century, a flattery of the lord of the castle by the *trouvère*. Though the monotonous proximity of these poems is wearying, yet some of the passages which breathe of heroism can thrill us, even to this day. For instance, in the *Chanson de Roland*, to mention but one, where the hero, taken by surprise in the valley of Roncevaux and unable to make the sound of his *olifant* reach the ears of Charlemagne, bids farewell to his good sword Durandal, and lies down to die with his face toward Spain. Such passages, when sung with spirit, incited the warriors to great deeds. Thus at the battle of Hastings (1066), the jongleur Taillefer went before the army of William the Conqueror and

Sur un cheval ki tost alloit
Devant li Ducs alloit cantant
De Karlemaine et de Rollant
Et d'Oliver e des vassals
Qui moururent en Renchevals.

(On a fleet-footed horse,
Before the Dukes he rode, and sang
Of Charlemagne and of Roland,
Of Oliver and of the vassals
Who died at Roncevals.)

Another poem of the same cycle, the *Roman des Lohéains*, is remarkable for giving an energetic account of the struggle which we have already described between the two feudal races, namely, the Lorraine or German and the Picard or French races. The second epic cycle was the Armorican cycle, whose hero is Arthur, the famous defender of British independence. Robert Wace, in the twelfth century, collected the many legends scattered among the people, in his *Roman de Brut*, which gave expression to the sentiments and customs of the period.

A third cycle followed closely after, which took Alexander for its hero, and influenced by the revival in the study of the classics, transported the romance of chivalry over to the field of antiquity.

The epic poets addressed their verses to the chivalrous class of society. This class of men had been in existence in all its glory even as early as Philip I. Chivalry. and the first crusade. Chivalry is one of those facts which seem to belong rather to romance than

to real history. Nevertheless it really existed, in all its phases. Even in the customs of the German tribes we can trace its faint beginning, in that ceremony where the young man publicly received his shield and javelin, and became a warrior and a citizen by virtue of these insignia. Since then the sword had always been the symbol of a sort of investiture ; in 791, at Ratisbon, Charlemagne with great solemnity girded his son Louis the Pious with the sword ; in 838 Louis conferred the same honor on Charles the Bald, adding : " In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Here we see an element of religious consecration already added to the simple ceremony of arming.

Now it happened that the noble lords, who were cut off from the rest of the world and yet had sovereign power in their castles, took pleasure in forming little courts for themselves and drawing around them their vassals, who were expected to render personal services, which were not considered humiliating but rather a mark of distinction. These vassals formed a hierarchy, comprising constable, marshal, seneschal, chamberlain, butler, cup-bearer, etc. But the vassals did not come alone to the court of their sovereigns, but were accompanied by their sons, who were to receive there the education and accomplishments of the great castles, and to render services of a certain kind, as, for instance, those of a page, squire, etc. When a young man seemed to be sufficiently accomplished in the art of setting and serving a table and in that of clothing and arming the knight, he was himself made a knight, by a sort of ordination which he received at the hands of his feudal lord, in a solemn ceremonial.

First came a bath, the symbol of the purity which ought to distinguish a knight ; a red robe, of the blood he ought to spill ; a black robe, of the death that awaited him. A fast of twenty-four hours followed, and after that a night passed in prayer in the church. The next day, after the rites of confession, communion, and a sermon, a consecrated sword was hung about the neck of the applicant, who knelt down before his lord and begged for knighthood. Then the knights, or sometimes the ladies, invested him with spurs, and the hauberk or coat of mail, the cuirass, the armlets, the gauntlets, and finally the sword, after which the lord gave him the accolade, by striking him upon the shoulders three times with the flat of the sword and saying :

"In the name of God, of St. Michael, and of St. George, I make thee a knight." The next minute the young cavalier sprang upon his courser, in the middle of the crowd assembled in the court-yard of the castle. A knight's duties were to pray, to avoid sin, to defend the church, the widow and the orphan, to protect the people, to travel far and wide, to make war loyally, to fight for his lady, to love his lord, and to listen to good and true men; "as of old King Alexander, so ought a knight to conduct himself."

The society of that time, though lawless, had been able to create an ideal of perfection for itself. The man of the Middle Ages looked up to his patron saint as a model in the religious life, and to the knight in civil and political life.

A new style of architecture had arisen by the side of the new science of scholasticism, the new poetry of the *chansons de gestes* and the new military régime of chivalry. "About three years after the year 1000," said Rodulf Glaber, "the churches were renovated almost throughout the whole world, especially in Italy and the Gauls, although the greater part were still in good enough condition not to need repairing." The public buildings, whose construction until then showed signs of ignorance and haste, with no thought of the future, were built more solidly and with grander proportions. Societies of builders were formed about this time, and their numbers included bishops and abbots; in the church, especially, the architectural art was cultivated, and the monks above all others lent their assistance; some artists from Italy, where the arts had never been completely neglected, took part, it is true, in the work and introduced the methods of Byzantine artists. In the south, especially, the Roman style of architecture, which had left many monuments there, exercised a great influence upon the conceptions of the period. The modern Greek, the Roman, and sometimes a mixture of the two, are the characteristic forms of Romance architecture, also called Byzantine, Lombard, Saxon, etc. Their buildings show the semicircular arch and columns, also the steep roofs, due to the climate, and great towers for the defense of the church.

Most of the churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries preserved the original arrangement of the Latin basilica. After that time, however, a change took place which ushered in a new period. Various new forms or combinations of

forms were introduced. At the head of the church rose the bell tower, a marked characteristic of the western churches, at first broad and low, later slender and pointing heavenward. In the interior, the general system of vaulting was substituted for the ceilings and woodwork of the old Christian basilicas ; the choir and galleries were extended beyond the cross, the passage ran around the apse, and accessory chapels came to be grouped about the sanctuary. These successive modifications lead us little by little to the arrangement of the so-called Gothic churches.

The state of society which we have been reviewing was complete in itself and new, for it lacked none of the qualifications necessary to social existence, and in each of its manifestations it showed an original character. Church and feudalism, the scholastic philosophy and the songs of the *trouvères*, chivalry and the Gothic churches all belong exclusively to this state of society, have never been seen in any other, and will never be seen again. It no longer resembled the abortive attempts even of a Theodoric or a Charlemagne ; the strange joining of barbarism and civilization, the shafts of antique columns stolen from Ravenna and badly patched together in the imperial palace of Aix-la-Chapelle ; it was a creative society and an organic period in the life of humanity.

BOOK VI.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE (1059-1250).

CHAPTER XVII.

THE QUARREL OVER INVESTITURES (1059-1122).

Complete supremacy of the Emperor Henry III. (1039-1056).—Hildebrand's effort to regenerate the Church and emancipate the Papacy ; Regulation of 1059.—Gregory VII. (1073). His great Plans.—Boldness of his first Acts.—Humiliation of the Emperor (1077).—Death of Gregory VII. (1085), and of Henry IV. (1106). Henry V. (1106).—The Concordat of Worms (1122) ; End of the quarrel over Investitures.

OTTO the Great had revived the empire of Charlemagne and had resumed the rights attached to the imperial crown ; among others those of using the ancient city of Rome as capital of the new empire, of confirming the election of the sovereign pontiff, and of exercising a great influence over all the affairs of the Church. Henry III., son of Conrad the Salic (1039), was the one of the German emperors who made the most of his power, and who best succeeded in making the imperial authority respected on both sides of the Alps. He forced the Duke of Bohemia to acknowledge his supremacy and to pay him a sum of money ; he reinstated Peter, the king of Hungary, in his kingdom and received his homage for it. The two duchies of Lorraine had been united, but he separated them ; and when the duchies of Bavaria, Swabia, and Carinthia fell vacant, he felt sure enough of his power to re-establish the ducal office in order to give these provinces a more direct government, and one more capable of enforcing the truce of God, which was still only an empty name.

Supremacy of
the Emperor
Henry III.
(1039-1056).

In southern Italy, however, the Emperor came into collision with an enemy who seemed weak enough, but who was able to defy him. Some Norman pilgrims, who had come to Rome toward the year 1016, had been employed by the Pope against the Greeks who were attacking Benevento; others, returning from Jerusalem, helped the inhabitants of Salerno to drive away the Saracens, who were besieging them. The fame of their success, and of the booty which they had gained, brought many other Normans to join them. So many came that they were soon strong enough to make themselves masters of the country. William of the Iron Arm, the oldest of the twelve sons of Tancred of Hauteville, a gentleman of Coutances, was in 1043 elected chief of the country, with the title of Count of Venossa and Apulia. His brothers Drogo (1046), Humphrey (1051), and Robert Guiscard (1057) succeeded him. The Papacy was not slow to repent having brought such warlike neighbors upon itself. Leo IX. collected troops, obtaining some from Henry III., and uniting his efforts with those of the Greek Emperor Constantine Monomachus marched against the Normans, who defeated him and made him prisoner. But these wise people thought of Pippin and of Charlemagne; and said to themselves that the popes could give a legal existence to what had before only existed by right of force. They knelt before their prisoner, declared themselves his vassals, and received all they had conquered as a fief from his hands (1053).* The Pope left his captivity the suzerain of a new state, of the duchy of Apulia, to which the Normans soon added Sicily, which was conquered by Roger, another brother of Robert Guiscard; these provinces were all united finally into the kingdom of Sicily (made a kingdom in 1130), and a Norman dynasty reigned at Naples, where the counts of Anjou have also reigned, and where until recently the house of Bourbon was still sovereign.

So Henry III. met with a check in that direction; although he did not attach any great importance to this war, and though after all it appeared to terminate to his advantage, as the suzerainty gained by the Pope came back to the Emperor, on whom the Pope depended. No other

* The conqueror of the Pope knelt before him and begged his forgiveness and absolution, but the vassal relation was not established till 1059, under Nicholas II. Both Leo IX. and Stephen IX. planned further war against the Normans.—ED.

emperor made more use of his right of interfering in ecclesiastical elections, whether of the pope or of the bishops, and no one used it more wisely. He deposed three popes who were disputing the possession of the See at the same time, and three times awarded the tiara to German priests, and awarded it wisely to Clement II., Damasus II., and Leo IX. The council of Sutri had again acknowledged that no pope could be elected without the consent of the emperor.

Nevertheless, since the time of Charlemagne, the Church had not ceased to grow in power and in moral authority. She possessed temporal authority, for she owned a large part of the soil of Christian Europe; she had moral authority, for every one, great and small, accepted her commands submissively, and by her weapon of excommunication she could force even kings to obey her; finally, she had the advantage of unity, for the whole Church of the West recognized the Roman pontiff as her head. Thus, during the eleventh century there were two great powers in existence, the Pope and the Emperor, the temporal power and the spiritual power, both of them very ambitious, as they could not fail to be considering the customs, institutions, and beliefs of the epoch. It was at this time that the great question came up as to who should be the master of the world, the successor of St. Peter or the successor of Augustus and Charlemagne.

The Church had never before had so lofty an ambition, at least never in so clear and fixed a form. At the time of the Iconoclasts, and under the successors of Charlemagne, the Church aspired to emerge from the trammels of the state so as to develop her own life with freedom. Now she aspired to control the lay society, and even its rulers.

Efforts made
by Hildebrand
to regenerate
the Church and
to emancipate
the Papacy.
Regulation of
1059.

The Papacy was started on this new career by a monk of humble origin, Hildebrand, the son of a carpenter of Soana, in Tuscany, who had resided in the monastery of Cluny for some time, when Leo IX., stopping there on his way to take possession of the Holy See, carried him away with him.*

* Hildebrand's family was of very humble position, but his father was not a carpenter. He spent his youth in a monastery in Rome, which was entirely under the control of the reform ideas of the monastery of Cluny, but he was in Cluny itself only a few months.—ED.

This was not the first time that a simple monk, by the force of his character and genius, gained a supreme ascendancy over the whole Church. Just then a feeling of violent disapproval was felt in the convents of the ambition of a certain number of bishops, of their intrigues, their vices, and their worldly lives, of the traffic they made of ecclesiastical dignities—a traffic called “simony”—and of their very worldly passions. At the festivities of Whitsuntide, in the year 1063, the mitred abbot of Fulda and the bishop of Hildesheim disputed with their daggers the right of precedence in the middle of the church. The Emperor just escaped being killed, and the altar was covered with blood.

Many voices were lifted up against these disorders, and among others that of Peter Damiani, the cardinal bishop of Ostia, who demanded a radical reform in the Church, a return to simplicity, to primitive poverty, and to the elections made by the priests and people. Hildebrand threw himself into this reaction with all the ardor of an austere, eager, and sincere character. He was not only impelled by his interest for religion, but also by an interest for his Italian fatherland. He hoped, by means of a papacy which should be supreme over Italy and all Christendom, to reform the Church and set Italy free. But the Church herself must first be set free. We have seen that the defeat of Leo IX. at Civitella (1053) was worth more to him than a brilliant success would have been; for as the Normans had declared themselves vassals of the Holy See, resolved to defend it, the Pope henceforth had valiant warriors close at hand who were at his disposal.

Henry III. died in 1056, leaving a son, Henry IV., whose minority was very stormy, a fact which greatly assisted the projects of the Court of Rome. In 1059, a new Pope, Nicolas II., also under Hildebrand's influence, published a decree which regulated the election of the popes in a new manner. They were to be elected by the cardinal bishops, priests, and deacons of the Roman territory; the people were to give their consent afterward; the Emperor was to retain his right of confirmation; and, finally, the pope was to be chosen by preference from the Roman clergy. Another decree forbade the clergy to receive the investiture to any ecclesiastical fief from any temporal lord.

These decrees were of the highest importance, as they withdrew the Pope from the Emperor's authority, and placed the immense temporal power of the Church in the now free hand of the pontiff. A number of bishops, chiefly those of Lombardy, who disliked the authority of the Pope, especially in its new severity, still more than that of the Emperor, and who, besides, were troubled by the anathemas pronounced against the simoniacal and married priests, brought about a schism and obtained an anti-pope, Honorius II., from the imperial court, which was also much irritated by the decrees. Hildebrand had on his side all the citizen class and the nobility also, except at Rome, where the nobles feared lest his power should prove dangerous to their independence. In the struggle that followed between the two factions, Hildebrand was victorious, and his triumph was complete, when he was chosen to the Holy See under the name of Gregory VII. (1073). He is the last Pope whose election was submitted to the Emperor's sanction.*

As Pope, Gregory now completed the work he had begun as monk. His plans grew with his power. Charlemagne and Otto the Great had made the Papacy subordinate to them, and had joined the Church with the State. But now the royal authority, the centralizing power, was declining throughout all Europe in proportion as feudalism, or the local powers, those of the dukes, counts, and barons, increased. The Church, on the other hand, had seen the faith of her people growing even stronger in this century. It seemed to her chief that the time had now come for her to grasp the government of the bodies as well as of the souls of men, or at least to draw closer the ties that bound all Christendom to the Holy See, and to exercise a constant surveillance and activity, in order to put down the licentiousness of manners, violations of justice, and all the causes that led to the destruction of the soul. His aim was a lofty one, and his great ambition was natural enough in a priest. It is fortunate, however, that he did not succeed, and that the European nations preserved their independence, which they would have lost under such an absolute papal authority.

Gregory VII.
(1073) and his
projects. Bold-
ness of his first
acts.

* This was probably not done in his case.—ED.

Gregory aimed at four things: to emancipate the Papacy from German supremacy; to reform the Church in her customs and discipline; to make her independent of any temporal power; and to rule the laity, both people and princes, in the name and in the interest of their salvation.

The first point was gained by the decree of Nicholas II; the second by the many acts of Gregory VII. for the reformation of the clergy, which were especially directed toward the celibacy of the priests and against simony; the third, by prohibiting the temporal princes from giving and the clergy from receiving from them the investiture of any ecclesiastical benefice; the fourth, by the intervention of the popes in the government of the kingdoms of Europe.

The kings of Germany and of France, Henry IV. and Philip I., openly carried on a traffic in ecclesiastical dignities; Gregory threatened to excommunicate them, and further than that, to release their vassals from their oath of fealty. In England he forced William the Conqueror to pay him Peter's pence. He claimed the suzerainty over kingdoms of Hungary, Denmark, and Spain, which had been conquered from the pagans or infidels "by the grace of God," and he made the Duke of Croatia king of the Dalmatians, on the condition of his paying homage to the Holy See. Nevertheless, the Pope, though supreme in distant regions, was not so in Italy. In Rome, even, the prefect Censius seized Gregory VII. in a church and kept him prisoner for some time. In Milan the citizens drove out Herlembald, who under the pretext of supporting the reforms of Gregory VII. was exercising a genuine tyranny in the city, and demanded an archbishop of Henry IV., who sent them a noble of Castiglione. This was the beginning of the struggle between the Papacy and the Empire, one of the greatest dramas in history.

All the circumstances of the times were very favorable to Gregory VII., and promised him support in Germany.

Feudal rebellions had shaken that country during the whole of the minority of Henry IV., who was only six years old at the death of his father in 1056. The bishops and nobles had wrested the regency, and even the care of the young king, from the Empress Agnes. On his majority, Henry IV. attempted to repress the revolt of which Saxony was always the center.

The humiliation of the Emperor (1077).

A great victory gained by him in Thuringia seemed to insure his success, when suddenly he heard the voice of the Pope resounding in his ears, who commanded him to suspend the war, to leave the decision of his quarrel with the Saxons to the Holy See, and to renounce his claims to all his ecclesiastical investiture under pain of excommunication; the legates added to this a summons to appear at Rome and there to justify his private misconduct.* Henry IV. was equally vigorous in his reply to this furious attack. In the synod of Worms (1076), which was composed of twenty-four bishops, partisans of his cause, the deposition of Gregory VII. was solemnly pronounced.

Instead of being alarmed by this the Pope redoubled his attacks. Though only just rescued by a popular movement from his enemy Censius, he made use of all his weapons; he published against the Emperor a bull of excommunication which declared him deposed for rebelling against the Holy See, and he released his subjects from their oath of fealty. Agents, to execute this bull without mercy, were easily found in the Saxons and the Swabians, who were both hostile to the house of Franconia. They had at their head Rudolf of Swabia, and Welf, an Italian, of the house of Este, whom Henry himself had made Duke of Bavaria. They convoked a diet at Tibur, suspended the Emperor from the exercise of his functions, and threatened to depose him if he did not get absolution from the anathemas of Rome. Henry consented to the humiliation, and a general diet was determined upon, to meet at Augsburg, at which the Pope was to appear to decide upon his absolution. But as he felt the danger of letting his enemies come together he resolved to anticipate the promised diet and go himself to Rome to implore the pardon of the Pope.

Gregory VII. forced him to purchase his absolution at the price of humiliations such as no other sovereign has ever undergone. The Pope was then staying at the castle of Canossa, on the lands of the celebrated Countess Matilda, the most powerful suzerain in Italy, as the possessor of the Marquisate of Tuscany and of many other important feudal possessions in Central Italy, and who was a devoted adherent of the Holy See. Here Henry IV. came

* It is doubtful whether some of the points of the papal demand were as here stated, but the spirit is indicated.—ED.

to beg an audience, and waited during three days outside the wall, standing barefooted in the snow. On the fourth day he was admitted to the presence of the Pope, and his ban of excommunication removed. But Gregory was too wise to give up all his weapons at once, and made it a condition of his absolution that Henry should come to an agreement with his enemies in Germany. So that the Pope still reserved some means of embarrassing Henry's movements. It is not strange that Henry should have trembled before a man who was recognized as the direct representative of the Deity, and who was so sure of the approval of Heaven, that, as it was said after taking half the Host and abjuring God to destroy him at once if he was guilty of the crimes of which he was accused, he gave Henry the other half and proposed that he should make the same declaration ; the latter drew back and refused the test (1077).

By yielding, Henry had avoided the blow aimed at him by the enemies who were allied against him. As soon as

Death of
Gregory VII.
(1085) ; of Henry IV. (1106).

this moment of danger had passed, he retrieved his losses. He certainly had no other alternative but that of again taking every risk, or else of renouncing his throne ; for the German princes who were opposed to him had taken the final and decisive step. They elected as their king Rudolf of Swabia, who had bought the support of the legate by promising to give up his claims to the appointment of bishops (1077), but whose solemn recognition the Pope had wisely delayed. Henry IV., gathering together all his partisans, made war upon them with great success. A battle, not far from Merseburg, where Rudolf was killed, it is said, by Godfrey of Bouillon, afterwards duke of Lower Lorraine, made him master of Germany [1080.] He wished also to be supreme in Italy, and he met with varying success there in different expeditions. He seemed at one time about to destroy the power of the Countess Matilda ; he took Rome and made the Archbishop of Ravenna Pope, under the name of Clement III., and was crowned Emperor by him. Gregory himself would have fallen into the hands of the man he had so insulted if Robert Guiscard and his Normans, the faithful allies of the Holy See, had not rescued him. He died among them (1085), saying : " I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile." He seemed to think, to his last moment, that the

universal dominion of the Holy See was her strict right, an idea which is certainly logical in many respects.

Gregory died too soon, for if he had lived a few years longer he would have seen his enemy dying in even greater misery than he had suffered at the gates of Canossa. Under Urban II. who became Pope in 1088 the actual power of the Papacy reached a very high point. He renewed the decrees of Gregory VII. against the Emperor. After a fleeting triumph, Henry IV. was successively attacked by his two sons whom the Church had armed against him, was taken prisoner by the younger and stripped of the imperial insignia, and though he recovered his liberty and again assumed the title of Emperor, he could not recover his power. He vainly besought the aid of the King of France, "the most faithful of his friends," who made no response. But few of the German princes gave him their support, and he died in 1106 at Liege, Emperor scarcely more than in name, but forgiving his enemies and sending his ring and his sword to his rebellious son. "His body remained five years without a tomb, until finally the ban of the Church was removed by the Pope.

Nevertheless, it was this parricide son, Henry V., who brought the quarrel over investitures to a conclusion. The


Henry V.
(1106). The con-
cordat of
Worms (1122);
end of the quar-
rel over investi-
tures.

final decision was somewhat retarded by the discussion concerning the succession of the great Countess Matilda, who had wished to bequeath her property to the Holy See. Henry claimed all she had left, the fiefs as head of the empire, the allodial lands as the acknowledged heir of the countess, and took possession of everything. This became a cause of new quarrels in the future, as we shall see. When this point of the inheritance had been settled for the time being, the two opposing parties, at last recognizing that the dispute over investitures served only to weaken themselves, agreed to conclude it by a just and nearly equal division of the disputed rights. The Concordat of Worms was drawn up in the following words (1122). From Pope Calistus II. to the Emperor: "I agree that the elections of the bishops and the abbots, who hold immediately from the kingdom, shall be made in your presence, but without violence or simony; so that if any dispute shall arise, you may give your assent and protection to the better side, following the opinion of the metropolitan

and the bishops of that province. The one elected shall receive from you through investiture with the sceptre, the *regalia*, excepting those which belong to the Roman Church, and shall render to you all the services which you have a right to demand." The Emperor returns: "I leave to the Pope all investiture by the ring and staff; and I permit in the churches of my kingdom and empire, canonical elections and free consecrations." This wise compromise, assigning the temporal authority to the temporal sovereign and the spiritual to the spiritual sovereign, was accompanied by words of reconciliation. But Gregory VII.'s full plan had not been carried out. The vassal bond between the prince and the clergy was not broken; all the members of the Church, if not her head, were still subject to the State.*

The house of Franconia became extinct with Henry V. (1125), who died after having temporarily settled the contest between the papacy and the empire. The reign of his successor, Lothar II. (1125-1137), seemed like an interlude, during which the world's stage was being arranged for a new era of struggle.

* The full importance of this investiture strife for the state cannot be understood without noticing how vitally important it was that the government should have some means of controlling and securing the fidelity of those who had possession of such a large proportion of the area of the State. While the plans of Gregory VII. are not accomplished in any detail, still the age does see an enormous increase of the independence of the Papacy and of its actual power throughout Europe. The days of Otto I. and of Henry III. are no longer possible. Those of Innocent III. are approaching.—ED.



CHAPTER XVIII.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN ITALY AND GERMANY (1152-1250).

Three Epochs in the struggle between the Papacy and the Empire.—Strength of German Feudalism ; Weakness of Lothar II. (1125) ; the Hohenstaufen (1138).—Division of Italy ; Progress of the small Nobles and of the Republics.—Arnold of Brescia (1144).—Frederick I., Barbarossa (1152) ; Overthrow of Milan (1162) ; the Lombard League (1164) ; Peace of Constance (1183).—Emperor Henry VI. (1190) ; Innocent III. (1198) ; Guelfs and Ghibellines in Italy.—Frederick II. (1212-1250). Second Lombard League (1226).—Innocent IV. (1243) ; Fall of German Power in Italy (1250).

WHILE the Pope and the Emperor were contending for the mastery of the world, France, which had kept out of the great debate, was carrying on the first crusade.

Struggle between the Papacy and the Empire.

There are, as it were, two parallel series of important events taking place at this period of the world's history, both of which began at the same time, toward the end of the eleventh century, and ended in the middle of the thirteenth century. A chronological order of events would demand that the two histories should be carried on together, while a good understanding of them requires that they should be treated separately. We shall, accordingly, continue our description of the struggle between Italy and Germany, up to the time of the final solution of the difficulties, then we shall return to the crusades. This method will disturb the sequence of time, but it will be to the advantage of logical sequence.

The quarrel between the Papacy and the Empire is a drama in three acts. In the first the Pope and the Emperor dispute for the supremacy over Christian Europe ; the Concordat of Worms (1122) requires mutual concessions and a division which modern times have kept sacred though at the same time seeking the solution of the problem in another direction, namely, a free church within a free state. In the second act of the great debate, the action centers around

the struggle for independence in Italy, which the emperors of the Swabian house wish to make subject to their power, and which is freed by the peace of Constance (1183); in the third act, the independence of the Holy See is in peril, the death of Frederic II. saves it (1250). The first struggle has already been described, the second and third now follow.

The Franconian dynasty had felt the power of German feudalism growing under its sway and had made vain efforts to arrest its progress. It was in vain that, in the midst of the duchies, a host of smaller immediate lordships and imperial cities were created, holding directly of the Emperor; it was in vain that the right of heredity was granted to the smaller nobles, a policy followed in Italy, too, and embodied in the edict of 1037; the great vassals, who had long had the right of hereditary succession, had preserved or recovered their advantage over the elective royalty by continual revolts. Even the Emperor's agents, the palatine counts, sent by him to the great fiefs or to his own domains, there to represent his authority, even the burggrafen holding the same trust in the cities, began to imitate the royal officers of the time of the Carolingian emperors, in making themselves independent and their offices hereditary. The result of these continued efforts was that feudalism, on the accession of Lothar, was a very formidable force, and became more so during his reign. He was a weak prince and bowed his head low before the Holy See. Innocent II. gave him the imperial crown, while presuming to call himself master of it, to dispose of it at will; he went so far as to commemorate his claim in a picture where the Emperor was represented on his knees in the attitude of one doing homage to the pontiff. Underneath is written in Latin verse: "The King becomes the man of the Pope, who bestows the crown upon him." Lothar humbled himself again on a question fully as important; he consented to hold in fief of the Holy See the lands of the Countess Matilda.

Within the empire Lothar was hard pressed by two powerful houses: the house of Swabia, which he fought, but was not able to put down; and that of Bavaria, whose power he increased by marrying his daughter to the duke, Henry the Proud, who, on the death of Lothar, inherited

Strength of German feudalism; weakness of Lothar II. (1125); the Hohenstaufen (1138).

all his domains, the duchy of Saxony in Germany, and in Italy the fiefs of the great countess. The power of Henry the Proud extended then from the Baltic to the Tiber, but his fiefs were separated and the division was fatal to his strength. The Hohenstaufen lands, on the other hand, were more closely united ; they consisted of the duchy of Swabia, and large possessions in Franconia.

When Lothar died in 1137, it was evident that the crown would pass to one of these two great houses. Saxony seemed sure of obtaining it, but many of the German vassals began to think it unwise to put too strong a master over them, and they elected, almost surreptitiously, in a diet convoked at Coblenz, in the absence of the Saxon and Bavarian princes, Conrad of Hohenstaufen, lord of Waiblingen. Henry the Proud protested. He was the head of the Welf house, and their respective partisans adopted party cries from these names, which also crossed the Alps and became fixed in Italy as Guelfs and Ghibellines. As the house of Swabia was hostile to the Holy See, the Ghibelline party was favorable to the Emperor, while the Guelfs were friends of Italian independence and the papacy.

Henry the Proud, who was placed by Conrad under the ban of the empire, was despoiled of his duchies ; his son, Henry the Lion, recovered Saxony it is true, but it was Saxony curtailed of the mark of Brandenburg,* which was converted into a fief direct of the empire, for the benefit of Albert the Bear of the Ascanian house, while Bavaria was given to the markgraf of Austria,† and kept by him until 1156. It reverted then to Henry the Lion, with the exception of Austria, which was raised to the rank of an immediate duchy. The brilliant dynasty of the Hohenstaufen began with Conrad III. His reign in a manner was dedicated to establishing his family upon the throne which they held for more than a century with great glory ; accordingly

* The descendants of Albert I., the Bear, kept this great fief until 1320, when it passed to the house of Wittelsbach (Bavaria), and later to that of Luxemburg. The Emperor Sigismund sold it, in 1417, to the house of Hohenzollern (Prussia), which still holds it. Albert the Bear enlarged its territory by the annexation of lands lying between the Elbe and the Oder.

† The East mark (Austria) passed into the hands of the house of Hapsburg in 1282.

he was not able to visit Italy. But when, on the return of the second crusade, his death gave the crown to his son, Germany began to interest itself in Italy again, and the struggle which had been suspended since 1122 broke out more violently than ever.

Italy's aspect had entirely changed. The edict of 1037 had borne its fruit. Dukes, margraves, counts, bishops, and abbots, all had lost their sovereignty and their jurisdiction. The last representative of the great feudal nobles had disappeared, on the Countess Matilda's death. Nothing but a mixture of little independent lords and republican cities was to be seen from the Alps to Benevento, where the Norman monarchy began, renowned not only for the brilliancy of its victories but also for the poetry which the troubadours, attracted from the south of France, sang at the court of its kings. Just at that time the Italian republics were taking shape and giving a new life to the ruins of Roman municipal government. They had each their consuls, varying in number: twelve at Milan, six at Genoa, four at Florence, six at Pisa, etc., usually invested with executive and judiciary powers. Generally, also, a kind of senate (*credenza*) assisted them. The general assembly of free citizens, or *parliament*, gathering by wards at the sound of the bell from the belfry tower on the public square, was the only sovereign power and judge in the last resort. The nobles of the neighboring castles were admitted to it as citizens, though they continued to hold their domains and their serfs outside the walls.

Rome had as yet been saved the revolution which had changed the other Italian cities, by the influence of her bishop, the sovereign pontiff; but her turn came in the middle of the twelfth century. A monk named Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of Abelard, the doctor who preached the distinction between reason and faith, was the first to demand the separation of church and state, the suppression of government by priests and the re-establishment of the Roman Republic. In 1143, a republican government was organized for Rome in opposition to the Pope, Innocent II. A senate of 56 members was formed, the four sacred letters, S. P. Q. R., reappeared in the public documents, and the date was reckoned "from the restoration of the sacred senate." Lucius II., successor to Innocent, who tried to

Division of
Italy. Progress
of feudalism
and the republics.
Arnold of
Brescia (1144).

CENTRAL EUROPE

1180



use force in resistance, was thrown down from the steps of the capitol, and the revolution triumphed. Throughout the peninsula, except for the Kingdom of Naples, from Rome to the least and smallest city, the republican form of government prevailed. The nobility considered themselves fortunate if they were included within this organization, Everything had worked together toward this end, the force of arms, the prosperity born of commerce, affection for past memories and the power of new ideas. St. Bernard resigned himself to the position accorded to the Pope, and wrote to his disciple Eugenius to leave the Romans alone, that stiff-necked generation, and to exchange Rome for the world. (*Urbam pro orbe mutatam*).

But Frederick I., called Barbarossa, was not disposed to give up Italy so easily; no emperor yet had shown such energy of character joined to so much obstinacy in his claims to the peninsula. It is very hard to say what he did not claim. Royal rights over all the towns, imperial rights at Rome, the heritage of the Countess Matilda, Naples, Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia.

He crossed the Alps; Italy welcomed him with a naïve confidence which had more than once delivered her into the hands of a stranger. But the sky was soon overcast. He burned Chieri and razed Tortona to the ground, because the one refused to submit to the Marquis of Montferrat and the other to break its alliance with Milan, which city was the head and front of Lombard independence. He advanced toward Rome, whither Hadrian IV. called him; seized and delivered into the hands of the Pope, Arnold of Brescia, who was burned at the stake; and on the same day on which he received the imperial crown his soldiers killed 1000 men in defending him against the revolted city. He showed such harshness in the exercise of his authority in Italy, that soon the whole country rose in revolt. Hadrian, whose power the Emperor had restored, quarreled with him for the sake of reconciling himself with his subjects.

Nothing is more curious than the dialogues carried on by those three great historical personages, the Emperor of Germany, the Pope, and the Roman People, all three invoking in their defense the mere memories of the past; all three reproaching each other and revealing only the decay of their power to the world. The Romans had sent ambas-

Frederick I.,
or Barbarossa
(1152). Fall of
Milan (1162).
The Lombard
League (1164):
Peace of Con-
stance (1183).

sadors to Barbarossa to say that the empire belonged to them, and that they would offer it to him provided he would swear to respect their rights and customs and give them 5000 marks of silver. The Emperor replied : " You exalt the ancient glory of your city, and I can well appreciate it ; but, as one of your writers has said, ' Rome was,' *fuit*. Your Rome is ours. . . . Your senate, your consuls, your knights, are now reckoned among the Germans. Charles the Great and Otto have conquered your empire. . . . Your duty is to obey. . . . " The Pope claimed the lands of Matilda, and desired that no Imperial envoy should enter Rome without his consent ; the Emperor wrote to him : " What did the Church possess at the time of Constantine, before the donations of the emperors ? The demon of pride is stealing into the chair of St. Peter." And the Pope replied : " The Emperor is pretending to equal power with ourselves, as if we were restrained to a little corner of the earth, like Germany, the smallest of kingdoms until the moment when the popes raised her to eminence. Did not the Frankish kings ride in carts drawn by oxen before Charlemagne was consecrated by Zacharias ? Just as Rome is superior to Aix-la-Chapelle, in the forests of Gaul, so we are superior to this king. . . . " And he promised him, if he would be obedient toward the Church, that he would confer still greater benefits upon him. Those words, *majora beneficia*, which might be understood as meaning benefice in the technical sense, and seemed to indicate that the imperial crown was held by a feudal tenure, roused the indignation of the German diet where they were pronounced. The legate, who was present, raised their wrath to the highest pitch when he cried out, " From whom then does the Emperor hold his crown if not from the Pope ? "

The claim of the Roman people was the merest shadow ; the other two were still living forces, powerful and absolute.

Frederick came back in 1158. The reaction against him was general, and he punished it with cruelty. Milan was the chief victim. After raising up the rival of that city, Lodi, which they had destroyed, he imposed upon them a tribute of 9000 marks of silver. Then, in the diet of Roncalia, near Piacenza, he had his pretensions to absolute power confirmed by the doctors of the Roman law, in the

school of Bologna : "Know that all power of the people to enact laws," said their spokesman, the Archbishop of Milan, "has been accorded to you. Your will is law, according to the words of the text : Everything that pleases the prince has the force of law."* In virtue of those principles of a former age, Frederick played the master, and tried to place imperial *podestas* over the Italian towns. Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, and Cremona rebelled. Hadrian IV. was dead, and the cardinals were divided : there was an imperialist pope Victor IV., and a patriot pope Alexander III. The ensuing struggle, involving, as it did, all interests, was terrible, especially at Milan. That heroic city held out against a two years' siege, and yielded only to famine. The Milanese were forced to break their *carroccio* which carried the standard of independence ; they were scattered among four villages. All the neighboring cities, who were filled with deadly hatred toward this town, were allowed to exercise their vengeance upon it, and it was totally destroyed (1162). Alexander III., driven from Italy, took refuge in France, where he was recognized by Louis VII. and by Henry II. of England.

After having learned by cruel experience that division is fatal, Italy tried to unite while Frederick was away seeking new forces in Germany. The Lombard league was formed, and rapidly increased, gaining over to its cause the whole valley of the Po, little by little, from Venice to Piedmont, including even cities that had been hostile to Milan. That city was restored ; Alexander III. took his place at the head of Italy to resist the German domination which was continually raising new rivals against him. A city called by his name, Alexandria,† was built at the confluence of the Tanaro and Bormida rivers, to threaten the Marquis of Montferrat and the imperial town of Pavia. The Ghibellines named it, in derision, Alexandria of Straw ; but it proved the rock on which they split. In 1174 Frederick returned to Italy with only one-half of Germany's forces ; Henry the Lion, chief of the Welfs, had refused to follow the Emperor, who had thrown himself on his knees before him in vain. From this moment the Welfs were beloved by

* Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem. Institutes, i., ii., vi.—ED.

† This origin for the city of Alexandria is now questioned, but the objections are not entirely conclusive.—ED.

Italy, which was in fact their native country. Alexandria of Straw stopped Frederick for four months; during that time the army of the confederates assembled. He attacked it near Legnano to the northwest of Milan (1176). Two Milanese corps, the battalion of the Great Flag and the battalion of Death, led by the gigantic Albert Giussano, gave the victory to the Italians. Frederick was thrown from his horse and for many days he was reported as dead. It was fortunate for him that he could obtain a truce by recognizing Alexander III., whom he went to meet at Venice.*

Six years after (1183), the treaty of Constance definitely determined the quarrel between the empire and Italian independence, as the concordat of Worms had decided that between the empire and the papacy. The Pope practically recovered the freehold lands of the Countess Matilda. The cities preserved the regal rights which they had formerly possessed: the right to raise armies, to fortify themselves with walls, to administer civil as well as criminal jurisdiction within their walls, and to form alliances among themselves. The Emperor kept only the right of confirming their consuls by his legates, and of establishing a judge of appeals in each town for certain cases. The imperial authority had again lost ground as in the year 1122, and the spirit of Gregory VII. might rejoice in this two-fold triumph.

Beyond the mountains, however, Frederick was all-powerful. Henry the Lion was put down, despoiled of his fiefs, the duchies of Saxony, and Bavaria, and reduced to his patrimonial lands of Luneburg and Brunswick, where he founded a house which still reigns in England; the kings of Denmark and Poland acknowledged the sovereignty of Frederick, and foreign ambassadors came to take part in his diets. The most celebrated of these assemblies was held at Mainz (1184); from 40,000 to 70,000 knights were gathered together in an immense field bordering the Rhine on a beautiful plain; the feudal lords of Germany, Italy, and the Slavic countries all repaired thither. The Emperor himself broke a lance in a brilliant tournament in spite of his sixty-three years. Soon after the glorious old man was

* This famous pope, who joined the cause of the Holy See to that of Italy, died in 1181, after twenty-two years in the pontificate.

drowned in the Seleph (Calycadnus) while going to the conquest of Jerusalem (1190).

The northern part of Italy had escaped the Emperor, but he had got possession of the south. By marrying his son to Constance, daughter of Roger II., king of Sicily,* Barbarossa had gained for him a right to this kingdom. Henry VI. (1190–1197) spent his reign in making good his claims, and his efforts were crowned with success. He conquered the Norman kingdom (1194), displaying great cruelty, and he tried to exalt again throughout Italy the feudalism which his predecessors had made a point of lowering. His death, the minority of his son, aged four years, and the accession of Innocent III. in 1198, changed the aspect of affairs.

Innocent III. was of the family of the Counts of Segna, and only thirty-seven years old when he was elected pope, in spite of his resistance and even tears. But when the power he had not sought was put into his hand, he conducted himself from the first like another Gregory VII.

The question, what should be the limits of the two powers, spiritual and temporal, was a difficult one for the ardent believers of those times. The head of the Church, who held the keys of St. Peter, had jurisdiction over the actions of the faithful, and could decide whether they were righteous or sinful. But the question arises at once, what actions performed by kings fall or do not fall under this jurisdiction? What actions are those which do not lead to the eternal safety or destruction of the princes themselves and of their subjects? Thus it was not wrong ambition but the force of doctrine and a sort of obligation imposed upon the shepherd of all souls which led to the interference of the popes in the state government of those times.

The new Pope, who was going to show such haughtiness of spirit, was not even master of his own episcopal city. He had to reduce the senate of the city to subjection, to abolish its consulate, and to oblige the prefect of Rome to acknowledge that he received his authority from the Pope and not from the Emperor. In order to give back to the Holy See the prestige of the time of Urban II., Innocent

* Roger I. as king, Roger II. as count.—ED.

had a crusade preached, the fourth in number, which the Venetians turned off upon Constantinople. Finally, on the strength of his being entrusted with the moral direction of the world, as he claimed that he was, he interfered in all the quarrels of the sovereigns of his day, and hurled his thunderbolts upon the heads of all the kings, threatening some and striking others.

By his anathemas he forced the King of France to take back his wife, Ingeborg, and the kings of Castile and Portugal to make peace, and unite against the Moors ; he excommunicated a usurping king in Norway ; and in Aragon a king who was guilty of false coinage. In England he humbled John Lackland and exalted him by turns. The King of Hungary detained one of the Pope's legates ; he was threatened with seeing his son dispossessed of the throne. In Germany two powerful princes were disputing the empire, Philip, brother of Henry VI., and Otto of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion of the Guelf family ; he claimed the decision of this question, having the right "to examine, approve, anoint, consecrate, and crown, if he be found worthy, the emperor elect ; to reject him if unworthy." It is terrible to think what would have happened if such pretensions as these had been made good, if all the kingdoms of Europe had become fiefs of the Holy See, and Christianity a sacerdotal autocracy where all liberty would have been dead and all life extinguished.

In the German conflict Innocent declared for Otto, who had no possessions in Italy, and against Philip, a member of that Hohenstaufen family which had tried to get the mastery of the Peninsula and which was still in possession of the kingdom of Sicily. It was then that the famous quarrel between the Guelfs (Welfs) and the Ghibellines (Waiblinger) began. In the struggle which followed, and which was first confined to the two German houses, but afterwards included all Italy, the peninsula no longer retained the unity which had been enjoyed for a brief space under Frederick Barbarossa. The towns were divided among themselves and were each of them torn by factions. Innocent III. had nothing on his side but his genius and the great influence he had over Europe. The Guelf Emperor chosen by him, and who since the assassination of Philip in 1208 had no rival in power, was not slow in showing himself as self-willed in his pretensions as the emperors of the

Swabian house. Though the name had changed, yet the same crown brought the same ambition with it to all heads alike. Otto refused to give back the freehold lands of Matilda which the popes had not ceased to claim, and he clearly indicated his determination to maintain all imperial rights. The danger grew on this side : Innocent excommunicated his former favorite (1210), and, raising the Ghibelline family which he had before overthrown, he presented young Frederick to the Germans as their future emperor. Nevertheless he stipulated that Frederick should abandon all claim to the two Sicilies so soon as he should have the imperial crown, for he felt how great was the peril for Italy, and especially for the Holy See, in allowing both Germany and the southern part of the Peninsula to remain in the same hands.

The third and last struggle between the empire and the papacy and Italy began with the accession of Frederick II., and assumed an entirely new character.

Frederick II.
(1212-1250); sec-
ond Lombard
league (1226).

Frederick II., who was a Sicilian through his mother and through the place of his birth, had been entrusted in his youth to the care of Innocent III. He had, accordingly, an Italian and ecclesiastical education. Otto of Brunswick called him the priests' king, and he was, in fact, very different from such men as Henry IV. and Barbarossa. He was as active and energetic as they, but he had none of their German roughness ; his mind was fastidious and cultivated, and full of cunning, sharpness, and incredulity. He preferred to gain his ends by diplomacy and was very skillful at it. It was no longer the north but the south that threatened the Holy See and Italian independence. Frederick had indeed pledged himself to live in Germany and to give the two Sicilies to his son ; but he very much preferred the sky, the customs, and the poets of Italy, and very soon appointed his son regent of Germany in his place, while he returned to dwell in Sicily or Naples, which latter place he endowed with a university. The struggle was slow in beginning, because Frederick was not really emperor until 1218, after the death of his rival Otto, of Brunswick, who had been conquered four years previously by Philip Augustus at Bouvines. That same year Frederick renewed his vow to go to the Holy Land, and in 1220 Pope Honorius III. (1216-1227) crowned him emperor. His mar-

riage to Yolande, daughter of John of Brienne, the lately dispossessed King of Jerusalem, was a new incentive to a crusade. But Frederick found fresh excuses for remaining at home whenever he was urged to set out. Instead of proceeding to Jerusalem, he delivered Sicily from the hands of a certain Mourad-bey who had stirred up the Saracens on the island, and he transported 20,000 of the infidels to the fortified town of Lucera, in Apulia, feeling sure that the excommunications of the Church would not unsettle their allegiance, which he had secured by means of great benefits conferred. At the same time he, in conjunction with the lawyer Peter of Vineia, was at work organizing his kingdom of Sicily, which had never yet been well organized under Norman sway.

Honorius III. was succeeded in 1227 by an imperious and inflexible old man, Gregory IX., who reached his hundredth year while on the pontifical throne. He did not feel satisfied with Frederick's excuses, and he obliged him to embark in order to rid Italy of his presence. The Emperor departed, but returned a few days after, giving as his excuse a serious illness, which had made it impossible for him to go farther. Gregory anathematized him, and Frederick thought it more prudent this time to make the journey to Jerusalem (1228). When he arrived in the Holy City, which had been offered and granted to him by a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt, he took in his own hands the crown which no priest dared to place upon his excommunicated head. He soon found out why his absence had been so much desired in Italy.

The second Lombard league, formed about the year 1226, was quietly gaining strength, and his father-in-law, John of Brienne, a soldier in the employ of the Holy See, was leading his forces into the kingdom of Sicily. Frederick, on his return, gathered his Saracens together, drove out John of Brienne, and held a diet at Ravenna, in which he won over to his party Eccelino da Romano, lord of Verona and the most dreaded of the nobles of the Mark Treviso. He thought then that he had restored peace to the north, and he caused it to be preached by the monk John of Vicenza. All he asked for was the repose which would allow him to dwell in his palaces at Naples, Messina, and the "trilingual" Palermo, in the midst of his people, who were made up of Greeks, Germans, Normans,

and Saracens, and in the midst of his court of artists, poets, astrologers, and lawyers. He was himself a poet, and wrote verses in a new language, the so-called *lingua cortigiana*, which was the language of his court.

He suddenly learned that his son Henry, King of the Romans, had revolted against him at the instigation of the Holy See. His indignation was roused, and he marched toward Lombardy with his Saracens, defeated his son, and gained the great victory of Cortenuova (1237), over the Lombard league. Ten thousand Lombards were killed or taken prisoners, and the *carroccio* was sent in derision to the Pope and the people of Rome. Frederick was now master of Italy, and he appointed his second son, Enzo, King of Sardinia, drove out from Sicily the Dominicans and Franciscans who had conspired against him, and was pronounced by his lawyers the living law upon the earth (*lex animata in terris*).

That the Emperor should make such a claim exasperated the Pope, who spoke of him as the "beast full of names and blasphemies," mentioned by St. John. Frederick, replying, used the names of anti-Christ and of the great dragon of the Apocalypse, and the struggle between the Church and the Empire broke out again with the same violence that it had shown on two previous occasions—due less to the passions of the two adversaries than to the irreconcilable opposition of the great principles represented by them. Gregory IX. proclaimed Frederick deposed, roused up the towns of Tuscany and the Romagna against him, and offered the imperial crown to Robert d'Artois, the brother of St. Louis. The latter refused for his brother, and even reproached the Pope for "wishing, in the person of the Emperor, to trample all kings beneath his feet." The war brought success to Frederick. He conquered the Tuscans and the Romagna. The Pope aroused Genoa and Venice in vain. Most of the towns tendered their submission. Gregory IX. then built his hopes upon a council which he convoked for the year 1241 at the Lateran. But Frederick blockaded Rome, and ordered his ships, joined with those of Pisa, to attack the Genoese fleet which bore the council. The Genoese were conquered at Meloria, and lost twenty-four ships; two cardinals and a host of bishops, abbots, and deputies from the Lombard towns fell into the hands


of Frederick, who had the prelates bound with silver chains. Gregory died of grief.

The Holy See was left vacant for two years. Finally the Cardinals appointed in 1243, Sinibald Fieschi of Genoa, under the name of Innocent IV. Frederick had divined what he might expect of him ; "Sinibald was my friend," he said, "the Pope will be my enemy." Innocent IV. did not try, like Gregory, to convoke a council at Rome, but made his escape from that city and sent out from Genoa a demand to St. Louis, and then to the kings of England and Aragon for a refuge in their states. The man, before whom the whole world trembled, had not where to lay his head ; one proof among many that his strength was neither in soldiers nor in fortresses. He decided to retreat to the town of Lyons, which was at that time practically independent under its archbishop. He charged the prelates to meet him there. The council opened on the 26th of June, 1245. Frederick had been condemned before, nevertheless he sent his chancellor, Peter of Vineia, and Thaddeus of Suessa, to present his justification. Peter maintained a silence that looked very much like treason, and let his master be deposed.* Thaddeus, after a long and useless defense, vigorously protested against the sentence. "I have done my duty," said the Pope, "the rest is with God."

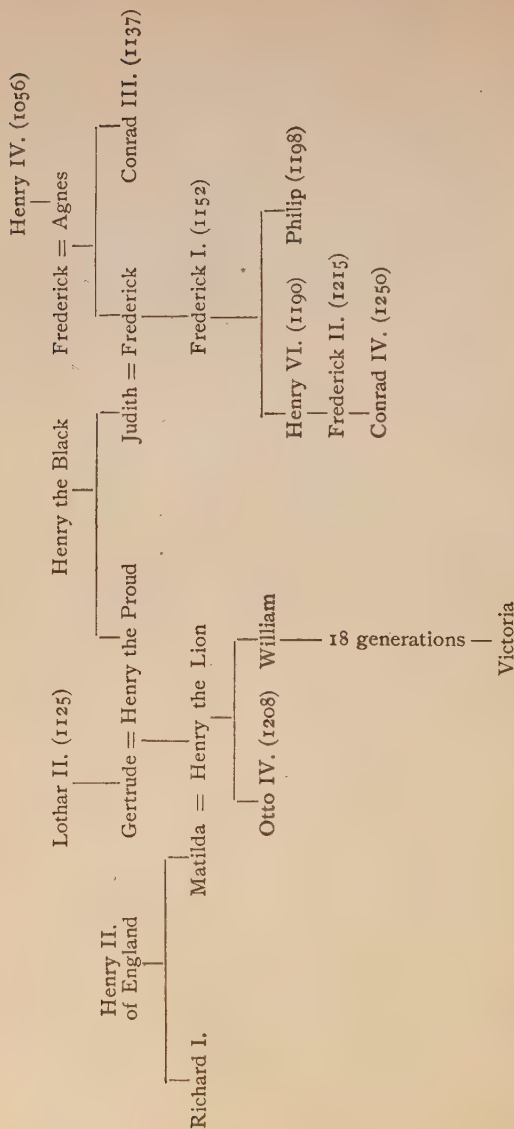
When Frederick heard that his crown had been disposed of he took it in his hands and placed it more firmly on his head, crying, "It shall not fall from my head until blood has flowed in streams." He called upon the sovereigns of Europe for assistance : "If I perish, you will all perish." He sent his Saracens out into Italy, while Innocent IV. stirred up Lombardy and Sicily through his monks, appointed a new King of the Romans, and preached a new crusade against Frederick II. St. Louis vainly interposed in the furious contest. The event was at first uncertain ; but when Enzo, Frederick's beloved son, was taken prisoner, betrayed in his flight by a lock of his beautiful hair, and kept in confinement by the Bolognese until he died, the Emperor's spirit was broken. He saw all his friends falling around him,

* Peter does not become chancellor till 1247. The story here given is doubtful, and all attempts to account for his sudden downfall are conjectures.—ED,

like Thaddeus of Suessa and Enzo, or else becoming traitors like Peter of Vineia, who tried to poison him, and who, when his eyes were put out by the Emperor's order, dashed his brains out against a wall. He thought of submitting, and begged St. Louis to intercede for him with the Pope ; he offered to abdicate, to go and die in the Holy Land ; he consented to the division of Germany and Sicily provided they should be given to his legitimate children. Innocent did not swerve from his course of annihilating that " race of vipers " and conquering Sicily ; he was inexorable. The Emperor, broken in spirit and sick with rage, summoned more Saracens from Africa to avenge himself on Rome ; he almost called upon the Mongolians and Turks. Eccelino da Romano, tyrant of Padua, tried to force his way through to Frederick with fearful carnage, but the sudden death of the Emperor at Fiorentino, in Apulia (December 13, 1250), spared Italy a last struggle, which would have reached a paroxysm of fury. It also brought about the fall of the German power and imperial authority in Italy. A new era began for the Peninsula, an era of independence.



THE HOUSES OF HOHENSTAUFEN AND GUELF.



This table shows

1. The descent of the Hohenstaufen from Henry IV.
2. The relationship between Hohenstaufen and Guelfs.
3. The descent of the Guelfs from Lothar II.
4. The relation of the Guelfs with England.

BOOK VII.

THE CRUSADES (1095-1270).

CHAPTER XIX.

THE FIRST CRUSADE TO JERUSALEM (1095-1099).

Condition of the World before the Crusades ; the Greek Empire.—Peter the Hermit, the Council of Clermont (1095) and the first Crusaders.—Departure of the great army of Crusaders (1096) ; Siege of Nicæa and battle of Dorylæum.—Siege and taking of Antioch (1098) ; Defeat of Kerboga ; Siege and taking of Jerusalem (1099).—Godfrey, Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. Organization of the new Kingdom.

Condition of the world before the first Crusade.

WITHIN this world of the Middle Ages, there were two entirely distinct worlds : that of the Gospel and that of the Koran. They had already come sometimes into collision, but finding that they were nearly equal in strength, they had been content with tacitly dividing the known world between them. The Koran ruled from the Pyrenees to the mouth of the Ganges ; the Gospels ruled the whole of Europe, with the exception of Spain. Only the outer edges of these two worlds had come into contact with each other in the frontier wars, but the time had now come when they were to be involved in a general war.

We have already seen what an important part the Germanic society played in Christendom, of which it was the leading spirit. Though complete unity could not be maintained, division had not proved fatal to it ; its life and activity were immense, and it proved a fruitful soil for the propagation of new ideas.

The Greek society, which made up the remainder of Christendom, isolated as it was between the Germans and the Arabs, like an island surrounded by the floods of invasion, dragged out a barren and insignificant existence.

Since the time of Justinian, the same story had been repeated over and over of court intrigues, interspersed with acts of cruelty, theological disputes which excited the people, wars against the masters of Asia and against the barbarians who sometimes appeared in the north, and occasionally, among all these disturbances, some legislative achievements. The separation between the Empire of the East and the German peoples had become even wider, since it had become a religious separation also. The schism of the two churches, which began with the quarrel of the Iconoclasts, continued through the two following centuries, though the Greeks under Irene and Theodora (787 and 842) had returned to the orthodox worship of images. The installation of Photius as Patriarch of Constantinople, which was disapproved of by Pope Nicholas I., widened the breach ; a point of dogma, the admission by the Latin church of the *filioque* in that passage of the Nicene Creed where it says that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father ; some differences in matters of observance ; the use of leavened instead of unleavened bread, the marriage of the priests, the use of the vulgar tongue in the celebration of the church services, baptism by immersion, the Saturday's fast, and above all the rivalry of the two churches over the king of Bulgaria, whom the patriarch finally succeeded in winning to his communion, put the finishing stroke to the separation, which was complete in 1054 after the papal legates had placed on the altar of Saint Sophia an anathema which branded "The seven mortal heresies of the Greeks."

Though separated from the rest of Christendom, it must be acknowledged that the Empire of the East had resources enough, besides sometimes possessing princes who were able to guard their own frontiers and even to gain advantages over her enemies and the neighboring peoples, especially over those of the north, the Russians and the Bulgarians. Attacks were first made by the Russians upon the empire in 865. They descended the Borysthenes in their vessels and reached Constantinople by the Black Sea. The Greek fire drove them away both this first and many other times. Toward the end of the tenth century they formed another project and made an attempt to establish themselves on the right bank of the Danube, but John Zimisces drove them off (972). Discouraged by these fruitless efforts, the Russians decided to have the Greeks for their friends, and

after the marriage of their chief Vladimir with the daughter of the Emperor Basil II. (980), peace reigned between the two peoples. Vladimir became a convert to the religion of his wife.

In their struggle with the Bulgarians, the Greeks were even more successful. It is true that Constantinople was besieged several times, and that the Empire was invaded twenty-six times by the Bulgarian king, Samuel; but in 1019 Basil II. overthrew their kingdom, and the Empire was again victorious.

After the first great attack of the Arabs, the Greek Empire was able to repel them successfully. The Greek navy recovered its old force in the ninth century, and took the islands of the Archipelago and several points in the Morea, which had been occupied by the infidels, dividing the latter as far as the latitude of Sicily. In the tenth century, Nicephorus Phocas led the Greek army again to Cilicia and Syria, countries which had been lost to the empire long before. John Zimisces went still farther and crossed the Euphrates, striking terror into the heart of Bagdad. The Greek Empire showed a singular vitality, and though always on the point of dissolution survived the barbarians who had so often overwhelmed it.

Since Heraclius, the throne of Byzantium had been occupied by three different dynasties, the Isaurian from 717 to 802, the Phrygian from 820 to 867, and the Macedonian from 867 to 1056. The last of these, which produced the three remarkable men, Nicephorus Phocas, Zimisces, and Basil II., revived some of the ancient glory of the Empire. We must remember however, that this family came to the throne when the Bulgarians and the Abbasides were utterly exhausted. The dynasty of the Comneni, on the contrary, which came to the throne in 1057 with Isaac, had to contend against new and formidable enemies, the Turks, who had recently become the masters of Asia. Romanus Diogenes, the only prince of any valor who sprung from this family in the second half of the eleventh century, defeated the Seljuk Alp-Arslan, but was taken prisoner by him in a second battle (1071). Alexis Comnenus (1081), feeling too weak to resist them alone, called the Germans to his aid and thus contributed something to the first crusade. In the crusades, the great events of the time, the Greek Empire, which no longer possessed any real strength or vigor,

let the Franks take the lead, and when the rough-hewn civilization of the West was brought into contact with the exhausted civilization of the East, it was easy to see to which empire the future belonged.

Such was the Christian world. In reviewing the Mussulman world, it must be born in mind how greatly its power had declined. At one time there had been three great empires : that of the Omniades in Spain, of the Fatimites in Africa, and of the Abbasides in Asia. Then the Omniades of Cordova, shaken by the double attack of the small Christian states at the north, and of the Moorish people from Africa at the south, had disappeared ; the dominion of the Fatimites was reduced to the limits of Egypt by the aggressions of the African dynasties on the west and the victorious Seljuk Turks on the east ; and finally, in 1058, the Abbasides of Bagdad had been almost overthrown by these same Turks. Thus the Arab society had not had the good fortune possessed by the Germanic society of being able to set a definite limit to all later invasion of its territory, and to organize itself during times of peace behind some mighty barrier.

The Turks founded a great empire under Alp the Lion (Arslan) (1063), and Malek-Shah (1075), successors of Togrul-Beg. The first took the Greek Emperor, Romanus Diogenes, prisoner in 1071, and conquered Armenia. The second sent troops to invade Syria, Palestine, and Jerusalem, and even pushed his armies as far as Egypt ; while a member of the Seljuk family conquered Asia Minor from the Greeks, and founded the kingdom of Iconium, which extended from the Taurus to the Bosphorus, and which continued its growth under his son Kilij-Arslan, who took the title of Sultan of Roum [Rome]. At the death of Malek-Shah (1093), according to a Persian poet, "A cloud of princes rose from the dust of his feet," by which is meant that the power of his empire was broken. Persia, Syria, and Kerman became distinct sultanates, sharing the fate of all Asiatic conquests. Nevertheless, the whole of Asia was in the hands of the Turks when the Christians arrived.

The Christian of Europe, confined in a limited space, without any large horizon save that of his thoughts, and with no food for thought except what he found in his holy books and their stories, concentrated all his poetical feelings on the localities continually mentioned in these

books, where his Saviour lived and died and accomplished on the cross the great mystery of the redemption. His ideal country—the place toward which he was impelled by all his most serious and sweetest thoughts—was Jerusalem, where the Holy Sepulchre was, and where the Empress Helena had devoutly collected the relics of the Passion; and next to Jerusalem, the Mount of Olives, Golgotha, and Bethlehem. Happy would he be who might see Jerusalem, and doubly happy he who should die there. The common people did not even hope for such blessedness. Palestine was so far away. A very few pilgrims went there, and on their return their narratives were listened to with the greatest eagerness. Cries of horror and hatred were lifted up against the infidels when they described the tyranny exercised in the Holy City by the Fatimite Caliph Hakim, or later by the Sultan Malek-Shah. Even pilgrims were not admitted except on the payment of a piece of gold, and many, having exhausted all their means on the journey, were obliged to wait at the gate of the Holy City till the charity of some rich noble arriving from Europe allowed them to enter. Nevertheless the numbers of the travelers increased and gradually became quite considerable. During the eleventh century sometimes as many as 3000 started at once, sometimes even 7000. These were still armies of peaceful men, but they prepared the way for armies of a different kind.

The Greek Emperor Alexis Comnenus, alarmed by the appearance of the Turks on the opposite bank of the Bosphorus, directly in front of Constantinople, sent forth a cry for help, which was heard in all the courts of Europe. But the western Christians were indifferent to the dangers threatening this last remainder of the Roman Empire. Pope Silvester II. had already written in vain an eloquent letter to the princes in behalf of abandoned Jerusalem. Gregory VII., whose soul was always filled with great thoughts, wished to go himself with 50,000 knights to deliver the Holy Sepulchre. Emperors and popes were powerless, but what they were unable to perform was accomplished by a poor monk.

Jerusalem had just fallen into the hands of a savage horde of Turks, who, instead of treating the pilgrims with the indulgence shown them by the Caliphs of Bagdad and

Cairo, overwhelmed them with insults, and it was only by running great risks that the pilgrims could approach the holy places. Peter the Hermit made all France resound with the melancholy accounts of their distress, and the people were fired with a devout enthusiasm and everywhere took arms to rescue the tomb of Christ from the hands of the infidels.* The Council of Clermont, which came together in 1095, with the French Pope Urban II. at its head, proclaimed the crusade; the number of those who in that and the following year fixed upon their breasts the cross of red cloth, the sign of their enlistment in the holy project, was almost a million. The Church put them under the protection of the Truce of God, and granted them various privileges for their property, which were to last through the whole time of the expedition.

Men came from the most distant countries. Guibert of Nogent says: "Men landed at all the ports of France, who, as they were unable to make themselves understood, placed their fingers over each other in the form of a cross, to signify that they wished to take part in the holy war." The most impatient were the poor, putting their trust in God alone, and with the cry of "God wills it," (*Dieu le veut*) they were the first to start, though without any preparation and almost without weapons. Whole families went, men and women, old and young together, and the little ones, who were placed on carts drawn by oxen, could be heard to exclaim whenever they saw a castle or a city, "Is not that Jerusalem?" A vanguard of 15,000 men, with only six horses among them, were the first to take the road, led by a poor Norman knight, Walter the Penniless. Peter the Hermit followed with 100,000 men. Another troop, led by a German priest Gotteschalk, brought up the rear.† They passed through Germany, slaying any Jews they met, living by pillage and accustoming themselves to violence. In Hungary they caused such disturbances that the popula-

* The stories of Peter the Hermit's sufferings and visions in the Holy Land, which led him to preach the crusade, are now known to be the inventions of later times. To the Pope belongs the credit of beginning the movement. He roused Peter the Hermit, not Peter the Hermit him.—ED.

† There were several companies of this sort which preceded the crusade, but they were without any common organization or connection with one another.—ED.

tion took to arms and, after having killed many of them, drove them into Thrace. Only a very few of them got as far as Constantinople. The Emperor Alexis, in haste to get rid of such allies, sent them on into Asia as soon as possible. There they fell under the sabre of the Turks, on the plain of Nicæa, and their bones were said to have been used by the Crusaders who followed them in fortifying their camp.

While this reckless vanguard was marching to its death, the knights were arming themselves and being organized.

Departure of
the great army
of Crusaders
(1096); siege of
Nicæa and battle
of Dorylaeum (1097).

They finally started with 100,000 horsemen and 600,000 foot soldiers, as we are told, going by different routes and under different leaders.* The men from the North of France and from Lorraine passed through Germany and Hungary. Among them was Godfrey of

Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, the bravest, strongest, and most devout of the crusaders, and his two brothers, Eustach of Boulogne, and Baldwin. Led by the Count of Toulouse, the men of Southern France crossed the Alps and passed through Dalmatia and Thrace. Adhemar, the bishop of Puy and the legate of the Holy See, the spiritual chief of the crusade was with this army. The Duke of Normandy and the Counts of Blois, of Flanders, and of Vermandois, went to join the Normans of Italy, who were led by Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum, and his nephew, Tancred, who, after Godfrey, was the most perfect knight of the times; and these together crossed the Adriatic and passed through Greece and Macedonia.

The place of general meeting was at Constantinople. The Emperor was alarmed lest they should begin their crusade there by taking possession of the great city. Some, indeed, thought of doing so, in order to put an end to the treacheries "of these Grecules, the meanest of men," but Godfrey of Bouillon opposed it. He agreed beforehand to do homage to the Emperor Alexis for all the lands of which he might gain possession.† After he had done this no one else dared refuse.

* These numbers are of course exaggerated. The number of armed men may possibly have reached 300,000.—ED.

† Godfrey, however, did not do this willingly, but only because he was forced by the Emperor to do so, and some of the leaders did not take this feudal oath at all.—ED.

Alexis, however, did not feel secure until the last of these proud warriors had passed into Asia. The first place reached by the Crusaders as they entered the Asiatic peninsula was the great city of Nicæa, and this they besieged. Nothing could be more striking than the appearance of their camp, where there were so many languages, so many war-cries, and so many different styles of arms, but where, nevertheless, all were inspired by one idea. At the sight of people gathered together from all parts of western Europe into one camp, the men of the time, who were accustomed to the isolation of the feudal system, there felt the force of new and broader ideas, and gained their first conception of nationality and of patriotism.

"O France," wrote one of the chroniclers, "thou country which shouldst rank higher than all others, how beautiful were the tents of thy soldiers in the land of Rome!" Nicæa was about to surrender, after some violent attacks, when the Greeks who were in the army of the crusaders persuaded the inhabitants to raise the standard of Alexis, and having raised the colors of the Greek Empire they could not be attacked. The crusaders were outraged by this treachery, and withdrew, passing on into Asia Minor.

They had found the road to Nicæa still covered with the bodies of the soldiers of Peter the Hermit; and it was now their turn to strew the plains with dead and dying. Their most terrible enemy was not the Turk; for though Kilij-Arsalan, who had recently been beaten near Nicæa, attempted to make good his defeat, he was overcome by them on the plains of Dorylæum and his camp was taken (1097). But when the crusaders came to the part of Phrygia called by the ancients Burning Phrygia, they were overcome by hunger and thirst. Most of the horses died, many of the knights were obliged to ride asses and oxen, and the luggage was carried upon beasts of all sorts. These misfortunes were increased by fatal discord within the army; the different nations quarreled with one another. Baldwin, brother of Godfrey, and Tancred, the nephew of Bohemond, were contending for the city of Tarsus. Nevertheless, in spite of all these misfortunes, the march continued. Baldwin succeeded in gaining an entrance into Edessa, on the Euphrates, and became the prince of that city. This advanced position gave protection to the crusaders and brought them into communication with the Christians of Armenia.

On October 18, 1097, they reached the great city of Antioch, with its 450 towers. The siege lasted a long time,

The siege and taking of Antioch (1098); defeat of Kerboga.

and while it was going on the crusaders became greatly weakened ; on the banks of the Orontes and under the shade of the garden of Daphne, so celebrated in antiquity, they forgot their valor and gave themselves up to dissipation. The winter rains deluged the camp, and famine forced them to eat thistles and dead animals. Bohemond saved them by throwing Antioch open to them, which he accomplished by means of a secret correspondence he kept up with Firuz, an Armenian renegade, within the city. During a stormy night, when the noise of the wind and thunder deafened the sentinels, the Christians scaled the walls by means of rope ladders which were let down to them, and threw themselves upon the city, crying : " God wills it ! " Bohemond's efforts to save the army were not entirely disinterested ; he had stipulated that, if successful, he should be the prince of Antioch.

The crusaders, reduced to half their original numbers, underwent the same suffering inside the city that they had had to bear outside the walls, for they were besieged by 200,000 Turks led by Kerboga, the lieutenant of the Caliph of Bagdad. Godfrey had his last war-horse killed, and despair had settled down upon them, when a Marseillais priest, Peter Barthelemy, announced to the leaders of the army that Saint Andrew had revealed to him in his sleep that the spear which pierced the side of Christ was under the high altar of the church, and that the possession of this would give the victory to the Christians. They dug under the altar, found the spear ; and the crusaders, filled with enthusiasm, marched against the army of Kerboga and cut it to pieces.

Instead of starting at once for Jerusalem they stayed six months longer in Antioch, where great numbers died of the plague. When they finally left the city, of the 600,000 who had started, only 50,000 were left ; though it is true that a number of them had settled down in the various cities through which the crusade had passed. They followed along the coast of the Mediterranean in order to keep in communication with the fleets from Genoa and Pisa which brought them supplies. In addition to this, as they were passing through the rich valleys of the Lebanon range they soon

recovered from their sufferings and regained their strength. Their enthusiasm grew as they approached the Holy City, and began to traverse places hallowed by the narratives of the Gospels; and in speaking of the moment when they had finally crossed the last hill and Jerusalem lay before their eyes, one of the monks in the army exclaimed, "O blessed Jesus, when the Christians saw thy holy city, what floods of tears flowed from all eyes!" Cries broke forth on every side of "Jerusalem; Jerusalem! God wills it, God wills it!" They stretched out their arms, fell on their knees, and kissed the ground.

The next thing was to take this city, the object of so many vows. Jerusalem was defended by the soldiers of the Fatimite Caliph of Cairo, who had lately captured it from the Turks. When the crusaders were in Antioch this caliph had offered to let them enter Jerusalem if they would come in unarmed, but the Christians had rejected this offer with indignation. They wished to conquer Jerusalem with their blood. They had to endure great sufferings under the walls of the city. The earth was parched by the summer suns, the brook of Cedron was dried up, and the cisterns were either filled up or poisoned by the enemy; only a little stagnant water could be found, and this even the horses refused to drink. To keep up the spirits of the army, a solemn procession was made around the city. All the crusaders stopped and prostrated themselves on the Mount of Olives. On the fifteenth day of July, 1099, a general assault was made at early dawn, and three great rolling towers were pushed up against the walls of the city, but they fought all day without gaining any advantage. The next day, after new vicissitudes, the crusaders were finally victorious. Tancred and Godfrey, at two different points, were the first to enter the city. They had still to fight their way through the streets and to get possession of the Mosque of Omar where the Mohammedans took shelter. Blood flowed in streams, and inside the mosque it came up to the breasts of the horses. The massacre was suspended for a while, in order that all might go barefooted and unarmed and kneel down at the holy sepulchre; but it began again and lasted a whole week.

The crusaders lost no time in organizing their new conquest. Godfrey was unanimously elected King of Jeru-

Siege and
taking of Jeru-
salem (1099).

saalem, but he would only accept the title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre, refusing "to wear a crown

of gold where Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and the King of kings, wore a crown of thorns on the day of his passion." The victory of Ascalon, won by the crusaders a little later, over an Egyptian army which had

been sent to recapture Jerusalem, secured their conquest to them. The Mussulman poets mourned: "How much blood has been shed; what blows have been inflicted on the true believers. Their wives have been obliged to flee, hiding their faces. Their children have fallen prey to the sword of the victor. For our fathers, once masters of Syria, there is now no refuge but the backs of their camels and the entrails of the vultures." Islamism was indeed paying for its ancient conquests. But the Christians were already weary of so much hardship. Almost all the nobles were in haste to return to their own firesides; and, with Godfrey and Tancred, hardly more than 300 knights remained in Jerusalem. The ones who remained, with tears in their eyes, begged those who departed never to forget them, saying: "Do not forget your brothers whom you leave in exile. When you get back to Europe, arouse in all Christians the desire to visit the holy places which we have delivered, and exhort the warriors to come and fight the infidel nations." But the enthusiasm of Europe was chilled when so few returned from the enormous number that started, and fifty years elapsed before another crusade of any importance was undertaken to relieve the kingdom founded at Jerusalem.

When left to its own resources the little kingdom was organized for defense, and was regularly constituted on the principles of feudalism transported, ready-made, into Asia. It was regulated by a code, called the Assizes of Jerusalem, which Godfrey of Bouillon had drawn up in French, and which gives us a complete picture of the feudal system which, until then, had not been embodied anywhere in any great legislative monument.* Fiefs were established, namely, the principalities of Edessa and of Antioch, in-

* The code called the Assizes of Jerusalem was drawn up in the thirteenth century, in the kingdom of Cyprus. If any account of the feudal usages was written out under Godfrey, it has not been preserved.—ED.

creased later by the county of Tripoli and the marquissate of Tyre and other smaller seignories*—a strange mixture of biblical names and feudal institutions, which is very characteristic of the Middle Ages, and which shows the close union of religious faith with the military life of the times.

The country was put under three jurisdictions: the court of the king, that of the Vicount of Jerusalem, and for the natives, the Syrian tribunal. The country was defended by two great military institutions: the order of the Hospitalers of Saint John of Jerusalem, organized upon an earlier institution, in 1100, and that of the Templars, founded in 1118 by Hugh de Payens, institutions characteristic both of the era and of the circumstances in which they were founded. In them can be discerned both the chivalrous and the monastic spirit.

The new state at first continued in search of conquest, as if obedient to the original impulse it had received. Under the two first successors of Godfrey, Baldwin I. (1100–1118), and Baldwin II. (1118–1131), Acre, Cesaræa, Ptolemais, Beirut, Sidon, and Tyre were all taken. But after these reigns dissensions broke out and the decline of the kingdom began. The Atabeks, rulers of Mosul and Damascus, took Edessa and massacred the inhabitants (1144). This bloody disaster, which left Palestine unprotected, impelled Europe to renew the crusade.

* The feudal subdivisions of the kingdom of Jerusalem varied greatly at different times, and the relation of the larger principalities to it was always merely nominal. The kingdom was scarcely more than a name.
—ED.

CHAPTER XX.

THE LAST CRUSADES IN THE EAST ; THEIR RESULTS.

(1147-1270.)

Second Crusade (1147).—Jerusalem taken by Saladin ; Third Crusade (1189).—Fourth Crusade (1201-1204)—Foundation of an Empire at Constantinople (1204-1261).—The last Four Crusades in the East ; the Mongols of Jenghiz Khan.—Seventh and Eighth Crusades (1248 and 1270).—Effects of the Crusades.

THE first crusade was very different from the other seven ; it affected the whole of Europe, stirred the masses to their depths, both commoners and lords, and indicated a great movement in the field of sentiment and ideas. Those fought in the two following centuries had no longer that character. They were almost all led by kings who had stood aloof from the first, and though faith was still an inspiring influence, yet it was often overruled by motives of policy. The spirit of the second crusade still bore a close resemblance to that which had animated the first ; it was, however, no longer the work of the people, but of princes, of the Emperor Conrad III., and of the King of France, Louis VII., the last of whom took the cross in spite of the prudent counsels of his minister, the Abbot Suger. The crusade was preached in France and Germany by St. Bernard ; but the zeal had already cooled. Murmurs of discontent were heard when a general tax was levied on all the kingdom of France and on all conditions of men, whether nobles, priests, or peasants ; * at Sens, the burg-ers killed the abbot of St. Peter le Vif, the feudal lord of a part of their city, because of a tax he wished to impose on them. "The king," said a contemporary, "started out in the midst of imprecations." The command of the expedition was offered to St. Bernard ; but he remembered the fate of

* Feudal levies must be understood here rather than a tax in our sense of the word.—ED.

Peter the Hermit, and refused. The Emperor was the first to start with the Germans. The Greeks of Constantinople, who hated the Latins as much as they did the Turks, had deceived him in every way, even selling him flour mixed with lime, and had urged him to go over into Asia. While Louis was at a distance with his Franks, the Emperor Manuel sent deputies to meet him. The feudal lords were disgusted with the fulsome flattery of the Greeks, and interrupted them by saying: "Do not tell us so often of the glory, piety, and wisdom of the king. He knows himself and we know him. State briefly what you wish." What Manuel wished for in his fright, was that the crusaders should swear an oath of allegiance to him. They consented again, though, as in the first crusade, they let some threatening words escape their lips. The Germans were already in the middle of Asia Minor, but betrayed by their Greek guides they strayed into the defiles of the Taurus and there fell by the sword of the Turk. Conrad came back almost alone to Constantinople.

Louis, who had been warned of the danger, followed a course along the sea and secured his route by a victory on the Meander. But near Laodicea the country grew mountainous. There the folly of the chiefs and the lack of discipline among the soldiers brought on the first disaster. The king just escaped being killed, and for a long time he fought alone, as all the nobles who formed his body-guard had been killed. "Noble flowers of France," said one of the chroniclers, "who faded away before they could bear fruit beneath the walls of Damascus." At Attalia it was decided that it would be impossible to proceed. The king and his chiefs embarked in Greek ships to accomplish their pilgrimage by sea, leaving the multitude of pilgrims to perish by the arrows of the Turks, or, accusing Christ of having deceived them, to become Mohammedans. Three thousand escaped death in this way.

When Louis arrived at Antioch he no longer thought of fighting, but only of accomplishing his pilgrim's vow, of praying at the Holy Sepulchre, and of ending the unlucky expedition as soon as possible. He hurried his march to Jerusalem, paying no heed to the prayers of the Prince of Antioch and the Count of Tripoli, who wished to detain him. The people, princes, and prelates went before him, carrying olive branches and singing: "Blessed is he who

comes in the name of the Lord !” He thought it necessary, however, to do something and to draw his sword once at least in the Holy Land. It was proposed to attack Damascus. Damascus is one of the holy cities of Islamism and the pearl of the East. It stands surrounded by great gardens which are watered by the different branches of the Barradi, and which form a forest of orange and lemon trees, cedars, and trees of delicious fruits. It is the capital of the desert, and for Syria either a bulwark or a perpetual menace, according as it is in friendly or in hostile hands. The attack seemed at first to succeed ; they gained possession of the gardens, but the Christian princes fell to fighting over the skin of the bear before they had killed him, and they were finally obliged to raise the siege and go back to Palestine. Conrad and Louis had exhausted their patience ; they returned to Europe, meeting with fresh misadventures on their way, for the King of France fell into the hands of Greek pirates and owed his deliverance to the Normans of Sicily. Europe again welcomed very few of those who had started out. The first crusade had at least attained its end, it had delivered Jerusalem ; the second had spilt the blood of Christians to no purpose. After that Palestine was weaker and Islamism stronger, and the crusaders brought nothing back from their expedition but shame, or, as in the case of Louis VII., dishonor.

St. Bernard was deeply afflicted by the unsuccessful result of the enterprise he had advised, and tried to start another ; but when people have made one unfortunate expedition they do not soon renew the attempt. Suger himself, by a singular contradiction, tried to organize another crusade afterwards, but he died in the midst of the preparations.

Nearly half a century passed before another expedition set out for the Holy Land ; the pilgrims’ zeal had grown very cool. Moreover the advantage gained by the first expedition had not as yet been entirely lost : Jerusalem was still in Christian hands. But in 1171 a Mussulman of great genius, named Saladin, took Egypt from the Fatimites, and soon after obtained possession of the dominions of his former sovereign Nouredin, in Syria. Under him a great Mussulman power grew up which covered all the country from the Euphrates to the Nile and shut in the Christians of the East on all sides. The latter were overwhelmed at the

Jerusalem
taken by Saladin ; third crusade (1189).

battle of Tiberias, where the King of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan, was taken prisoner. Even the Holy City fell. Great blows like this alone could rouse Europe. The Pope begged for a crusade, and laid a tax, the *Saladin tithe*, on all lands, even those belonging to the Church. The three most powerful Christian monarchs set out: Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus, and Richard Cœur de Lion (1189).

Barbarossa entered Asia by way of Hungary and Constantinople. His journey was similar in all respects to those of the preceding crusaders. The troubles with the Greek emperors were repeated, disguised as before by hypocritical ceremonies. It seemed as if the German army, which was well supplied with money and well equipped, would arrive at the end of the journey in much better condition than had been the fate of any previous army, in spite of meeting the same difficulties in Asia Minor. But a most unlooked-for event changed the course of affairs. While crossing the mountains of Cilicia on a hot June day, the Emperor wished to shorten the route and refresh himself by swimming across a little river called the Selph or Calycadnus. The ice-cold water was fatal to him. Mohammedans saw the finger of God in his death. "Frederick was drowned," they said, "in a place where the water was only waist deep, which proves that God wished to deliver us from his hands." His army, crushed by this blow, broke up or perished, leaving out of the 100,000 Germans who had started, only 5000 to reach the Holy Land, where the kings of France and of England, Philip Augustus and Richard, arrived the next year. Richard had arranged to start out with Philip Augustus, whose fast friend he had been so long as his father lived. They started by sea—a new route. Philip embarked at Genoa, Richard at Marseilles, and putting into Sicily, they spent the winter there. They were friends when they arrived on the island, enemies when they left. A little more and they would have come to blows. Their misunderstanding doomed the crusade to failure from the first.

Philip was the first to arrive. He found Ptolemais besieged by Guy de Lusignan and the remains of the German army. He courteously refused to do anything before Richard's arrival. The latter had been detained on his way to seize and to bind, as it was said, with silver chains,

Isaac Comnenus, who had styled himself Emperor of Cyprus, and who had had the audacity to shut his gates against the crusaders. By the time he reached Palestine, Saladin had been able to reassemble his forces. Ptolemais, valiantly defended, resisted for more than two years ; nine battles were fought before her walls. But it is remarkable to see what changes the relations between the Christian and the Mussulmans had undergone since the first crusade. The frequent intercourse between Christians and infidels had weakened the force of fanaticism on both sides. "We are not without religion," said the Mohammedans, begging for life on their knees, "and we are descended from Abraham, and we call ourselves Saracens after his wife Sara." The fierce hatred of former days had given way to a sort of chivalrous courtesy among the chieftains. Saladin sent fruits from Damascus to the Christians and they sent him jewels from Europe. The opposed camps began to entertain respect for one another, but on the field of battle their desire for blood returned, and great cruelty was still shown toward the conquered. Richard is said on one day to have had 2700 prisoners put to death.

The want of harmony between the kings of France and England had retarded the capture of Ptolemais (1191), and finally caused the departure of Philip Augustus. Richard remained in Palestine to wage a useless war. His pride estranged the leading crusaders and many of them left him on that account. He himself finally left Palestine, having been warned that his brother John was plotting against him. He had but seen the Holy City from afar, and he sighed as he left it in the hands of the infidels. He was able, however, to obtain an entrance into the city for pilgrims, and to make amends to Guy de Lusignan, by giving him the island of Cyprus for a kingdom. On his return he was driven by storm upon the coasts of Dalmatia ; Leopold, the duke of Austria, who was his personal enemy, seized him and sold him to Emperor Henry VI., who did not set him at liberty until he had secured an enormous ransom.*

The fourth crusade was an enterprise of a peculiar char-

* Richard's imprisonment in Germany is to be accounted for on political grounds. He was brother-in-law of Henry the Lion, and in close alliance with the Guelfs.—ED.

acter. After the unsuccessful result of the third, Jerusalem was forgotten, and instead of pious expeditions, we hear only of wars between Christian kings and peoples. England, Germany, and France, but lately united in their desire to deliver the Holy Sepulchre, were now taking up arms against each other; the Emperor Otto IV. was excommunicated, Philip Augustus had been, and John was soon to be, and they naturally thought little about the Holy Land. The great Pope Innocent III. wished to recall it to their minds. He had a crusade preached, promising remission of all their sins to those who would serve God for a year. Fulk, a priest of Neuilly-sur-Marne, was the one to preach this crusade. He went to a tournament held in Champagne, and his burning words inspired all the princes and knights assembled there to take the cross. The kings stood aloof, as they did the first time, and the people did also. Chivalry alone entered the lists more to indulge in feats of arms than from ardent piety, as was clearly shown by the character of this crusade. It was a great piratical expedition and nothing else. Baldwin IX.; Count of Flanders, and Boniface II., Count of Montferrat, were at its head. As it had been proved that the route by sea was much to be preferred to that by land, the crusaders went to Venice to demand ships.

Venice was then the Queen of the Adriatic. The inhabitants had been driven by Attila's invasions from the main land to the islands in the lagunes, and had found safety and prosperity in that situation, which is alone of its kind in the world.

Not one of the ruling powers which had passed over Italy had been able to touch them. Their commerce was extensive; the islands and coasts of Istria and Illyria had recognized their supremacy. They seconded the crusades partly from religious conviction, and partly from a spirit of gain. The Mussulmans and the Greeks were their rivals in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. They considered it a good opportunity to dispossess them. The interested services which they rendered to the crusaders procured for them in 1130 the privilege of establishing a quarter exclusively to themselves in each town of the new kingdom of Jerusalem. At the same time they took possession of the Greek islands of Rhodes, Samos, Scio, Lesbos

Fourth Crusade (1201-1204).
Foundation of a Frank Empire at Constantinople (1204-1261).

and Andros. In Venice the interview between the Pope Alexander III. and Frederick Barbarossa, in 1177, took place after a victory gained by the doge over the imperial fleet. A slab of red porphyry still marks the place in the vestibule of St. Mark, to the right of the door of entrance, where the reconciliation was effected, which restored peace to Italy. In memory of that great event and of his last victory, Alexander III., gave the chief of Venice that ring which the doge threw into the sea as a token of marriage with the Adriatic, and after that, he repeated this ambitious betrothal every year with a pomp that exalted the pride and patriotism of the Venetians. Four years before, Venice had made the office of doge elective, and with its great council had organized the aristocratic government which created its greatness.

Such was Venice when the crusaders appeared. Godfrey of Villehardouin, seneschal of the Count of Champagne, himself gives an account of the embassy in which he took part. It was a strange sight to see those feudal lords obliged humbly to request a favor of the people. "We will grant it, we will grant it," cried the sovereign people. The mercantile and maritime city of Venice could not do otherwise than make so great a service a matter of business, and demanded eighty-five thousand marks of silver, which would be worth to-day more than \$800,000, but whose purchasing power was even more at that day. Knights did not handle such sums of money. The Venetians consented to receive in payment, instead of money, a hostile town which the crusaders should capture for them. They had recently taken away from the Greeks the principal towns on the Dalmatian coast, Spalato, Ragusa, and Sebenico. In order to control these shores and the Adriatic, they needed one more town, namely, Zara, which was held by the King of Hungary. Innocent III. hurled his anathemas at them for turning aside from the crusade in this manner, but in vain; the Venetians would have Zara; their doge, Dandolo, ninety years of age, had himself taken the cross (1202).

Now that the first account had been settled they were ready to start. But where should they go, was the question. The experiences of the two last crusades had shown that a point of support would be necessary in order successfully to carry on their operations in Palestine; and

that point of support ought to be either Egypt or the Greek Empire. The Venetians persuaded their allies that Cairo or Constantinople was the key to Jerusalem. There was some truth in this idea, but the main point with them was commercial interest. The acquisition of Cairo would put the route to Judea in the hands of the Venetian merchants; Constantinople would secure to them the commerce of the Black Sea and all the Archipelago. They decided on Constantinople, whither a young Greek prince, Alexis by name, offered to conduct them, provided they would restore his father, Isaac Angelus, to the throne from which he had been driven (1203.*)

When the French came in sight of Constantinople and saw the high walls, the innumerable churches whose gilded domes glistened in the sunlight, and when their eyes had traveled, said Villehardouin, "over the length and breadth of that city which was sovereign over all others, you can well imagine that there was no heart so bold that it did not tremble, . . . and each one looked at his weapons, which he would need to use." A magnificent army of 60,000 men was drawn up on the shore. The crusaders looked forward to a terrible battle. They were landed, fully equipped, in boats. Even before they touched the shore "the knights left the ships and jumped into the sea up to their waists, all armed, their helmets laced, sword in hand, and the brave archers and the brave cross-bowmen with them. And the Greeks made a great show of holding them back. But when it came to lowering the lances, the Greeks turned their backs and fled, leaving to them the shore. And never more proudly was anything taken." On July 18 (1203) the city was carried by assault, and the old Emperor was drawn from his hiding-place and restored to the throne. Alexis had made the crusaders the most splendid promises, and, in order to keep his word, laid new taxes on the enfeebled people, driving them to such a point of exasperation that they strangled the Emperor, put another man, Murzuflus, in his place, and shut the gates of the town. The crusaders attacked it immediately. Three days suf-

* There is something of an exaggeration here of the policy of the Venetians. It is possible that they had intended to divert the crusade to Constantinople before Prince Alexis came to seek aid for his father in the West, but there is nothing to show that they had.—ED.

ficed them to force an entrance (March 12); and this time they sacked the city. They burned one whole quarter, a square league in extent. It is impossible to say how many great works of art perished in the flames; 400,000 marks of silver were brought together into one church to be distributed.

A partition of the empire itself followed. Baldwin IX., Count of Flanders, was chosen Emperor of Romania, as they named it. He carried the election over the heads of his competitors, Dandolo and Boniface of Montferrat. The Venetians did not insist upon seeing their doge on the imperial throne. They took what suited them better, one of the quarters of Constantinople with the coasts of the Bosphorus and the Propontis, and the greater part of the islands, Crete, etc., styling themselves lords of a quarter and a half of the Greek Empire. The Marquis of Montferrat was made King of Thessalonica, Villehardouin Marshal of Romania, and his nephew Prince of Achaia. The Count of Blois had the Asiatic provinces. There were dukes of Athens and of Naxos, counts of Cephalaria, a lord of Thebes and of Corinth. A new France sprang up, with its feudal customs, at the extremity of Europe. Members of the family of the Comneni, however, retained a few fragments which they made into the principalities of Trebizond, Napoli d'Argolide, Epirus, and Nicæa. The crusaders were too few in number to be able to keep their conquest long. In 1261 the Latin Empire was broken up. Yet even till the end of the Middle Ages and until the conquest by the Turks, in certain parts of Greece there remained relics of those feudal principalities which had been so strangely founded on the old ground of Miltiades and Leonidas by the French of the thirteenth century.

But meantime there was always a body of Christians in Palestine who did not cease to call upon their western brethren for help. When the barons of the Holy Land were without a king, in 1217, they offered the crown, not to any powerful European sovereign who would pay them no attention, but to a knight who was as valiant as he was poor, to John of Brienne, whose whole army of crusaders numbered but three hundred knights. Germany had no thought but for the struggle between Otto of Brunswick and Philip of Swabia; France, but for the war with the

The last four
Crusades in the
East; the Mon-
gols of Jenghiz-
Khan.

Albigenses. England was under an interdict. Andrew II., King of Hungary, conducted the fifth crusade ; but it had no lasting results. Nevertheless John of Brienne gained enough strength from it to begin the conquest of Egypt from Melik-el-Kamel, a nephew of Saladin, who was reigning at Cairo. Damietta was about to fall when the Sultan offered if the Christians would abandon it to give up to them Jerusalem and all of Palestine ; the legate haughtily rejected these advantageous propositions, believing that he could conquer Egypt himself, and Damietta was soon taken. But when the Nile overflowed and surrounded the Christians they were glad to be able to withdraw and abandon Damietta (1221).

The sixth crusade was more successful than its predecessors. The Emperor Frederick II., who had finally decided to set out after many delays, accomplished with one stroke of his pen what the sword of Cœur de Lion had not been able to do. Profiting by the terror which the approach of Tartar hordes from the east inspired in Melik-el-Kamel, he obtained from him a truce for ten years, and the restitution to the Christians of the Holy City, together with Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Sidon ; he then crowned himself King of Jerusalem (1229).

An unsuspected enemy appeared at this stage of affairs, inspiring terror both in Mussulman Asia and Christian Europe. An invasion of the Tartar Mongols, similar to the Hunnic invasion of the fourth century which cast Barbarian Europe upon Roman Europe, and coming from the same direction, suddenly burst forth in the thirteenth century. The Mongol hordes were leading idle lives, scattered about the steppes of Southern Asia, some of them even tributary to the Chinese Empire, when Temudjin, chief of one of the tribes, brought them all under his authority (1203), and resolved to lead them to the conquest of the world. Those nomad communities are easily put in motion ; the horses, flocks, and houses can all be transported without difficulty. Their houses were chariots or large cabins on wheels, drawn by long lines of oxen. This comprised the whole of the movable household of the Tartar ; he himself was on horseback night and day, awake or asleep. His food consisted of a small piece of meat made tender by being carried between the saddle and the back of his horse, or of milk and curds. He feared neither fatigue nor priva-

tion, and yielded to his chiefs with passive obedience. In common with all the Mongolian race he scarcely had a religion, but he was proud and inordinately ambitious for his nation, counting on obtaining the empire of the world, and looking upon his Khan as the king of the earth, a divine being, as it were. As cavalry they were irresistible, full of cunning as well as cruelty.

Temudgin, surnamed Jenghiz-Khan (chief of the chiefs), led on his hordes to the east and the west. He subdued China, the Huns of Kharesm, Khorasan, and Persia, and sent his son, Tchutchi, to invade Europe. The latter gave battle to the Russians at Kolka (1223), where six of their princes perished. Jenghiz-Khan died in 1227 after creating an empire which stretched from the Crimea to Peking. His four sons continued to extend its limits. His grandson Batu marched against the Russians. He annihilated their armies, took Moscow (1237), and advanced as far as Novgorod. The grand-duchy of Kiev went out of existence (1239); that of Vladimir preserved its existence by paying tribute. Leaving Russia, the Mongols attacked and conquered Poland; after Poland, Silesia and Moravia, which they laid waste. Then they fell upon Hungary, surprised and destroyed the army which opposed them, and finally crossed the Danube, ravaging on every side. Europe was terrified and prayed God to remove the scourge, fearing lest it should see its religion and civilization perish. An embassy from the Pope to the pitiless conquerors brought back for sole answer the order to pay tribute. It was time for them to cross themselves; no one took up arms; the Emperor Frederick II. alone took energetic steps to resist them. He sent his two sons Conrad and Enzio with large forces to meet the Mongols, one of whose divisions they cut in pieces, and the barbarians withdrew, either out of discouragement or for some different reason; Russia alone remained in their power.

In western Asia Hulagu took possession of Bagdad (1258), where he put to death the Caliph Motassem, who had fallen into his hands, and conquered everything in his path as far as the frontiers of Egypt.

The result of this invasion was the final loss of Jerusalem to the Christians. The Turcomans of Kharesm, who were flying before the Mongols, threw themselves upon Syria, laid waste everything there with fire and with sword, and

after the victory at Gaza, won from a last army of Frankish crusaders (1239), they took possession of the Holy City and handed it over to the Sultan of Egypt.

When the Pope heard of the cruelties committed by these fierce hordes, he called the faithful once more to arms.

But Europe was no longer moved by the spirit of the crusades. It could only find response in the heart of a king who was full of piety, namely, St. Louis. During a sickness in which he just escaped death, he made a vow to go to the deliverance of Jerusalem, and in spite of the prayers of all his court, even of his pious mother, Blanche of Castile, he embarked at Aigues-Mortes, after four years spent in preparation, with a powerful and chivalrous army; his wife, Marguerite of Provence, wished to accompany him (1248). The voyage was prosperous, and they wintered in Cyprus. The Crusaders had conceived the remarkable idea of attacking the Saracens at the heart of their empire, in Egypt: they even intended to found a colony there, and had the novel foresight to take with them a great quantity of agricultural implements.

In the spring the fleet set sail, and was soon in sight of Damietta. All the forces of the Sultan were drawn up on the shore. St. Louis was one of the first to throw himself into the sea, and was followed by his army, giving the French cry, "Montjoie, Saint Denis!" which had taken the place of "Dieu le veut!" After a hard fight the crusaders conquered and entered the city, which the Mohammedans fired before they abandoned it.

The Knights Templar and the Knights of St. John had come to join them; a magnificent prospect lay before them, the Mohammedans were terrified. But they lost everything by delay. The army felt the effects of the Eastern climate and gave themselves up to debauchery; there followed sickness and the pest which is peculiar to the Delta. The chiefs disputed over the booty which had escaped the flames of Damietta. St. Louis could no longer quell the insubordination of his barons: "You are no King at all," said the Earl of Salisbury, who had been offended by Robert d'Artois, "since you cannot enforce justice." When they put themselves in motion again, the army was no longer capable of conquering. The canal of Aschmun stopped the crusaders for a month. Finally they found a ford; Robert d'Artois

Seventh and
eighth Cru-
sades (1248-
1270).

was the first to cross it; he was young and impetuous and did not know the value of waiting. Instead of stopping to give the whole army time to join him, he rushed in pursuit of the Saracens who were flying before him, and dashed into the village of Mansurah; there he saw himself shut in and in spite of a brave defense perished with all his troops. The army avenged his death by taking the camp of the enemy. But after this exploit they found it impossible to go farther; famine and the pest increased their ravages, the king himself could not hold out. His patience and courage could do no more than afford an admirable but useless example. A retreat was necessary; the sick were embarked on the Nile. The crusaders suffered enormous losses at the hands of the Saracens; 30,000 perished. What remained of them fell at last into the hands of the infidels, including the king himself. The enemy were so moved by his goodness that they spared his life; but they exacted as a ransom the restitution of Damietta, and a million pieces of gold [about two million dollars]. This treaty, arranged by Turan-shah, was signed by another sovereign; the Mamelukes, who, since the time of Saladin, had formed the guard of the sultans of Cairo, had killed him and put Eibek in his place; it was then that the domination of this race began, and it lasted until Bonaparte's campaign in Egypt.

St. Louis departed sadly with 6000 men. But he wished at least to touch the Holy Land. He accordingly stayed there for four years, occupied in building fortresses, redeeming captives, and negotiating with the Mongols and with the Old Man of the Mountain, chief of the terrible sect of the Assassins (from *haschisch*, a liquor given them by their chief to intoxicate them). The death of Queen Blanche and the revolt of the "Pastoureaux" called him back to France (1254). These distant expeditions were condemned in decided language. "He is very foolish," wrote Joinville, "who, having some sin upon his soul, puts himself into such danger."

Nevertheless St. Louis, indefatigable in his piety, tried another crusade sixteen years later, the last of all. He embarked again at Aigues-Mortes in 1270, but was not bound for the Holy Land. His brother, Charles of Anjou, who, in the interests of his kingdom of Sicily, desired an expedition to go out against the King of Tunis, persuaded him that he ought to attack the Mohammedans at that

place. Disaster again followed them; they found famine and the pest lying in wait for them beneath the walls of Tunis. St. Louis died, showing that Christian resignation which had lent such beauty to his character. The princes who had accompanied him were bribed to retreat; Charles of Anjou was paid the tribute due to him, and there the crusades ended forever.

France was prominent at the beginning and at the end of the series of great expeditions led by Europeans against Asia. In the middle, too, and when they turned aside from their pious object, France was still conspicuous, for then a Fleming, or, in other words, a Frenchman, was on the throne of Constantinople. The country was a leading participant in all but the less important expeditions. The name of Frank had an ominous sound in the ears of the Orientals; they used it to designate all the West, and it inspired them with terror. They could conceive of nothing greater than the boldness and valor of that people. Even in our time they say: "The Franks are demons who can do everything by the power of God."

**Results of the
Crusades.**

We cannot help lamenting that so much blood should have been spilled. No other wars have ever caused such loss of life. If all who perished in the Crusades could rise from the grave they would be numerous enough to people a large country. But since the cost of all progress is measured by its importance, it will be granted that the progress resulting from those great movements was not too dearly bought.

Asia apparently triumphed. Palestine remained in the hands of Mohammedans after they had completely conquered it in 1291, and their historian could say with pride: "If it please God, things will remain as they are until the last judgment." But the possession of Palestine was not the greatest benefit which Europe could gain by the Crusades. What was of real importance to her, as well as to Asia, was the bringing together of these two parts of the world, the contact and, up to a certain point, the mingling of the two differing civilizations; the enlargement of ideas, the intercommunication of knowledge, the exchange of products; in one word, a great step was made toward unity in the life of the world, the greatest step, most certainly, since the time of Alexander and the Roman Empire.

What changes took place even in the countries whence the crusaders started, and in the minds of those men and their contemporaries ! Before that time they had lived separated and hostile lives ; the Crusades did away with isolation and division to a great extent. On the perilous voyage, crossing the distant countries, and in the midst of people of another religion, the Crusaders acknowledged their brotherhood in Jesus Christ. The division of the immense army into corps according to nations brought the men of one country to consider themselves children of the same fatherland. The Frenchman from the north drew near to the Frenchman from the south. The feeling of national fraternity, which had been lost to France since the days of Rome, though felt for a short moment under Charlemagne, was found again on the road to Jerusalem ; and the troubadours and trouvères began to sing, at least for the barons and knights, the *doux-pays* of France ! *

At Clermont, Urban II. had not preached the crusade solely for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre, for it was also his intention to put an end to the scourge of private warfare. "There was a great silence," said Guibert of Nogent, over all Christendom deep in meditation. A silence of arms and of evil passions, which, unfortunately, did not last long, but which gave the world some respite and encouraged the growth of two new forces, both needing peace for their development—namely, the royal power and the middle class, of which we shall speak hereafter.

The great expeditions which renewed the ties between Christian nations, and connected Europe with Asia, opened once more the paths of commerce, closed since the time of the invasions. The East was again accessible to the merchants of the West, manufactures started up again to furnish the arms, trappings, and clothes needed by so many men. This movement, once begun, did not again die out. The number of artisans multiplied like the merchants, and little by little great sums of money accumulated in their hands. A new element of power, which had passed out of knowl-

* De plusieurs choses à remembrer li prist. . . .

De dulce France, des humes de sun lign.

—*Chanson de Roland*, edited by Génin, canto iii., verse 941.

He began to think of many things,
Of sweet France and of the men of his lineage.

edge, was then revived ; namely, personal wealth, opposed to wealth in land, which will show continued growth from this time, and by the side of the nobles, the masters of the soil, will appear the commoners grown to be masters of gold through manual labor and intelligence.

Certain institutions or new customs were directly caused by the crusades. In the confusion produced by the great gatherings of men some distinguishing marks were necessary. They invented or increased the use of coats of arms, which consisted of various emblems upon the shields of warriors of distinction, or their armor or banner, and which passed from father to son after the thirteenth century. These armorial bearings grew into a complicated language, which formed the science of Heraldry. Family names also began to make their appearance at this time. To the baptismal names, almost the only ones used up to that time, and which were few in number, many people having the same, was now added a territorial name to distinguish the different families. This name was hereditary and common to all the members of one and the same house, while the baptismal name was personal and died with its bearer.

It has been already stated that the crusades brought about the creation of the military orders of the Holy Land. To the same cause, or rather to the religious movement of which the crusades themselves were a consequence, is due the creation of new religious orders in Europe, and the mendicant monks may be placed side by side with the soldier monks. The former carried on the same crusades at home which the latter waged abroad.


The appearance of the mendicant orders was an important innovation in the Church. About the year 520 St. Benedict had promulgated a monastic rule which had been gradually embraced by all the monks of the West ; the rule imposed the duty of working with the hands and with the mind. The Benedictines added agriculture to preaching, and copying manuscripts to prayer.* Schools were usually annexed

* The external history of the monastic orders may be brought under the following heads : In the fourth and fifth centuries, the foundation of the first monasteries ; in the sixth century, creation of the Benedictine Order ; seventh century, reform of St. Benedict of Aniane ; tenth and eleventh centuries, reform by Cluny, Cîteaux, and Clairvaux (St. Bernard) ; thirteenth century, creation of the four mendicant orders ; seventeenth century, creation of the Jesuits.

to their convents, and contributed toward the saving of letters from complete ruin. In the thirteenth century, however, the religious communities saw their influence declining owing to the fact that they had grown rich and sometimes corrupt. It was to guard against that enemy, riches, that the new orders of Franciscans (1215) and Dominicans (1216) took a formal vow of poverty. Removed as they were from the jurisdiction of the bishops, they were the devoted soldiers of the Holy See: they were obliged to live in charity, to have no possessions, to go through the world carrying the Gospel to all places no longer visited by the over-rich clergy—to the poor, in the public places, and on the roads. The two orders, though alike on this point, differed in the spirit of their founders; it was the austere St. Dominic who founded the one, the tender and mystical St. Francis who founded the other.

Those zealous preachers had immense influence on the people and even on the Church. The Dominicans, whose particular mission it was to convert heretics, were invested with inquisitorial functions in 1229; but the tribunal of the Inquisition, although born in France at the time of the struggle with the Albigenses, fortunately failed to take root there and to extend as it did in Spain and Italy. The Dominicans in France went by the name of Jacobins, because their first convent was built in the street of St. Jacques. The Franciscan order, or the Friars Minor, gave rise to the Recollets, the Cordeliers, and the Capucins. The Carmelites and the Augustinians belong to the same century, and together with those above mentioned form the four mendicant orders. The austerity and exalted piety of the new monks, and the learning of some of their doctors, roused a spirit of emulation in the ancient orders and even in the secular clergy, where a stricter ecclesiastical discipline began to appear.

Great opposition was roused, indeed, by the favor shown by the Pope to the mendicant orders. The bishops, the University of Paris, and especially the bold doctor of the Sorbonne, William de St. Amour, contested the right of the Pope to bestow upon mendicant monks the privilege of preaching and performing the duties of a parish priest. To which St. Thomas Aquinas replied, that if a bishop could delegate his powers within his diocese, the Pope could do as much within the limits of Christendom.



CHAPTER XXI.

THE CRUSADES OF THE WEST.

The Crusades in Europe: the Teutonic Order (1230). Conquest and conversion of Prussia, Livonia, and Esthonia.—Crusade against the Albigenses (1208); union of Southern and Northern France.—The Spanish Crusade.—Decline of the Caliphate of Cordova during the Ninth Century; its renewed strength during the Tenth Century, and its dismemberment in the Eleventh Century.—Formation of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, of Navarre and of Aragon.—Taking of Toledo (1085); founding of the County of Portugal (1095); the Cid.—Incursions of the Almoravides (1086), and of the Almohades (1146).—Victory of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212). The Moors driven back upon Granada. Results of the Spanish Crusade.

THE crusades in the east failed; but those in the west were successful. By the crusades in the west, we mean the expeditions made by the Teutonic knights and the Brothers of the Sword into Prussia and the neighboring regions, where they founded a new state; the war waged by Simon de Montfort against the Albigenses, which destroyed an ancient civilization; and the struggle of the Spaniards against the Moors, who were finally obliged to yield the peninsula to Christendom and to European civilization. These European crusades, as we have seen, took place at the two extreme ends of the continent, at the mouth of the Tagus and at the mouth of the Niemen, against the Moham-medans of Spain and against the pagans of the Baltic.

In the interval between the first and second crusades, certain merchants from Bremen and Lübeck who had come to the Holy Land founded there a hospital for their compatriots, in which all menial services were performed by Germans. Every benevolent institution and place of refuge founded in Palestine was forced to take the form of a military institution; the hospitallers had become Knights of

The Crusades
in Europe. The
Teutonic Order
(1230).

Conquest and
Conversion of
Prussia, of Li-
vonia, and of
Esthonia.

Saint John, and the servitors of the house of the temple of Solomon the military order of the Templars. The German hospitallers also transformed themselves into a religious and military organization, the Teutonic order. Like the other two orders, the Teutonic order acquired numerous lands in Europe, especially in Germany, and the Emperor Frederic II. raised their grand master to the rank of a prince of the empire. In 1230 a Polish prince took advantage of the zeal and strength which they could no longer employ in the Holy Land, and commissioned them to subjugate and convert the Prussians, a nation which has either entirely disappeared or has been so completely absorbed by the Germans who settled in the country that it is no longer distinguishable. It was an idolatrous people, settled between the Niemen and the Vistula, whose language, religion, and history are lost, but whose name is borne by one of the great states of modern Europe.

The order settled at first at Kulm, and conquered the Prussians by the same means which Charlemagne had employed against the Saxons, that is, by destroying part of the population and by building fortresses to keep the rest in check. Koenigsburg and Marienburg served the latter end.

A few years later, a bishop of Livonia had founded, with the same end in view, the order of the Brothers of the Sword, called also the Knights of Christ, who subdued Livonia and Esthonia. Some difference with the bishops of Riga obliged them in 1237 to unite with the Teutonic knights, whose forces were in this way doubled. In 1309 Marienburg became the capital of the order and the residence of its grand masters, who ruled over Prussia, Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, and who brought these countries into the Christian Church and sowed there the seeds of civilization. To this very day these provinces are the richest and the most advanced of the Russian empire. Up to the fifteenth century the Teutonic knights held the preponderance of power in the north of Europe. All the country between the lower part of the Vistula and Lake Peipus, with the exception of a strip of Lithuanian territory, which separated the original possessions of the two orders, was subject to them.

The crusade led by Simon de Montfort against the pop-

ulations in the South of France, on the contrary, had at first most disastrous results.

**Crusade
against the Al-
bigenses (1208);
Union of North-
ern and South-
ern France.**

At the very time when Christendom was sending its warriors to fight the infidels at the other end of the Mediterranean, it had unbelievers living in the very heart of its Empire. We do not refer to the Jews, by whose massacre the first crusaders had begun their crusade with a frenzy abominable to us but natural enough to that time, but to the peoples of Southern France. The beliefs held by this population, which was a mixture of so many races, of the Iberian, Gallic, Roman, Gothic and Moorish races, were very far from orthodox. We hardly know how to describe what they were; the name of Manichæism, which was applied to them, is a commonplace of the Middle Ages. By calling these heretics Albigenses (from the town Albi), the men of that time showed that they themselves did not know how to term their heresy. All that is known is that in 1167 a council was held near Toulouse, which was presided over by a Greek from Constantinople, named Nicetas, and by which certain Oriental ideas were adopted; that in this country the clergy were treated with contempt, and even Saint Bernard had been received with insults. This church sent missionaries everywhere, and offensive doctrines began to appear in Germany, England, and even in Italy. Lately, bands of men had come from the direction of Auvergne and had sacked churches, taking pains to profane all sacred objects.

The most prosperous of all the rich and brilliant cities of the South was Toulouse, whose Count Raymond VI. was one of the mightiest lords of that region. The other powers in the South were the house of Barcelona, now supreme over Aragon, Rousillon, and Provence, and the petty lords of the Pyrenees, proud, independent, adventurous, who lived just as they chose, without the least respect for the precepts of the Church, or any concern for the King.

In reality the South of France had been separated from the North for a long time. We have already seen the efforts made by its inhabitants, under Dagobert, Charles Martel, Pippin, Charlemagne, Charles the Bald, and Hugh Capet, to form a separate nation. They had a different language and different customs. Commerce had brought the comforts of life to the middle classes, and luxury to the nobles;

and these two classes, who, without hatred or jealousy, shared between them the municipal governments of the country, gave it an enduring peace. But in these rich cities and brilliant courts which inspired the songs of the troubadours, religious doctrines were handled as lightly as morals, and heresy penetrated everywhere.

The all-powerful Innocent III. resolved to root out this nest of heresies and impieties, for he feared that they would become contagious. He began by organizing the Inquisition* against the sectarians, a tribunal charged with examining and judging heretics by means of torture; and which has immolated numberless human victims, without succeeding in destroying heresy, for butchery is a poor means to use in establishing truth. The Pope sent to Raymond VI. his legate, the monk Peter de Castelnau, who demanded the expulsion of all heretics; but as all, or nearly all, the inhabitants of the country were heretics, Castelnau gained nothing. On being excommunicated (1207) and threatened by the legate with "everlasting fire," Raymond in his anger allowed a few such words to escape from him as Henry II. had pronounced against Thomas à Becket: a knight followed the legate and killed him when crossing the Rhone (1208). "Anathemas be upon the head of the Count of Toulouse," cried Innocent III. "All sins shall be remitted to those who will take up arms against these tainted Provençals! Go forth, soldiers of Christ! May all heretics disappear, and colonies of Catholics take their place!" The monks of Citeaux, organs of the Pope, preached this crusade of extermination. The Duke of Burgundy, the counts of Nevers, Auxerre, and Geneva, the bishops of Rheims, Sens, Rouen and Autun, and many others, with Germans and Lorrainers, gathered in crowds. Three armies invaded the south: they were led by Simon de Montfort, a petty lord from the neighborhood of Paris, an ambitious, fanatical, and cruel man.

The first attack was not made on the Count of Toulouse, as the Pope had held out hopes of pardon to him, with a view of weakening his resistance, but on the Viscount of Beziers. His city was taken, but the victors hesitated to

* The Inquisition takes on no definite form as a new institution under Innocent III. It was of slow growth and does not become permanently organized till towards the close of the XIIIth century.—ED.

strike the death-blow; as they could not tell the heretics from the orthodox. "Kill them all; for you may be sure God will know his own," said the legate, and thirty thousand were massacred. Carcassonne yielded next, and the knights of the Isle of France divided the country between them, while Simon de Montfort was made their suzerain. After this frightful sacrifice on the altars of orthodoxy, Raymond hoped to be spared, and even Innocent himself was inclined to compassion; but the legates were merciless and opposed to all pity. They would only offer pardon to the Count of Toulouse on the condition of his obliging all his subjects to put on the dress of penitents, his nobles to become villeins, of his sending away all his soldiers, destroying all his castles, and going himself to the Holy Land.

The count laughed at these propositions; and the legates started again to the attack. Simon de Montfort gathered about him a multitude of men from the North who were overjoyed to hear that the grand pillage of the South was not yet ended. Raymond VI. was defeated at Castelnaudary, and the victors divided up the fragments of his territory, the bishops receiving the bishoprics and the soldiers the fiefs. Raymond was forced to take refuge with the king of Aragon, Peter II. He hastened thither, and was joined by all the petty lords of the Pyrenees who considered the king of Aragon their chief. The battle of Muret, in which Peter was killed, decided the fate of the South of France (1213). Two years later the Council of the Lateran ratified the dispossession of Raymond and of most of the nobles of the South. The papal legate offered their estates to the powerful barons who had made this crusade, but the latter refused to accept these blood-stained lands. Simon de Montfort accepted them. It was decreed that the widows of heretics who had possessed noble fiefs could marry none but Frenchmen for the next ten years.* The civilization of the South perished under such rude treatment. The "gay science," as the troubadours called poetry, lost all inspiration among the bleeding ruins that

* France, properly speaking, comprised at that time only a part of the country situated between the Somme and the Loire. This latter river may be taken as the dividing line between the lands which used *oïl* for *yes* and those which used *oc*;—called the *langue d'oïl* and the *langue d'oc*.

remained. Innocent III., however, finally became uneasy ; he did not feel sure that he had not committed a great crime. When the Count de Foix said to him, "Give me back my land ; or else at the day of judgment I will demand it all of you, my land, my rights, and my heritage,"—the Pope replied : "I acknowledge that you have suffered great wrongs, but they were not done you by my orders, and I feel no gratitude toward those who did them."

In their misery, the people of Provence remembered the King of France. The inhabitants of Montpellier put themselves under his protection, and Philip Augustus sent his son Louis to show them the banner of France. After the death of Simon de Montfort, who was killed near Toulouse, which Raymond VII., son of the former count, had recovered, Louis returned there ; and Amaury, Montfort's heir, offered to give up to the king the conquests made by his father, which he was no longer able to defend in the face of the universal reprobation of his subjects. Philip, already almost at the point of death, refused this offer, which was accepted five years later.

At the very time of the great crusades which were being made in the East by all the peoples of Europe, as well as before and after them, a crusade was being carried on in the West in which fewer peoples were involved, but which belonged peculiarly to one people, whose leaders without leaving their own country were on the very field of battle ; and which for that reason made much less stir and noise than the others, though it was pursued with a perseverance and obstinacy that made it last eight centuries. When Charles Martel and Pippin the Short expelled the Arabs from France, they were content with driving them beyond the Pyrenees, and apparently thought that this strong barrier of mountains marked the limits of Europe and Christendom. Spain seemed utterly sacrificed, and with Africa was given over to the Saracens who had invaded it. Nevertheless Spain had been Christian before its invasion ; and the mass of the population, part of which was not entirely subdued, was so still. There was still a point in the country which had not been reached by conquest, a single point, but one which gave shelter to the sacred flame of independence, and which gradually became enlarged and formed the nucleus of the Christian domination at its revival.

**The Spanish
Crusade.**

The Pyrenees, which cross the broad, short isthmus that connects Spain with the continent, extend toward the west along the coast of Spain, leaving between them and the ocean a strip of land from ten to fifteen leagues in width. Here they are called the Cantabrig Pyrenees. It was to this corner, which was protected by mountains and out of the reach of invasion, and with a vegetation quite different from the almost African vegetation of the rest of Spain, that the remains of the nations either subjugated or destroyed by invasion had fled at different times; Hermanrich and the Suevi during the Visigoth invasion, and Pelayo and his companions during the Arab invasion. Pelayo and his companions had preferred to flee before the rapid and irresistible stream of the Mohammedans rather than to be subject to them; but as soon as they had put the mountains between them and their enemies, they stopped their flight, and though they had only a hold on the very edge of Spain, retained it with an unrelaxing firmness. Gijon, situated on the coast, was their capital. With their backs toward the ocean, they presented their front to the enemy, and in what might be called the lists of Spain, shut in on all sides by the ocean and mountains, stood prepared to engage in a contest which was to last eight centuries.

They gained ground little by little, and moving their capital as they advanced toward the south, they soon gave up Gijon on the coast and made Oviedo, at the foot of the mountains in Asturia, the residence of their king (760).

Here they found a powerful ally in Charlemagne, the great protector of Christianity, who had extended the Frankish dominion across the Pyrenees at two points, at Pampeluna and at Barcelona. This helpful diversion enabled them to repel several expeditions against them; and under Alfonso II., in 788, they destroyed a hostile army at Lodos, in Galicia.

After Charlemagne, the Spanish Gascons founded the little kingdom of Navarre toward the middle of the ninth century, and the Frankish counts of Barcelona assumed hereditary rights. When the lords of Aragon were able to join hands with the counts of Barcelona and the kings of Navarre, and when counts of Castile held the territory between the kingdoms of Navarre and Leon, there was in the north of Spain a continuous line of Christian principalities extending toward the south from Cape Creux to

the Corogne, and covered by the mountains as if by fortresses.

The development of the little Christian states was greatly aided by the shock given to the Caliphate of Cordova by the revolt of Ibn Hafson, and as a result Alfonso III., or the Great (862-910), was able to make notable progress. To the countries he possessed on the coast, to Biscay, Asturia, and Galicia, he was able to add Burgos, the country south of the Minho, with Toro and Zamora on the Douro, and even Salamanca and Coimbra, to the south of this latter river. The Christian states were already entering into relations with each other, and Alfonso now formed an alliance with the king of Navarre. The zeal for the holy war was felt here sooner than in the rest of Europe. Saint James, "Slayer of the Moors" (*San Jago Matamoros*), became their national saint, and the Spanish Christians made pilgrimages to his church at Compostella in crowds. Finally in 914 the Asturians made another step in advance, crossed the mountains, and leaving Oviedo, fixed their capital at Leon. After this it was clear that the Moors could no longer hold Spain, for the breach was open and the enemy on the alert.

Nevertheless, the tenth century was not so favorable to the Christian states. For while some differences arose between them, the strength of the caliphate was greatly revived by Abderrahman III. and by the skillful Almanzor under Heschem II. The great defeat of Simancas suffered in 940, the overthrow of the King Sancho the Great by the Count of Castile, who made himself independent, and his re-establishment by Abderrahman himself, show us the kingdom of Leon in so weakly a condition that its enemy was able to decide even over the disposal of the throne. Almanzor the Victorious bore even more heavily upon the Christians. He subdued the county of Castile, took possession of Salamanca, Zamora, Astorga, and even Leon, which latter he razed to the ground (984). On another expedition he took Coimbra, Lamego, Braga, and San Jago de Compostella, the Holy City, from which he carried away the bells. He had equal success in the east, where he took Barcelona, and by 997 was master of all that the Christians had conquered south of the Douro and the Ebro. But the first time he was defeated, after fifty actions, at Calatanazor,

Decadence of the Caliphate of Cordova in the ninth century, its renewed power in the tenth, and dismemberment in the eleventh century.

near the source of the Douro, he was so broken-hearted that he starved himself to death ; and all the power of the Caliphate died with him (1002). We have already seen that the empire of the Arabs in Spain fell to pieces in the eleventh century ; the Christian states, on the contrary, drew nearer together and were united by marriages and by other alliances. They were so much occupied by these internal alliances and adjustments, and also by closing the breaches in their armor made by Almanzor's sword, that the holy war was suspended for nearly the whole century ; Toward the end it was taken up again, however, and pursued with even greater success than before.

Sancho the Great, King of Navarre in 1000, laid the foundation of the greatness of his house by the marriage of his sister with the Count of Castile, which county was joined to Navarre in 1026 when the Castilian family became extinct. A few years later, he gave this same county of Castile, which he made into a kingdom (1033), to his son Ferdinand, who was the son-in-law and heir of the king of Leon. He also made the county of Aragon into a kingdom for his third son Ramiro, and the Count of Barcelona acknowledged him as his suzerain. At the death of Sancho (1035), his oldest son Garcias inherited the kingdom of Navarre.

It is not alone on account of these alliances that Sancho III. merits his title of the Great. The only claims to greatness in Spain were gains made at the expense of the infidels. The Moors suffered many times under his sword, and at the same time that he was preparing throughout all the Christian part of the country the substitution of the Basque royal house of Aznar for that of Pelayo, he pushed his conquests against the Arabs into the very heart of their country, even up to the walls of Cordova.

After his death there were four kingdoms in Christian Spain : three of them, Navarre, Castile, Aragon, belonged to the sons of Sancho ; the fourth, Leon, belonged to Bermudo. But at the death of the latter in 1037 the male line of the descendants of Pelayo became extinct, and the council of Asturia gave the crown to his brother-in-law, Ferdinand, who thus joined Leon and Castile. Since the memorable year of 1037 we can consider Christian Spain, with the exception of Portugal, as divided into the three kingdoms

of Castile and Leon in the northwest and center, Navarre at the north, and Aragon at the northeast.

Ferdinand I. had the unfortunate idea of dividing his states between his children, according to the old German custom ; but Alfonso VI. reunited them in 1073 and resumed the holy war in Spain, just when the preparations for the first crusade made such warfare popular throughout all Europe. The news of the misfortunes at Jerusalem and the growing influence of the Holy See was felt in Spain as well. Gregory VII. wished to bring under his sway the Christian kingdoms of this country, which until now had continued more or less independent of the Holy See. Whether or not they should put themselves under the Roman church was a serious question ; if they did not there was fear that the Pope might some time call all Christendom to arms against them. With his unlimited pretensions Gregory VII. demanded homage from Alfonso VI. under the pretext that all land conquered from the Infidels belonged to the Church. Alfonso refused. Gregory then turned his efforts in another direction, that of the adoption by the Christians in Spain of the Roman ritual instead of the Gothic or Mozarabian ritual used by them until then. He sent a legate to them, and the question was seriously debated in the assembly of the grandees and the bishops at Burgos in 1077. The king, injured by the pretensions of the Pope, joined the laymen in opposing the introduction of the Roman ritual, but the queen, the archbishop, and all the clergy were in favor of it. As the discussion led to no decision, they submitted the question to "the judgment of God" in the ordeals of fire and water, and the judicial combat. The Gothic ritual was victorious in the lists, but Alfonso saw the danger of this victory, and in 1079 declared himself for the Roman ritual. From that year the Spanish people were admitted to full communion with Rome, and they became the most Catholic of people, though by no means always the most submissive to the Holy See.

Ferdinand I. had taken advantage of the differences between the small Arab kings, to encroach upon their territory. He had taken Viséu, Lamego, and Coimbra, and had made the king of Toledo tributary to him. In 1085 Alfonso VI. did still better and took possession of the latter city. Toledo, the ancient capital and

Taking of Toledo (1085); founding of the county of Portugal (1095): the Cid.

metropolis of the Visigoths, again became a capital and metropolis, and this event, counting Gijon, Oviedo, and Leon, made the fourth great step in the progress of the Christians, who had started from Asturia but who were henceforth established in the heart of Spain and protected by the Tagus.

Five years later, the Capetian, Henry of Burgundy, a great-grandson of Robert, the king of France, who had distinguished himself at the taking of Toledo, seized Portucale, situated at the mouth of the Douro, and Alfonso converted his conquest into the county of Portugal (1095). At the same time Rodrigo de Bivar, the famous Cid (lord), and the hero of the Spanish romancers, who became the pattern of chivalry, advanced along the coast of the Mediterranean, crowning victory with victory, and took possession of Valencia (1094). Finally, in 1118, Alfonso I., the king of Aragon, like the king of Castile, won a new capital for himself by conquering Saragossa, where a Mussulman dynasty had reigned with splendor for many years. In this way the Christian invasion advanced like one army divided into three columns, one at the east, one at the west, and one at the center.

But this progress went no farther at the center, and was soon arrested almost all along the line by obstacles which were not surmounted by the Christians for nearly a century. They saw two new floods of Mussulman invasion advancing toward them, when they had supposed it utterly exhausted long before. Successively two sects, advancing from Africa, revived the worn-out Islamism of these countries; first came the Almoravides, and then the Almohades, both puritan sects who were trying to restore simplicity to the religion of Mohammed. The name of the former signifies a closer connection with the true faith (*religious*). The name of the latter signifies *unitarians*. The one prayer of the founder of the Almohad sect was: "O Lord, O Allah, thou most merciful of the merciful, thou knowest our sins, wilt thou pardon them; thou knowest our needs, wilt thou satisfy them; thou knowest our enemies, wilt thou prevent the evil which they could do us? It is enough that thou art our lord, our creator, and our help."

The real leader of the Almoravides was Jussuf, who

founded Morocco in 1062, and made it the seat of his political and religious government in Magreb. When Alfonso had conquered Toledo, Aben-Abed, the last Arab chief who possessed any real power in Spain, feeling incapable of resisting the Christians alone, called Jussuf to his aid. The latter arrived with his terrible African bands, and (1086) annihilated the Christian army at Zalaca. But Aben-Abed did not gain anything from this victory. He was driven from Seville, and left his country with that calm philosophy which endows the character of the Arabs of Spain with so much poetry. His companions wept on leaving their beautiful home, but he consoled them by saying: "Friends, let us learn to endure our fate. In this life we only gain things to lose them again, and God only gives us the possessions of the earth in order to take them away from us again. The sweet and the bitter, pleasure and pain, are always near each other—but a generous heart is untouched by the caprices of fortune." The dominion of the Almoravides was strengthened and extended; they recaptured Valencia at the death of the Cid (1099), seized the Balearic Islands, and in 1108, at Ucles, defeated Alfonso VI. in as bloody a battle as the one at Zalaca. The Christians were in doubt whether all they had gained in Spain would not be again wrested from them. This was not the case, however.

Though besieged several times, Toledo was defended with great energy and success, and in the west the little county of Portugal not only resisted all invasion, but also succeeded in taking some cities and in driving back the infidels. The latter returned in great numbers to attack Alfonso, the son of Henry of Burgundy, who advanced into Ourique to meet them, almost to the southwest end of the peninsula. The day before the battle he proclaimed to his soldiers that Christ had appeared to him, had promised him the victory, and told him to assume the title of king. To win the favor of heaven, his soldiers bestowed the new title upon him and gained a great victory (1139), which gave to Portugal Cintra and Santarem on the Tagus, and Elvas and Evora beyond that river.

The invasions of the Almohades had almost the same results as those of the Almoravides, whom they supplanted. Their leader, Abdalmumen, having taken Fez in 1146, sent his forces the same year to Spain. This time all the blows of the invaders were aimed at Castile, and Alfonso IX.

was utterly defeated at the battle of Alarcos in 1195. Portugal, on the other hand, retained its superiority, and defeated them severely at Santarem (1184). In the mean time Aragon, whose throne had been occupied since 1137 by the house of Barcelona, increased her power by adding the counties of Cerdagne, Roussillon, Carcassonne, and Forcalquier, and the signory of Montpellier to Catalonia. For a while she also included Provence, which raised her to a high rank as a maritime power, as she possessed a great extent of coast upon the Mediterranean.

This progress made by Aragon and Portugal put Spain in a position at the beginning of the thirteenth century to renew gloriously the struggle with the infidel. Another powerful aid to victory had been given her by the founding, during the twelfth century, of four military orders which were especially devoted to the Spanish crusade, without mentioning the great European orders of the Holy Land, which had also spread thither. These four orders were those of Alcantara, of Calatrava, and of St. James in Castile and Leon, and of Evora in Portugal.

In 1210, the news spread throughout all Christendom that 400,000 Almohades had just crossed the Straits of Gibraltar. The Pope Innocent III., though occupied at that time by the war with the Albigenses, could not contemplate this danger without urging Europe to come to the aid of Spain. Public prayers were commanded, and indulgences were promised to all who would go to fight in the peninsula. The five Christian kings of the country (Castile and Leon

Victory of
Las Navas de
Tolosa (1212).
The Moors
driven back to
to the kingdom
of Granada.
Results of the
Spanish cru-
sade.

were for the moment separated) joined forces and marched against Mohammed, the fanatical chief of the Almohades. The two hostile armies met on the plateau of the Sierra Morena, at Alacab according to the Arabs, at Las Navas de Tolosa according to the Christians. A terrible battle was fought, which was decided in favor of the Christians by the flight of the Andalusians. Mohammed, who had watched the battle from a hill, under a red pavilion, surrounded by the thick ranks of his African guard, and with the Koran in one hand and his sword in the other, saw the terrible defeat of his soldiers without even changing his attitude, and saying "God alone is just and mighty, the devil is false and treacherous." He was finally persuaded

to take to flight. This battle decided the struggle of which Spain had so long been the theater. After the Almoravides and the Almohades no help came from Africa sufficient to restore any strength to the dominion of the Mohammedans.

During the whole of the thirteenth century the Christians reaped the fruits of this victory, and their progress was made even more easy by the fact that the government of the Almohades had fallen in civil war and anarchy. Cordova (1236), Murcia (1243), Seville (1248), and many other places fell into the hands of the king of Castile, while James I. the *Conquistador*, the king of Aragon, subdued the Balearic Isles, and with the aid of an army of 80,000 Spaniards and Frenchmen, conquered Valencia (1238). In 1270, by the permanent annexation of Algarve, Portugal also extended her territory, which since then has never been increased. The Moors no longer possessed anything but the little kingdom of Grenada, and this was shut in on every side by the ocean or the possessions of the king of Castile. But within these small limits, with their numbers recruited by the people driven by the Christians from the conquered villages, they held their own with an energy which deferred their final ruin for two centuries. After this, except for a few incursions of the Merinides of Magreb, which were successfully repelled, the conquests of the Christians were undisturbed, and we may say that the Spanish crusade was almost entirely suspended till 1492.

Though the crusades to Jerusalem had undoubtedly accomplished some good results for general civilization, they did not accomplish the end for which they were planned. They neither founded anything in the east, nor did they even deliver the Holy Sepulchre, and millions of men had perished on the journey thither.

The crusades in Spain, on the other hand, though utterly without influence upon the social state of Europe during the Middle Ages, completely changed the political geography of Spain, and were not without results for the future of modern Europe. They wrested the peninsula from the Moors and gave it to the Christians; they founded the little kingdom of Portugal, which later pursued its crusade across the ocean and discovered the Cape of Good Hope; they founded the important states of Castile and Aragon, in whose chiefs their Spanish victories awakened a European ambition, and whose inhabitants had acquired by this

war of eight centuries the military mode of life which made them the *condottieri* of Charles V. and Philip II. rather than the peace-loving heirs of the industry, commerce, and brilliant civilization of the Moors.

To the question why there was such a marked difference in the results of the crusades in the East and West, we must answer that it was due to the situations and surroundings of the two objects of attack. Jerusalem, situated far from the center of the Catholic sway, and surrounded by Mussulmans, remained Mussulman, just as Toledo, situated at the extreme end of the Mussulman line of occupation, and surrounded by Christians, fell into the hands of the Christians. Palestine was near to the land of Mecca, and Spain almost within sight of Rome. Geography exerts a great influence even over the things which seem farthest removed from it, as, for instance, the extent and authority of religious ideas.

CHAPTER XXII.

PROGRESS OF THE CITIES.

Beginnings of the Communal movement :—Communes properly so called.—Intervention of royalty ; decline of the Communes.—Cities not communal.—Origin of the Third Estate. Advancement of city populations in England and Germany.—Feudal rights and customary rights opposed.

SINCE the fall of the Carolingian Empire, we have seen feudalism taking possession of the greater part of Europe.

Origin of the Communal movement. We have seen the Pope and the Emperor disputing over Italy and the dominion of the world, and, finally, the people hurrying in vast numbers along the road to Jerusalem. In the midst of these great events, a fourth fact of general importance was evolved from the other three, and had, in its turn, grave consequences. A part of the enslaved population raised itself by manual labor and intelligence and took its place below, though by the side of, the lord and the priest ; the class of common free-men, in fact, whose almost complete disappearance in the ninth century has been mentioned (see above, p. 208), had formed again and had acquired political existence. While studying the feudal system we saw what a wide chasm lay between the warlike and the working portions of society. The latter did not long remain resigned to its subjection and complete inferiority to the upper classes. Revolt broke out. As early as the year 987 the feudal vassals of Normandy were rising in all parts of the country, holding meetings and forming associations, bound by oath, by means of deputies sent from all parts. They swore to free themselves from the dominion of the lords, in order that they might govern themselves by their own laws and be able to hunt freely in the woods, fish the streams, etc. That revolt was cruelly suppressed by the duke. It was one of the first indications revealing the nature of the people of the Middle Ages. So soon as the feudal system was firmly

established, it held down the people of the country districts with a power that forbade all struggles. Then the cities broke out in resistance. The movement began among the little gatherings of men whose numbers were increased by the first progress of industry, and whose very situation enabled them to offer resistance. In 1067 the city of Mans formed an association bound by oath and took arms against its feudal lord. That was the beginning of the communal movement, which showed itself in different phases and with different results throughout Europe from the eleventh to the fourteenth century.

In many places the beginnings of this movement dated far back into the past, in other places they were of recent origin. The greater number of the cities of Italy and in Southern France, which had not received the full force of the barbaric invasions, and where the feudal system, later, had been less complete, had retained the municipal institutions of the Roman Empire, and though these were no doubt often obstructed and suppressed they were always ready to right themselves again on the first opportunity.* In Italy, most of the towns of Lombardy, which were controlled by their bishops, whose authority was something between that of the old *defenders* of the Roman empire and that of feudal lords, had even in the tenth century begun to enjoy almost complete freedom, following the example shown them by such towns as Genoa and Venice, favored, as they were, by their peculiar geographical position. Milan, Pavia, and Venice were in the front rank. With the help of what remained of their free institutions, those cities made a great advance in commerce and manufactures, and when they became rich and powerful tried to free themselves from episcopal authority. When the contest between the Papacy and the Empire broke out they were quick to

* The question of the continuance of Roman municipal institutions over the period of the German conquest has long been earnestly debated. Some declare very strongly against any continuance of importance even in Italy, others maintain such a survival. The truth is probably to be found here, as usually in such cases, in a middle position. The cities were everywhere thoroughly incorporated in the German system of government under the counts, but, in special cases at least, they did preserve the traditions, the names, though often with a changed significance, and even the practices of the Roman municipalities. In other cities the governments of the later Middle Ages were from an entirely new beginning.—ED.

turn it to their own advantage. They formed an alliance between their citizens and the lesser nobility of the neighborhood * and in freeing themselves not only from the great nobles, but almost completely from dependence on the emperor, they transformed themselves into the Lombard republics already mentioned.

Within certain limits the South of France fared in the same way as Italy. Traces of the old Roman municipal government are found in the cities of Marseilles, Arles, Toulouse, Narbonne, Nîmes, Périgueux, etc., from the eighth to the twelfth century. They are also to be found in the central and even in the northern parts, though more rarely; for example, at Bourges, Paris, Rheims, and Metz. The Empire had once extended its system of uniform institutions throughout these regions as well as farther south—but as the German conquest had been more thorough there than in other parts, only a very small number of towns had been able to preserve even the ruins of municipal organization. Those that had the advantage in this respect possessed a middle-class aristocracy which seemed to be derived from the old curials; even in the South the Roman names are to be met with, namely, the *senate*, *consuls*, *decemvirs*, and *ediles*. Bourges had, in the seventh century, its senatorial families. Elsewhere these terms were replaced by others of like meaning, belonging to the Middle Ages,—*prud'hommes*, *bonhommes* (*boni homines*). Coins have been found of the time of Charles the Bald, bearing the inscription, *Biturices* (the inhabitants of Bourges). We see that in all these cities municipal life prevailed before the epoch commonly assigned to the communal movement; it simply gained in activity and extent at that time.

In the North, on the contrary, most of the cities, whether they were of ancient date and had lost their municipal institutions, or whether they were of recent foundation and had never possessed them, were obliged to win by force the advantages which had no precedent to authorize them, to present claims that were new and offensive to the feudal lords, and to introduce into the body politic principles that were revolutionary for the time. Feudalism, which had

Communes
properly so
called.

* This same union between the citizens and the lesser nobility was also formed in at least some of the French cities.—ED.

expanded there with uniformity and with all its German rudeness, fought desperately against the villeins who dared dream of being no longer absolutely at the command of their lords. And yet the lords were obliged to yield almost everywhere where there were masses of men crowded into a narrow space—energetic artisans accustomed to handle the mallet and the axe, who, when it came to a revolt, could very well buckle on the armor themselves that they had been making the night before for their lord, and who had their labyrinth of narrow and tortuous streets to offset the impregnable castles of the nobles, streets where the great battle-horse and long lance could hardly find space to turn. Moreover, the growth of luxury accompanied the growth of chivalry, and of new and finer needs; and with it grew the number of laborers and the size and strength of their towns. Accordingly we see later on, and especially in the Netherlands, towns like Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, etc., which were able to send out great armies from within their walls.

This movement assumed a more energetic form in the northeast than in any other part of France. We have noticed that the first commune established was at Mans (1067). It was abolished, however, two years later by William. Closely following came Cambrai, which was organized in 1076, after more than a hundred years of open war between the inhabitants and the bishop, their feudal lord. This community went through many changes, and was abolished and re-established many times. Those of Noyon, Beauvais, and St. Quentin came next in order. The most famous was at Laon, and started in the year 1106. This town had before that been nothing but a den of thieves; the nobles had carried on their robbery openly, the citizens revenged themselves by imitating them; to be on the streets at night was out of the question. The bishop, moreover, a Norman of very warlike spirit, and a great hunter, but not much of a priest, overwhelmed the town with his exorbitant demands, the fruits of which he divided with the dignitaries of the cathedral and the noble families of the town. Whoever cast reflection upon the least of his acts, was given over to be tortured by a black slave that he owned. The citizens held political meetings, united, adopted a plan for a communal government, and bought of the bishop the right of enforcing it. But the bishop tried

to take back what he had sold ; thereupon there was a terrible insurrection, in which he was killed. King Louis the Fat interfered and allowed the town to keep its commune, with certain modifications. In the two centuries that follow, the history of this town is a long series of vicissitudes. It finally lost its liberty under Philip the Fair. The communes of Amiens, Soissons, Rheims, Sens, and Vezelay were also established in the first half of the twelfth century, and were often the occasion of no less obstinate struggles. There was, we see, a kind of unity in this great movement, and although the local sufferings caused each communal insurrection, it cannot be denied that the example of neighboring towns, which had already freed themselves, had great influence in the other towns about them. It is proved by the fact that they imitated each other ; the commune of Laon was organized on the model of the communes of St. Quentin and of Noyon, the charter of Laon served as a pattern to Crespy and Montdidier. The charter of Soissons was very famous, and was adopted in many places.

Let us now define the word commune more carefully. One of the enemies and contemporaries of the communal revolution, the Abbot Guibert of Nogent, said : "Commune is a new and detestable word, and its meaning is as follows : the people who are liable to the *taille* pay the rent which they owe to their lord only once a year. If they commit a misdemeanor they are acquitted of it on the payment of a fine determined by law ; and as to the levying of money, customarily inflicted on the serfs, from that they are entirely exempt." These few lines give a sufficiently correct definition of the word commune, though they are far from giving it as odious a character as their author desired.* They show us the tenants requiring guarantees for their persons and their possessions, and placing these guarantees under the care of magistrates already existing, *maires*, *jurés*, *échevins*, possessing, in fact, through their principal magistrates, and this is their distinguishing feature, a jurisdiction of their own, but not usually attempting to form

* In the strict sense a commune was a corporation regarded by the law as a feudal person, and as such capable of exercising feudal rights and performing feudal duties under such limits as its charter placed upon it.

The *échevins* were both administrative and judicial officers. In some of the communes at least there seems to have been a double jurisdiction, the *échevin* representing the seigneur and the *juré* the city.—ED.

political constitutions. There lies the difference between the French communes and the Italian republics; the former limited, though they did not, like the latter, throw off the dominion of their feudal lords. The commune of Cambrai is quoted as one of those that put most restrictions on the seignorial rights: "Neither the bishop nor the emperor," said a contemporary, "can impose a tax there, no tribute is exacted; the soldiery cannot be called out, except for the defense of the city, and, moreover, on the condition that the citizens shall be able to return to their houses on the same day." The citizens of Cambrai were on the same basis as the most favored feudatory.

The reason that the communes of France were not able to reach political independence and to form little republics was, that although they were successful in avoiding the domination of their immediate lord, they could not escape that of their superior sovereign the king. The city of Amiens had wrested a communal charter from their count; when the county of Amiens was joined to the crown of France, the struggle was no longer against a petty lord, but against the king himself. It was the same case with many other towns. Very often, in the heat of the fight with their lords, they called upon the king of their own accord and asked for assistance, which he hastened to grant in order that he might not lose so good an occasion to strike a blow at the seignorial power. They found in him a protector for the time being, and one who was very useful during the struggle, but who afterwards proved fatal to their development, and stopped it before it reached political independence. The great number of royal ordinances relating to the communes, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, show how large a part royalty took in this revolutionary movement; there are 9 acts signed by Louis VI., the Fat, relative to communes; 23 of Louis VII.; 78 of Philip Augustus; 10 of Louis VIII.; 20 of St. Louis; 15 of Philip III.; 46 of Philip the Fair; 6 of Louis X.; 12 of Philip V.; 19 of Charles IV. The principle that the communes belonged to the king prevailed as early as the time of Louis VII., and sixty years later Beaumanoir wrote, that "No one can establish a commune without the consent of the king." At the beginning of the fourteenth century the development of the communes ceased and gave way to a movement in the

Intervention
by the royal
power. De-
cline of the
Communes.

opposite direction.* Then we see some of the communes suppressed by the authorities, others themselves demanding their suppression in the hope of finding more security under the authority of a lord or a king than they could in the disturbed condition of free institutions. So the communes, in France, did nothing to help on the growth of universal liberty, and did not even know how to keep what they had acquired; they not only never thought of forming a confederation among themselves, like the Lombard towns, but they allowed themselves to be despoiled of their rights, or else gave them up of their own accord.

Though the communes lost or failed to reach political liberty, they at least preserved some guarantees, some municipal privileges. They thus approached the enfranchisement of the people by another path, namely, by the formation of the cities, more properly called the *bourgeoisies*

(*villes de bourgeoisie*).† We have already mentioned, in connection with the seignioral castles, the agglomerations of men and habitations which attached themselves, as it were, to their great walls. It was to the interest of the lord of the castle to enlarge these communities, thereby increasing the number of his subjects and artisans, and augmenting his revenues and even his military forces; for many a time the men (commonly called *parishioners*), whether from the towns or from villages, were seen marching, led by their priest, wherever their lord directed. He also tried to attract the peasants from neighboring domains by the advantages he offered on his land; he granted a charter in advance and had it published far and wide, like the following: "Be it known to all men present and to come, that I, Henry, Count of Troyes, have established the customs set forth below for the inhabitants of my *ville-neuve* (near Pont-sur-Seine): every man living in said town shall pay twelve deniers and a measure of oats yearly as the price of his domicile; and if he wishes to have a portion of

* The reaction against communal independence ought to be dated from the reign of Louis IX.—ED.

† *Villes de bourgeoisie* were cities which had obtained exemptions from feudal dues and exactions, together with certain privileges, but which had not gone so far as the communes in gaining for themselves in their corporate capacity feudal rights.—ED.

land for meadows, he may pay four deniers rent per acre. The houses, vineyards, and meadows may be sold or transferred at the pleasure of the purchaser. (Here we see the peasant grown to be a proprietor.) The men residing in said town shall not be made to join the army nor to go on any expedition unless I myself am at their head. I grant them, moreover, the right of having six *échevins*, who shall administer the common affairs of the town and shall assist my provost when his courts are in session. I have secured that no lord, whether knight or otherwise, shall be able to take away from the town any of the new inhabitants, for any reason whatever, unless the latter should be his serf, or should owe him arrears of his *taille*. Enacted at Provins, in the year of the Incarnation 1175." What the Count of Troyes did was done by other lords, and often by the king himself. The name of *villeneuve*, which occurs in many localities (Villeneuve-de-Roi, Villeneuve-St. Georges, etc.), is a relic of this general movement.

Some of the old cities also obtained privileges analogous to those of the new cities, while remaining, like them, under the provost of their lord or of the king. It was in the royal domains that this usually took place. Orleans and Paris were among such cities, for, in spite of their antiquity, it appears that they had not kept their Roman municipal government, but, on the contrary, owed all their franchises and privileges to the Middle Ages and the kings, except at Paris the corporation of the *Nautes*, which goes back to the emperors and probably to the Gauls. In 1137, at Orleans, Louis VII. forbade the provost and the sergeants of the town to molest the citizens in any way, and fixed the impost to be levied for the king on every measure of corn and of wine; ten years later he abolished the right of mortmain. Still later he made regulations for the repression of abuses, for the organization of the judicial system, and for the encouragement of commerce.

Certain of these town charters served as models for many others, as we have seen the communal charters doing. Such were the customs of Loris in Gâtinais accorded by the king to seven *bourgs* or towns of his domains in the space of fifty years (1163-1201). The great difference between the communes and these towns is that the former gained by force their privileges, which included that of jurisdiction, or the right to administer justice, while the latter by peace-

ful measures obtained less extensive concessions in which the right of jurisdiction was not included.

To sum up the whole matter, we see that, of the towns of France, some were never enfranchised from royal authority, while others, namely the communes and municipal cities, reverted to that authority. In all the cities a middle class was formed which grew richer day by day through commerce and industry, which formed powerful corporations everywhere, filled the universities, and acquired knowledge, especially legal knowledge, together with wealth. The common people had two paths open to them by which they could attain to political influence: as merchants and manufacturers they were called by St. Louis into his council; as lawyers we shall see them reigning under the protection of Philip the Fair, and, admitted by this same Philip the Fair to the general assemblies of the nation, they no longer formed merely a class but a recognized order, an estate of the realm, the Third Estate.

The revolution which raised the people in England and introduced that element into the public life of the nation was not of the same character as that in France. In the first place the bloody struggles of the French communes were not seen there. Many of the English towns before the Norman conquest were already rich and populous and took part in the affairs of the country. In the time of Æthelred II., the inhabitants of Canterbury attended the court of the earl and those of London took part several times in the election of kings. Yet they do not appear to have sent deputies to the Saxon Witenagemot, and their rights were generally confined within their walls. The Norman conquest did them a great deal of harm; in York the number of houses fell from 1609 to 967; in Oxford, from 721 to 234; and many other towns had a like experience. As they were less formidable, from that time they lost their rights, and the lord, whether king or baron, of the domains in which they were situated disposed of their possessions and of their inhabitants with almost absolute power. Henry I. restored their privileges and gave its first charter to the city of London.* Under Henry II., the inhabi-

Development
of cities in Eng-
land and in
Germany.

* That is, the first granting it political privileges. See Stubbs, *Const. Hist. of Eng.*, vol. i., pp. 403-426.—ED.

tants of many towns acquired the right of ownership in the land they occupied, and bought off, for a fixed charge, the special and uncertain tributes which were arbitrarily demanded of them. Finally, under King John, the granting of charters became a frequent occurrence. From that time on the cities, grown rich and powerful, inspired respect in their lords, whether kings or barons, who no longer exacted but asked the cities and towns of their domains for assistance; they were then on the same basis as the possessors of fiefs; the foremost citizens of London and of the Cinque Ports (Dover, Sandwich, Hythe, Hastings, and Romney), even acquired the titles of nobles and barons. In 1264 the above-mentioned towns, together with York and Lincoln and all the other great cities of England, were authorized to send deputies to parliament. This marks their first appearance in political life. One hundred and twenty towns sent deputies to the parliament convoked by Edward in 1295, for it is just, said the preamble to the writs of election, that what affects the interests of all should be approved by all.

The towns had been assisted in their progress by the small gentry, that is to say, the knights of the shires, and the free tenants. Something of the same sort happened in Italy. But in Italy the remoteness or the weakness of sovereign authority relieved these two classes from the necessity of uniting: they became rivals, and their rivalry destroyed the Italian republics. In England, on the contrary, the necessity of union was enjoined by the permanence of royal power and its continual presence in all parts of the kingdom; and instead of little ephemeral republics a great system of national representation was developed. While in England the towns united with the nobility against the power of royalty, in Germany as in France they allied themselves with the sovereign against the feudal system, the only difference being that the alliance was much less close and involved a much smaller degree of dependence. The emperor raised the towns to an immediate feudal connection with himself as against the princes of the empire,—that is, the towns lying in the territory of the princes were directly dependent not upon the princes, but upon the emperor, who thus had his supporters in the very heart of the great fiefs. The German towns, which had before that been rich and commercial, now increased their commerce and their wealth, thanks to their

new condition. Henry V.* lent great assistance to this revolution by granting privileges to the lower class of citizens, the artisans, who up to that time had been distinguished from the freemen and placed in a lower grade, according to the spirit of the Roman law ; he released them from one oppressive custom in particular, which gave their feudal lord at their death a right to all their movable goods, or at least the power to demand whatever was best in the inheritance. In many of the towns he took away all temporal authority from the bishops and divided the citizens into companies according to the nature of their occupations ; an institution soon adopted by the other commercial countries. The citizens thus organized were not slow in forming councils, which were chosen from their own number by election, like a senate or a magistracy, and which, after first confining themselves to assisting the emperor's or the bishop's officer, obtained the right of jurisdiction in the thirteenth century.

In Germany the towns, to increase their population, used means like those we have seen employed in France by the kings and lords in the founding of their *villeneuves* ; the feudal lord opened an asylum about his castle and the towns opened one about their walls ; a host of strangers hastened to establish themselves there, under the name of *Pfahlbürger* (citizens of the palisades ; hence *faubourg*). The serfs of the neighboring lords often took refuge there, and at the end of a year and a day they could not be reclaimed. This gave rise to many complaints on the part of the lords.

The towns in Germany which enjoyed the greatest prosperity were those lying on the Rhine and in Lorraine ; Mainz, Cologne, Coblenz, Bonn, Aix-la-Chapelle, and in Saxony, Magdeburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Hamburg ; in Bavaria, Ratisbon ; in Swabia, Augsburg and Ulm ; in Franconia, Nuremberg, Frankfort on the Main, Spire, Worms, etc. Their commerce extended far and wide ; they exchanged commodities from the north of Europe for those of the East, and they were soon admitted to the diets of

* It must be remembered that here as in all other countries the acts of the sovereign do not create the institutions, but only recognize and give a legal existence to those which had grown up by a natural development and through a long period of time.—ED.

the Emperor. But they did not succeed in founding a class throughout the country, for they were not able to join with the feudal nobility, as in England, nor, as in France, to make common cause with the king, who was too weak and often engaged with the very different interests created by his imperial title. Accordingly they remained almost isolated from the rest of the empire, and were obliged to provide for their own defense on account of the weakness of the supreme power and the bad condition of the imperial police; they formed leagues among themselves which were of great importance, but which could not give rise to a real body politic any more than that of the Lombard towns.

The advances made by the city population had an influence also upon the people of the country districts. Charters of enfranchisement for the serfs increased in number. In the twelfth century they had already been allowed to testify in court; and some of the popes, Hadrian IV., and especially Alexander III., who has left us a celebrated bull, had demanded liberty for them. In the thirteenth century the enfranchisements were very numerous; for the lords began to understand what was said by Beaumanoir and very distinctly by many charters, to the effect that they would gain more in having free industrious men on their land than by keeping the lazy serfs, "who neglect their work, saying that they are working for some one else."


In this way the new class which was unknown to the Bishop Adalbero in the time of King Robert had come into existence, and was animated by a totally different spirit from that shown by the class which had so long impeded its progress. The feudal order ruled by the right of privilege, made the eldest born sole heir, and kept the inheritance permanently in the same line, while the middle class inscribed in their charters some of the principles of rational right, and the equal division of property between all the children.

The new popular law, from its low and humble origin, could not have entered into competition with the aristocratic law if it had not found in the old law of the Roman Emperors a potent auxiliary. This law, though long neglected, had not been entirely forgotten, and it made a glorious reappearance in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in some of the Italian towns, especially at Bologna, where numbers of students, gathered together from all parts of Europe,

Feudal and
customary
right opposed.

crowded into the lecture room of Irnerius, who had revived the study of jurisprudence. The French were the first to cross the mountains, the pilgrims of science, as their fathers before them had been pilgrims of the cross, in order to listen to his learned lectures ; and soon Montpellier, Angers, and Orleans had their chairs of Roman Law. In the time of Philip Augustus, Justinian's compilation was translated into French, and its study proved so attractive that some of the popes and councils solemnly forbade the monks having anything to do with it, lest they should be diverted by it from meditation on the sacred books.

In the eyes of the men of that time, lost in the chaos of feudal laws, the Roman code, an admirable collection of logical deductions whose premises were natural equality and general utility, seemed to be, in very truth, what they called it, reason written out. The children of the wealthy among the middle class were devoted by their parents to its study, which they found a weapon of defense against the feudal system ; by means of these laws, which were rendered doubly respectable by their origin and by their antiquity, the lawyers were able to work in a thousand different ways toward the overthrow of the two great slaveries of the Middle Ages,—the slavery of man and the slavery of the land. St. Louis had already authorized Languedoc to make the Roman law their municipal law ; the same concession was made to other provinces. In those that kept their own special laws, the Roman law, held in reserve to be consulted in all doubtful cases, insensibly pervaded the local customs with its own spirit. Thus began, in the thirteenth century, that war between rational law, whether Roman or customary, and the aristocratic law of the feudal order ; sustained and directed by the legists, this contest did not end for France until the great year of 1789, in the triumph of equality over privilege. It has not yet come to an end in those European countries which have not followed our path.



CHAPTER XXIII.

CIVILIZATION OF THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES.

Explorations in the East and the commerce of the Middle Ages.—New departures in industry and agriculture.—Corporations.—Condition of the country districts.—Lack of security.—The Jews and bills of exchange.—Intellectual progress ; Universities, scholastics, astrology, alchemy, magicians.—National literature.—Arts ; Ogival architecture.

THE progress made by the urban population was due to the progress which had been made by commerce and by the industrial arts, both of which had been developed by the crusades.

Explorations
in the East, and
the commerce
of the Middle
Ages.

In the imagination of the people of the Middle Ages, the East, and particularly India, were countries of fabulous wealth. There, most exquisite wares, precious stones, and gold were to be found in profusion. They knew no other way of reaching these marvelous countries except by Asia ; either by passing to the north of the Caspian Sea, or through Syria and Persia, or by the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. All these three waters were used, but all commerce carried on by them was pursued under many obstacles and with the greatest risks. We can obtain some idea of this by the narrative of a few intrepid travelers of the Middle Ages.

Towards 1172, the Jew Benjamin of Tudela traveled as far as Samarcand and Hindostan. In 1246, a Franciscan monk, John du Plan Carpin, [Carpini] was sent by Innocent IV. to the Tartars, on whom he wrote a treatise which has come down to us. In 1253, St. Louis, who was then in Palestine, wishing to form an alliance with the Mongols if possible, sent the Franciscan, Rubruquis (Ruybrœcq) thither and commissioned him to write him long letters describing all that he saw.

During this same period, the adventurous Venetian family of which Marco Polo was the youngest and most

celebrated member, had already begun their travels. Marco Polo lived with his father and uncle twenty-six years among the Tartars in China. They rendered valuable services to the Khan, and he was unwilling to have them leave him. They succeeded, however, in returning to Europe, after seeing the whole coast of China and India. When they returned to Venice, their friends refused to recognize them, as their heirs had declared that they were dead ; and in fact they strongly resembled Tartars, both in their looks and their language, and made a very poor appearance on their arrival. They collected together all whom they knew to be their former friends and relations, and in their presence ripped up the coarse clothing they had worn ; diamonds, emeralds, and sapphires fell from every seam, and it was not long before all their friends and relations were ready to acknowledge them. Marco Polo took part in a war which his compatriots were carrying on with the Genoese, and was taken prisoner by the latter. During his captivity, in which he was treated with great consideration, he wrote his most valuable narrative.

Another narrative, curious in a different way, was written by the English knight, Sir John Maundeville, who traveled during the middle of the fourteenth century. This narrative, it has been supposed, was written by him in three languages, in English, French, and Latin, and copies of it were greatly multiplied during the next century. It is remarkable for certain cosmographical ideas of the roundness of the earth, the possibility of making the passage of its circumference, and the existence of the antipodes, all questions of the first importance as influencing the discovery of a new route to India, which was made by Vasco de Gama at the beginning of modern times.

The merchants did not venture quite as far as these bold apostles of science. They hardly went out of sight of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, or the Baltic, but they kept up a constant intercourse with the farthest countries of the East by means of caravans. Arab money has been found as far north as the shores of the Gulf of Finland, and the merchants of Novgorod carried on a lively commerce with the East, from whence the richest commodities have always come—such as silken fabrics, perfumes, spices, precious stones, ivory, gold-dust, the plumes of Africa, the woods

used in dyeing, Damascus weapons, the tissues of Mosul and India, and the sugar of Syria.

This commerce centered about two distinct regions during the Middle Ages ; one the shores of the North Sea and the Baltic, the other the shores of the Mediterranean.

The commerce on the Mediterranean flourished long before that of the North. Without mentioning the cities on the African coast which were so prosperous during the tenth and eleventh centuries, or the Arabs of Spain, who were so industrious and so rich, there were Barcelona, the storehouse and market of all Spain, Montpellier, Narbonne, Arles, Marseilles, Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Amalfi, and Venice, which were all struggling for the supremacy over the eastern commerce. The Italian cities gained the greater part and scattered their counting-houses over the coasts of the Archipelago and the Black Sea, where Venice and Genoa ruled either simultaneously or by turns.

However, it cost them a great deal of trouble to bring even a small part of this wealth from the depths of Asia, through lands inhabited by hostile populations and often convulsed by wars ; and it was also difficult to transport these products across the Alps to the cities of the North to exchange them for the products of that region. Marseilles, Beaucaire, Lyons, and Troyes served France as intermediate stations ; Constance, Basel, and Strassburg for the Rhine country ; Innsbruck for the Alps ; Augsburg for the great Bavarian plain ; Ulm, Ratisbon, and Vienna for the Danube, and Nuremberg for Franconia. The products of northern commerce were also brought to these cities.

In the low countries of the north of Germany and France, which were often flooded by water and intersected by rivers, the cities naturally were stronger than the feudal nobility. From their situation on the ocean and at the mouth of great rivers which could carry their ships in all directions into the very heart of a vast continent, they naturally devoted themselves to commerce ; but with this difference from the Italian cities, that whereas the latter always looked upon each other as rivals, as there was no powerful feudal system in their midst to force them to unite against a common foe, the German cities formed a confederation in the interest of mutual protection. This confederation, which was called the Hanseatic League, held the

supreme power in the north of Europe and united all the cities on the shores of the Baltic, the rich cities on the Rhine, and the great communes of Flanders, by a common commercial interest.

From London to Novgorod, on all the vessels of commerce and above all counting-houses, floated one and the same flag, that of the Hansa. The merchants of this League were masters of the fisheries, the mines, the agriculture, and the manufactures of Germany. In their markets were exchanged the furs, tallow, and hides from Russia, grain, wax, and honey from Poland, amber from Prussia, metals from Saxony and Bohemia, wines from the Rhine and from France, wool and tin from England, linens from Holland and Friesland, cloths from Flanders, and many other things. And, last but not least, the Italians and Provençals sent the products of the Orient to the great free port of Bruges. In 1360, there were 52 cities in this confederation, and in the fifteenth century 80 cities. They were divided into four colleges with Lübeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic, at their head. Lübeck was the capital or rather the metropolitan seat of the League. The branch offices were at London, Bruges, Bergen and Novgorod; also at Paris, Wisby, on the island of Gothland, etc.

Flanders, situated in the very midst of this great commercial association of Germany, and covered with cities and workshops, was a zealous center of industry. Ghent, with its 80,000 citizens able to bear arms, planted proudly on its shield this device, which savors something of Rome : S. P. Q. G. (*senatus populusque Gandavensium*). Ypres counted 200,000 weavers within her walls and suburbs; Bruges, the entrepôt of all Flanders, was the meeting-place of European merchants and had a chamber of insurance (1310) two centuries before the rest of Europe. Matthew of Westminster says: "The whole world was clothed in English wool which had been manufactured in Flanders. All the kingdoms in Christendom, and even the Turks, were disturbed by the war that broke out between the cities and the count in 1380." As to Holland, though still somewhat obscure it already showed some signs of its future brilliant fortune. An inundation of the ocean in the thirteenth century joined the Zuyder Zee with the ocean, and made Amsterdam a port secure from all tempests; in the fourteenth century the change of the herring fishery, which left

the shores of Scania for the shores of England and Holland, brought a great source of wealth to these countries.

In England both commerce and industry were still dormant. Nevertheless, England had some commercial relations with Spain, sending her fine sheep thither and receiving in exchange the Arab horses, from which the best English herds of to-day have descended.

In France in the twelfth century, annual fairs, which were famous throughout all Europe, were held at Troyes, in Champagne, Beaucaire in Languedoc, and Saint Denis near Paris. The merchants of Rouen, Orleans, Amiens, Rheims, etc., kept up relations with the rich factories of Flanders and the immense warehouses of Bruges. Those of Lyons, Nîmes, Avignon, and Marseilles went twice a year to Alexandria in search of the commodities of the East, which reached France also through Venice and the German cities. Bordeaux already exported wines to England and Flanders. The cities of Languedoc bought fine weapons at Toledo and hangings of leather worked with arabesques at Cordova. Paris had a hanse or association for the merchandise which came by water, and its privileges were confirmed by Philip Augustus. Hence the vessel which is still to be seen on the shield of the city. Saint Louis took the merchants under his special protection.

They had their regulations, which formed, as it were, three maritime codes. All the commerce of the South was regulated by the *Consolato del Mare*. That of the North had two different codes,—the *Lois d'Oleron*, an imitation of the *Consolato del Mare*, and the ordinances of Wisby, which were drawn up after the *Lois d'Oleron*.

We must also mention a discovery which belongs to the Middle Ages, though its full influence was not felt till the beginning of modern times, and which is also due to the relations between Europe and Asia—namely, the compass. Its origin is not known with any certainty. Guiot de Provins, a Latin poet who lived in France toward the year 1200, compares in his verse the lover to the needle, which proves that it was known at that time, and that it is an error to attribute its discovery to an inhabitant of Amalfi during the fourteenth century. It may have been derived from the Saracens, who perhaps learned it from the Chinese. At all events it was not until the fourteenth century that it was really put into use by the Genoese and the other people

living on the coasts of the Mediterranean, and that they put sufficient faith in it to undertake voyages along the Atlantic coasts guided only by the little instrument which was eventually to open all the paths of the ocean to the people of Europe.

The crusaders brought some new industries back with them from the East: the tissues of Damascus, which were imitated at Parma and Milan; glass from Tyre, which was copied at Venice, where looking-glasses were made to replace the metal mirrors; the use of windmills, of flax, of silk, and of a number of useful plants, such as the Damascus plum tree, the sugar cane, which was to supersede honey, the only sugar known to antiquity, but which at first could only be cultivated in Sicily or Spain, whence it passed later to Madeira and the Antilles, bringing great wealth with it; and finally the mulberry tree, which enriched first Italy and then France. Cotton fabrics began to be known during this epoch.* Paper made from cotton had been known for a long time; linen paper was known by the end of the thirteenth century, but it did not entirely replace parchment until the sixteenth century.† Damaskening and the engraving of seals and coins were being perfected. The art of enameling was learned, and the goldsmith's art received a new impulse.

During the later times of the Roman Empire the workmen of the same trade had begun to form associations among themselves. The Germans also had formed certain guilds whose members promised to support each other, and celebrated their union by banquets, which were put under the patronage of some god or hero, and which gained for the members of a guild the name of *Brothers of the Banquet*. The corporations of the Middle Ages resulted from the combination of these two institutions.‡ Charlemagne for-

* A cotton dress is mentioned in a will of 1220. The crusaders spread the use of this fabric; but no cotton industry of any importance was founded in France before the seventeenth century.

† Recent investigations make it practically certain that linen paper was known and in frequent use in Europe from the eighth century on. Under the microscope the so-called cotton papers prove to be made from linen rags. It was probably introduced from the East by the Arabs.—ED.

‡ The guilds of the Middle Ages seem to have developed from an independent beginning and not to be derived from similar organizations

bade them, and the synod of Rouen in 1189 prohibited them ; but they were too necessary in these times of violence to be discouraged by mere interdictions. The communes had guaranteed the liberty of persons ; the corporations secured liberty for labor. The members of these corporations were of great assistance to each other, and took care of the old men, and the widows and orphans of any members. Each corporation had its patron saint, its festivals, and its treasury. The chiefs, and the syndics or wardens, prevented frauds and enforced the regulations. These regulations required a long and hard apprenticeship, and secured the monopoly of their industry to the members of corporations, so that the number of master workmen was fixed for each profession by the corporation itself. The result was that there was no competition and the prices were maintained at a very high point. This severe discipline was, however, necessary to the infancy of industry. Later these corporations became impediments to industry, but in the Middle Ages they were a necessity. The middle class of the present day is an outcome of these associations. We still possess the regulations drawn up in the time of Saint Louis for the corporations of Paris. The master workmen were charged with the government of their fellow-workmen, the handling of certain moneys, and even possessed some judicial power ; but they were also responsible to the magistrate for all disorders committed by members of their corporations.

The corporations gave some security to the industries of the cities, but did nothing for agriculture. Forests and waste lands covered the greater part of the country and well-cultivated land was only to be found in the near neighborhood of the cities and enclosed towns, and around the strong castles and monasteries. The laborer did not dare venture beyond the reach of a place of refuge. Crespy in Vallois is a good example of the construction of most of the cities of the times. It had an extensive faubourg, which was separated from the city by a line of fortifications ; the faubourg itself was protected by a girdle of palisades. The burghers lived in the

Condition of
agriculture.
Lack of secur-
ity.

found either among the Romans or the early Germans. They were probably formed at first for religious or charitable purposes, and became trade guilds only later.—ED.

city, while the faubourg served the peasants as a shelter for themselves, their animals and agricultural implements in winter or in any time of danger. While they were working in the fields they lived in huts such as our wood-cutters still use in the forests. We have already noticed the same arrangements in the German cities.

If it was necessary for the peasants to take such precautions, how many more must have been necessary for the merchants. Besides the duties which were collected at the gates of each city, they paid a right of escort to the lord of each domain traversed by them, to insure them against all robbery. Those who traveled by water were also subjected to many exactions, and particularly to the odious right of wreckage. When a shipwreck took place the lords who owned the lands on the coast took possession of everything that washed ashore. "I have here a stone which is more valuable than the crown diamonds," said a lord of Léon in Brittany, pointing out a rock which was famous for the number of shipwrecks it had caused. And people even went so far as to add to the dangers of the ocean by showing false lights, and thus attracting vessels on to the reefs.

The kings tried to revive a capitulary of Charlemagne's which obliged the lords who levied toll to keep the roads in order and to guarantee the safety of travelers from the rising to the setting of the sun. But in the Middle Ages they were seldom able to enforce obedience. Another great obstacle to commerce was the infinite diversity of the money. Most of it was bad, and it had to be changed at every fief, and always at a loss to the merchant. In France, St. Louis decreed that the money issued by the eighty lords who had the right to coin money should only be received on their own lands, while the money coined by the crown should be a legal tender throughout the whole kingdom. This was a step in the direction of the abolition of seignioral money, and greatly benefited commerce.*

As the Church forbade loans at interest, the usurers multiplied greatly ; they were usually Jews, as this was the only form of commerce allowed them, and it was one of the

* The same confusion prevailed in the system of weights and measures of the times, the same terms, the pound for example, having widely varying values in different localities. The school-boy in his struggles with the English system of compound numbers gains a slight idea of the difficulties of the mediæval merchant.—ED.

causes of the general hatred of the race. To conceal their wealth and to enable it to circulate freely, they either invented or borrowed the invention of the Italian bankers, of the bill of exchange, which annihilated distance for capital just as in our day steam has annihilated distance for people. In the latter part of the Middle Ages, the Lombard and the Caorsini [from Cahors] bankers (the latter came from the South of France, which, like Italy, was much enriched by commerce) competed with the Jews, with the advantage that they were not, like the latter, subjected to constant extortions. The persecuting fanaticism of the Middle Ages not only subjected this unhappy people to most terrible sufferings, but it was also the cause of the many vices developed in them by the desire to avenge themselves on their oppressors. The history of the Jews before and since 1789 gives a curious and significant example of the different results that are obtained by oppression and by justice.

As order became more established in the state, work became plenty in the cities and the general standard of comfort was raised. A new order of needs were felt; namely, those of the mind. The great things which had been accomplished and the new things which had been seen had given a fresh impulse to the mind, as to commerce and industry, and letters and the arts now took a great step in advance. The number of schools increased and the courses of study were extended. The national literatures began at this time, and many great men made their appearance, as Albert the Great, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, and Dante. If the fourteenth century had not been desolated by terrible wars, we should be able to date the Renaissance from the thirteenth century.

Almost all the abbeys of any importance had their schools, and we have already seen, taking France as an example, how numerous the abbeys were in Europe. But the desire for instruction was so general that the monastic schools were not sufficient to satisfy it. Other schools were opened in the great cities. The high price of books and the poverty of the times made it necessary for all instruction to be given by lectures. As soon as a celebrated master opened a course of lectures anywhere crowds of pupils flocked to hear him. When Abelard, for instance, spoke in the open air on the declivity of the mountain Saint Genevieve, which

Intellectual
progress; uni-
versities, scho-
lasticism; as-
trology, alche-
my, and wizz-
ards.

is still covered with vineyards and flowers, thousands of pupils gathered eagerly to hear his words. But in the Middle Ages everything was inclined to take the form of a corporation. The master and the pupils associated themselves together, like the artisans, and formed under the name of universities bodies which had extensive privileges. The most famous of these was the *Studium* of Paris (the name of university was not used till about 1250), founded in 1200, which received its statutes from the cardinal-legate Robert de Courçon fifteen years later, and served many of the other universities as a model. Its renown was so great that students came thither from all countries, for the language used in the schools, the Latin, was the universal language of the Middle Ages. This university was divided into four faculties, those of theology, of law, of medicine, and of the arts. The latter faculty taught grammar, rhetoric and dialectics, which course was called the *trivium*, and as a further course arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, called the *quadrivium*. The Roman law was studied especially at Orleans, and medicine especially at Montpellier. The faculty of the arts elected the rector, to whom, at an early date, the faculties became subject.

After Paris the oldest and most famous universities were those of Montpellier and Orleans in France, of Oxford and Cambridge in England; of Padua in Italy, and of Salamanca and Coimbra in Spain, all of which were founded in the thirteenth century. The first German university, that of Prague, was not founded until 1348.* The students at these schools possessed many privileges. The fifteen or twenty thousand† pupils at the University of Paris, who were not subject to the authority of the magistrates of the city and could not be arrested for debt, often disturbed the peace of the city by their quarrels and disorders; but out of their number in the thirteenth century alone, there came seven popes and a great number of cardinals, without counting many of the illustrious men who had come to take their

* The University of Bologna, which celebrated its eighth centennial in 1888 and was one of the most important universities of the Middle Ages, should be added to this list.—ED.

† These figures, though resting on contemporary statements, are exaggerations. It is doubtful if the number of students at any one time at the most frequented university reached one tenth the numbers here given.—ED.

seats among the pupils of the Rue du Fouare to ascend the "holy mountain of science." Until this time, ever since the fall of the Roman Empire, all learning had been entirely in the hands of the clergy, and was only transmitted by them to others of their own number; the universities now secularized learning. That of Paris, though surnamed "the eldest daughter of the kings" and "the citadel of the Catholic faith," soon was possessed throughout Christendom of so great a moral authority that it more than once forced the kings and popes to respect its opinions.

It was a long time before the people of the Middle Ages, imbued as they were with the most profound faith, asked of others than their theologians the solution of those great problems concerning the nature of the soul and of God, which have always occupied the human mind. A questioning spirit was, however, finally awakened, and from that moment philosophy, which had been dead for six centuries, reappeared, but under a peculiar form, which procured it the special name of Scholasticism.

In the eleventh century, at the request of the monks of Bec, Saint Anselm wrote his *Monologium*, in which he supposes the existence of an ignorant man who has only the assistance of the lights of nature in his search for the truth. In this reason is only the humble servant of faith, for Anselm's sole end in view, in using the processes of reasoning employed by Aristotle for the discovery of scientific truths, was to prove religious truths. Later when translations appeared from Arabic into Latin, of a great number of the works of Aristotle which were unknown to the preceding age, which had only possessed a fragment of the *Organon*, the thirteenth century was almost dazzled with these new riches, and the Stagirite reigned supreme in all the philosophic chairs.* Unfortunately the earlier persevering study of his first books, which were little understood, had led the thought of the Middle Ages into a path from which it was difficult to return. All science was reduced to the art of reasoning, and every regularly formed syllogism carried conviction with it regardless of the premises on which it rested. Hence scholasticism was not a definite system of philosophy, that is,

* It is interesting to notice that this new Aristotelian philosophy was most vigorously opposed, at its first appearance, by the Church, which thought it detected in it a dangerous enemy to the faith.—ED.

an organized body of doctrines on the great questions which interest us all ; it was rather a certain method of discussing all questions, starting from premises which were either adopted ready-made or assumed without attempting first to verify their truth. Hence no idea of any importance to the world was gained from this system ; and it remained a sort of intellectual gymnastics in which the reward was not the discovery of any truth, but a victory gained in a combat of words, aided by subtile and ridiculous distinctions and by a barbarous language which was only comprehensible to the initiated. Much time and energy was lost in these disputes ; nevertheless, the mind was sharpened and strengthened by these struggles, and was prepared for more serious studies.

The twelfth century had resounded with the great quarrels between the realists and the nominalists, between Roscellinus and Saint Anselm, and between William of Champeaux and his most famous disciple, Abelard, who finally vanquished his master. Abelard, who is perhaps more famous for his loves than for his knowledge, produced in the quarrel between the realists and the nominalists a new and conciliatory opinion which more nearly approaches the truth : the opinion which denies to ideas in general any existence outside of our minds, but concedes to them an existence within us as conceptions of our minds. As he had ventured to apply pure dialectics to matters of faith, he was excommunicated by Saint Bernard, just as John Scotus had been in the ninth century by Pope Nicholas on the same ground. "Who are you, and what benefit do you bring us?" cried the apostle of the twelfth century. "What subtile discovery have you made? Tell us what revelation has been made to you, that has been made to no one else before you. . . . As for me, I listen to the prophets and the apostles. I obey the gospels. And even if an angel should come from heaven to teach us what was contrary to these laws, he should be accursed!" The struggle between reason and authority broke out with its usual violence. The voices of the Breton philosopher and the Burgundian orator resounded through the twelfth century. The former, born in 1079, died in 1142 ; the latter, born in 1091, died in 1153.

During the thirteenth century long debates were carried on between the Scotchman Duns Scotus and the Italian

Saint Thomas Aquinas, both of whom studied and taught at Paris with the greatest success, dividing between them the school, and all Christendom, and continuing to agitate the fourteenth century by the disputes of their partisans, the Scotists and the Thomists. St. Thomas Aquinas was the most perfect expression of idealism in scholasticism. His *Summa Theologiæ*, though left unfinished, is a great work, in which he proposed to record all that was known of the relations between God and man. These men had been preceded in the school of Paris by the German, Albert the Great, who was afterwards bishop of Ratisbon, and whose wisdom gave him the reputation of being a magician, and by the Englishman Alexander of Hales, "the irrefragable doctor," and the oracle of the Franciscans.

After these great men, we must at least mention Vincent of Beauvais, chaplain of St. Louis, if not for his intellectual power, at least for the interest afforded us by his encyclopedia of the learning of his times, his *Speculum majus*, which recalls Pliny's work on the learning of antiquity. We must, however, hasten to say that until the thirteenth century, the Middle Ages had lived upon the remains of the knowledge of antiquity without having added to it in any way. Albert the Great was the first to return to the method of observation in the study of physical nature, but no invention was made until the Englishman, Roger Bacon, a Franciscan monk who also studied at Paris, discovered or at least explained in his writings the composition of gunpowder, and the construction of the magnifying glass and of the air-pump. He perceived the necessity of making over the calendar, and the changes he proposed are precisely the same as those adopted under Gregory XIII. There was something both of Kepler and of Descartes in the monk who dared write : " We have three means of knowledge,—first, authority, which by enforcing opinions on the mind without enlightening it, induces belief but not comprehension ; second, reasoning, by which we cannot distinguish a sophism from a demonstration except by verifying the conclusion by experience and practice ; and third, experience, which is the end of all speculation and the queen of the sciences, since it alone can verify and crown their results." It is not surprising that, in spite of his sincere faith, this pioneer suffered the same fate as all those who are in advance of their age. Bacon spent twenty-four years of

his life either in the prisons of his order or under persecution ; he died about 1294.*

The Spaniard Raymond Lull also produced at Paris, in the city of the philosophers, his *Ars magna*, a forcible but vain attempt to draw up a classification of the sciences and to construct a sort of thinking machine, which, if successful, would have rendered the mind perfectly barren.

But, by one of those vicissitudes so often presented by the history of the human mind, this great thirteenth century had not passed before, tired of these interminable metaphysical debates and these arguments which came to nothing, some, with Simon of Tournay, had arrived at the negation of all certainty, while others with St. Bonaventura lost themselves in the clouds of mysticism.

One of the fancies of this age was astrology, and it continued to be studied until the sixteenth century, and did not become entirely extinct until the seventeenth. The astrologers pretended to read the destinies of human life in the stars. Another folly was that of the alchemist who sought after the philosopher's stone, that is, the means of making gold by the transmutation of metals. Though they had such a fantastic end in view, these researches led to some fortunate discoveries.† Some astrologers, by dint of gazing

* The ideas of Roger Bacon are of very great interest as a prediction, a foreshadowing of what would some time be the path of science, but there is no evidence that they had any influence upon his own times or that they even aided to hasten the adoption of more scientific methods of study. The tendency of his own time and of the following century was strongly in the opposite direction.—ED.

† The alchemists believed that minerals were endowed with life in the same way that vegetables are, and that they were continually developing in the ground by means of new combinations of their constituent elements, and changing from the least perfect to the most perfect state, being all converging toward gold, which was pre-eminently *the* metal. From these false premises they argued logically enough that this work of nature could be helped on, and that science would be able to find a means for the transmutation of metals, as soon as the substance necessary to accomplish this phenomenon, the philosopher's stone, should have been found. The great elixir which was going to bring its finder gold, diamonds, and even the health and length of days of Methuselah, could never be found, but we owe to the alchemists the first descriptions of our ordinary metals and of the principal compositions in use in their laboratories and pharmacies : of antimony, bismuth, volatile alkali, and many compositions into which mercury enters ; oxygen, phosphorus, zinc, the mineral and vegetable colors ; the purification and testing of the precious metals, and the introduction of metallic medicaments into the practice of medicine.

at the sky, finally began to look there for the laws regulating the movement of the stars; the alchemists did not find gold in their crucibles, but they found new substances, or discovered some new property of the substances already known. In this way the distillation of salts, the strong acids, the art of enameling, and of making the convex glasses from which spectacles are made, were all discovered. We have already spoken of gunpowder, which was known to the Arabs, and of the compass, which was, perhaps, transmitted to us by them from China.*

As we have spoken of the aberrations of science, we must also mention those of the intellect. Magicians were to be found everywhere, and their numbers increased rapidly. Many of these unhappy men believed firmly that they were in communication with the devil, and many insane men who should rather have been cured were sent to the executioner.

As the Middle Ages advanced, the individuality of the different nations became more and more perceptible. All intellectual life was for a long time almost exclusively confined to the Church and found its expression in Latin, the universal language.

National literatures.

Now secular society began in its turn to think, speak, and write, and this in as many different idioms as there were nations. Each nation had already its own language, which was not only spoken by the mob, but in several cases had been raised to some literary standing, and was dethroning the Latin language, which until then had been set apart for all the great objects of life.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, only three settled and active literatures were to be found, one in Germany, and one in the north, and one in the south of France. This last was the literature of the *langue d'oc*, or the Provençal.

The language was brilliant, harmonious, and elegantly polished, but its subjects—almost confined to love and strife—were treated with a conventionality which becomes monotonous. Among the princes who patronized and even themselves practiced Provençal poetry, Richard Cœur de

* There was some study during this period which had a more direct scientific end in view. This was especially the case among the Arabs, to whom we owe many of the discoveries here mentioned; but it can hardly be said to begin in Christian Europe before the end of the Middle Ages.—ED.

Lion and William of Poitiers are the most familiar ; conspicuous among the troubadours are Amaut Daniel, famous for his elaborate versification, Peire Vidal, Guiraut de Bornail, and Raimon de Miraval, representing quite different social classes and poetic temper. Bertran de Born, too, is remembered for his *sirventes*, political satires which like daggers both dazzle the eyes and drive a blow home. In this literature some traces of Arab influence may also be detected, and it has great skill in the dialectic of poet-lovers.

But the growing power of northern France gave its idiom the preponderance. The Normans carried it to Italy, where it did not prevail, and to England, where it was in constant use for three centuries ; the French crusaders carried it everywhere. It became the legal language : it was the language of the assizes or laws of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and of the "Etablissements de Saint Louis." In this language Villehardouin wrote his history of the fourth crusade, and Joinville the biography of St. Louis, works which can still be read by us. A Venetian translating a chronicle of his country into French in 1275 excused himself for so doing, by saying that the French language "prevails throughout the world and is more pleasing to the ear than any other." Some ten years earlier, Brunetto Latini, the master of Dante, wrote his *Trésor* in French, "because the French language is more common to all men and more agreeable."

Thus during the same time that Paris was attracting all the eminent minds from all Christendom, by the renown of her schools, her vernacular, which was despised by the learned doctors, was extending its empire far beyond the French frontiers. We must also mention that the French genius, which is so often accused of a sterility in epic poetry, poured forth a flood of delightful poetry over all the neighboring countries. The troubadours had been checked, among other causes, by the crusade against the Albigenses, which drowned the civilization of Languedoc in blood, and their bolder strains were no longer to be heard, nor the sweet canzones of the authors of the *jeux partis*.* But at the north of the Loire, the trouvères were

* These *jeux partis* were the contests between troubadours or trouvères on different questions of gallantry. From these we have a glimpse

still composing their *chansons de gestes* (poems of knightly adventure), which were genuine epic poems, and which were translated or imitated in Italy, England, and Germany. So that we may say with justice that, in the thirteenth century, France was incontestably the intellectual superior of all the other European states.

Epic cycles, however, exhaust themselves; the heroic epic poem is a thing of the past. In the east, Robert Wace, "Clerk at Caen," versified toward 1155 Geoffrey of Monmouth's fabulous account of the Kings of England.

Christian of Troyes, died in 1195, gave poetical distinction to several legends, one of them in the hands of his continuators reaching nearly 50,000 verses of eight syllables, while by other authors the same fable was endowed with a religious character in the story of the Holy Grail. The spirit of the times is faithfully reflected in this combination of gallant chivalry and of piety. The inspiration and simple power of the song of Roland is a thing of the past. The time has come when refinement of style and novelty of subject-matter are the things most sought for, and these were nowhere so available as in the authors of antiquity. The story of Ulysses and of the Argonauts borrowed from Statius were narratives which could not fail to please the many a Christian Ulysses who, in the crusades, also wandered far in Asia. The Trojan War, the magician Medea, and Alexander delighted the *trouvères* of this age. Their style began to show an imitation of the ancients. In this way the epic poetry changed its character and the transition was effected from the primitive type to the types which belong to a more advanced civilization. The epic poetry developed in two different directions; the part devoted to the description of the passions gave rise to the allegorical romance, while the narrative part gave rise to prose narratives. Analysis and truth superseded spontaneous and poetic inspiration.

William de Lorris, who wrote before 1260, began the famous Romance of the Rose, in which the actors are abstractions such as Reason, Winning Address, Danger,

of the Court of Love, where, it is said, the most delicate suits and the most refined causes were pleaded before a tribunal of noble ladies. These courts of love were never more than an invention of the poets or a plaything of a few noble ladies; they were never a serious or lasting institution.

Meanness, Avarice, etc. Jean de Meung continued it later, but with a new transformation which gave birth to satire. The *fabliau* was already in existence, which was a modification of such romances as we have just spoken of, though not differing greatly from them. In this the actors were animals, who represented either some passion or some social condition, and the romance of Renard, which was later so much developed, made its first appearance early in the thirteenth century. This was the comedy of the times. By this time the poet had already ceased to be a *trouvère* wandering from house to house ; he was now to be found in the best school for comedy, that is, in a garret. Rutebœuf gives us the first type of the poet by profession who was not enriched by his trade, "who coughs with the cold and yawns with hunger," and who nevertheless, in spite of this poverty, is gay, daring, and sarcastic, and writes on every subject with the bold and free style that is a prophecy of Villon. On his lips the language is strong and practical ; more soft and tender than the words of William de Lorris, or the famous Thibaut de Champagne, or in the lays (rhymed narratives) of Marie of France.

We will cite a few lines to give an idea of the boldness of this poetry. The authors of the Romaine of the Rose were not afraid to say to the nobles :

Que leur corps ne vaut une pomme
Plus que le corps d'un charretier.

That their bodies were not worth an apple more than the body of a plowman.

They also speak very irreverently of the beginnings of the royal authority :

Un grand vilain entre eulx eslurent,
Le plus corsu de quant qu'ils furent,
Le plus ossu et le greigneur
Et le firent prince et seigneur.
Cil jura que droit leur tiendrait
Se chacun en droit soy luy livre
Des biens dont il se puisse vivre....

They chose a big rustic from their own number, the stoutest of them all, with largest frame and the hugest, and him they made prince and lord. He swears that he will look out for them if each contributes to his support.

These bold words were inspired by the great hatred which brooded in the hearts of the peasants, and which

broke out with such fury in the middle of the next century in the fierce insurrection of the Jacquerie.

We must not, however, assume from the free words of these poets, the existence of any real revolutionary feeling. They were the press of those times, and we find in their verses as it were an echo of all the noises of the day, and of all the feelings of the people. But their main idea was merely to mock and laugh. They even made sport of what they most respected, the Church, and of what they most dreaded, the torments of hell. We might give some curious examples of this infamous rashness ; but we prefer to quote the narrative of the *Vilain qui conquist Paradis par plaid* (The villein who gained paradise by pleading), in which are discernible the good sense and the rude feeling for justice which will raise up Jacques Bonhomme from his fall.

“ A villein once died without either devil or angel feeling any concern about him. However, his soul, on looking up toward heaven, saw Saint Michael conducting one of the elect, and followed him up to Paradise.

“ Saint Peter, after having admitted the elect, refused admittance to the soul who had been recommended by no one. . . . ‘ Good Sir Peter,’ said the soul that had been dismissed, ‘ God made a great mistake when he made you his apostle and gatekeeper, you who denied him three times. Give admittance to one who is much more loyal than you.’ Saint Peter, feeling very much ashamed, went to complain to his colleague Saint Thomas, who in his turn tried to put the insolent soul out of Paradise. The villein was ready with a fresh sally, and said, ‘ Thomas, you are a fine one to play the proud, when you would not believe in God until after you had touched his wounds.’ Saint Thomas appealed to Saint Paul, who, when he tried to straighten things out, was greeted with this home truth : ‘ Was it not you, Paul the Bald, who stoned Saint Stephen, and to whom the good God gave a great box on the ear?’ Peter, Thomas, and Paul, having no reply to make, carried their complaints to God himself, and the serf, freed by his word, made his defense before him. . . . and the villein gained his cause before divine justice.*

We shall see later how he gained it in the courts of men.

* Le Clerc, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. xxiii., p. 213.

The general literary use of prose in romance begins in the twelfth century, and soon after 1200 we find it employed in chronicles.] The first French chroniclers were, however, not writers by profession, but two illustrious nobles, who were both actors in the scenes they described. Godfrey of Villehardouin, Marshal of Champagne, has left us in the *Conquest of Constantinople* a history of the fourth crusade, in which, as we have already seen, he took part. He wrote like a true soldier, in a strong and concise style, which is not without a certain military stiffness: he does not spend any time in fine writing, but goes right ahead from one assault to another, giving a sharp exclamation whenever he comes to anything that surprises him. The Sire de Joinville, also from Champagne, shows more flexibility of style and more acuteness of mind in his *Mémoires* of the seventh crusade; he notices everything, gives his reflections on every subject, and is willing to talk freely about it all; about his own feelings as well as about the events of the wars. He is an earlier Froissart, but one who was worthy to be the counselor and friend of the devout and excellent Louis IX.

Under the Hohenstaufen, German literature also shone with a great brilliancy, which was, however, in part reflected from the French. These princes were poets themselves, and both loved and honored poetry. The taste for poetry spread from their courts to those of their vassals, and the Swabian poets, like the French trouvères, wandered from castle to castle. Most of the poets came from the province of Swabia, as Schiller did later, and the Swabian idiom was the one first used in German poetry. These poets occasionally met together for literary contests, such as was held at the Wartburg in 1207, when Wolfram von Eschenbach, the most famous of the poets of courtly romance was present. Manesse of Zurich collected these scattered works, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and they were more than one hundred and thirty in number.

The same characteristics that we have already noticed in the French literature are to be found in the German literature of the times. The same two kinds of poetry flourished, the epic and the lyric. In the former they took all their inspirations from this side of the Rhine; their epic poems are either translations or imitations from the cycle of Charlemagne and the Round Table, as for instance, Eschen-

bach's Parsival, Gottfried von Strassburg's Tristan, and Hartmann von der Aue's Iwein.

Yet these poets seldom confined themselves to French originals, and in these they were by no means mere translators. They compress or expand at pleasure, and their genuine imaginative power is as manifest as their easy versification and the felicities of their diction. Nowhere else in literature is the story of Tristram told with the intensity and beauty of Gottfried's version; and by common consent, Wolfram is the greatest medieval poet before Dante.

Of the heroic poems which are peculiar to Germany, and of which great numbers were written, many have entirely disappeared. Those which have been preserved are partly founded on Lombard-gothic traditions, like King Rother, Otnit, Hugdietrich and Wolfdietrich, the flight of Dietrich, the battle of Ravenna, the death of Alphart, the little Garden of Roses, the giant Siegenot, and the combats of Dietrich and his companions, and partly derived from the French and Burgundian chronicles which are related to the Gothic-Lombard chronicles; among the latter are the noble Song of the Niebelungen, which the Germans call their Iliad, Gudrun, the great Garden of Roses, and Biterolf.

There was a marked difference between the two schools of lyric poets, the minnesinger (singers of love) and their successors and imitators the meistersinger (the master singers). The delicate, poetical, and chivalrous spirit of the minnesinger which was seen notably in their chief, Walther von der Vogelweide, and was originally caught, as we may believe, from southern France was entirely wanting in the meistersinger. This poetry first developed from pure lyric into satire, and violently attacked the priests and nobles: it then became moral, didactic, and allegorical, and finally toward the end of the thirteenth century the fable made its appearance. The *Jewel* of Boner, a collection of a hundred fables, is dated about 1300. Of prose, which is much slower than poetry in its development, we have only three important examples of this period; two of them are works of legislation, the Saxon Mirror, composed about 1230 by the Saxon Eike von Repkow, and the Swabian Mirror; the third is a work of religious eloquence, the sermons of a Franciscan monk named Bertold, which were written during the second half of the thirteenth century.

We have already noticed the attempts which had been made to find a style of architecture which would better correspond with the ardent faith of the people than that of Greece and Rome, and at the same time meet the needs of a climate to which the flat roofs of the East were not adapted, and the needs of a religion which opened the sacred enclosure to the whole people instead of excluding them as did the pagan worship from its temples.

The thirteenth century is marked by the triumph of the architecture which is so improperly called gothic.

The special characteristic of this style of architecture is the pointed arch or ogive. This form, which was never used anywhere with the same profusion as in Western Europe during the Middle Ages, was at first attributed to the Goths, from whom the name was derived, and then to the Arabs, but with equal error. Undoubtedly the pilgrims, who many of them belonged to the clergy, brought back with them from the East some impressions and memories which left their mark on the Christian edifices; a number of churches were built on the plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and mosaics and the colors used alternately are probably also an importation from the East. But as for the pointed arch it is found in the Byzantine architecture as well as in the Arabian; it belongs to all ages and all countries, from the tomb of Atreus and the gates of the Pelasgic cities in Italy to the constructions of the Nubian and American savages. It is merely an easy and simple process of supplying the place of the semicircular arch, which latter demanded much greater knowledge and precision.

The pointed arch was at first rough and irregular, and did not attain its perfect form until by a gradual and natural process the lines had been purified and varied, and it had been adorned by the small columns and nervures. This form of arch was marvelously adapted to express the mysticism of the Christian peoples and the passionate soaring of their souls toward Heaven; the sheaf of small Gothic pillars, straight, bold, and almost alarmingly delicate, shot upward and seemed even higher than they really were from the narrow opening of the Gothic arch which crowned them. The Gothic architecture did not reach its highest perfection in the South, where the belief was more formal and more

Roman, but in the North, where there was more of mysticism and this fact, it seems to us, is another proof that the Gothic architecture did not come from the Arabs, at least from those of Spain, who would certainly have transmitted it to the south of France before the north.

This new style which arose north of the Loire,* crossed the Channel, the Rhine, and the Alps, and colonies of French artists carried it to Canterbury, Utrecht, Milan, Cologne, Strassburg, Ratisbon, and even to Sweden. A rough but simple statuary decorated the doorways, the galleries, and the cloisters, and stained glass producing magical effects by means of the windows was brought to a perfection which we have only just succeeded in once more attaining. The painters in miniature who adorned the missals and the book of offices have also left us some charming works of art.

With the Italian, Cimabue, the master of Giotto, the renaissance of painting was begun in Florence in this century. But it was not until the fifteenth century that the great Flemish masters prepared the way for a revolution in this art.

* It is now almost universally admitted that this form of architecture arose in the north central provinces of France about the middle of the twelfth century, and spread from France to the other countries of Europe. See Moore's *Development and Character of Gothic Architecture*.—ED.

BOOK VIII.

RIVALRY BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND. (1066-1453.)

CHAPTER XXIV.

FIRST PERIOD IN THE STRIFE; THE ENGLISH KINGS LOSE HALF OF THEIR FRENCH POSSESSIONS (1066-1217.)

Louis the Fat (1108-1137); William II. and Henry I. (1087-1135).—Louis VII. (1137-1180) in France; Stephen and Henry II. (1135-1189) in England. Abuse of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Thomas à Becket (1170).—Conquest of Ireland (1171); the King of France sustains the revolt of the sons of the English King (1173).—New character shown by French royalty in the thirteenth century: Philip Augustus (1180) and Richard the Lion-hearted (1189).—Quarrels between Philip Augustus and John Lackland; conquest of Normandy and of Poitou (1204).—Quarrel between John Lackland and Innocent III. (1207). Magna Charta (1215).

IN the history of the Middle Ages, there are, if we may say so, questions which belong exclusively to that period, questions which arose and were settled during that time. Such are those that have been treated so far, the invasions and Charlemagne, feudalism, the struggles between the popes and the German emperors, and the contemporary state of society.

There are other questions on the contrary which, though they arose far back in the Middle Ages, are yet distinctly modern and have been the life of history up to our own times. Among these we may mention the rivalry existing between France and England; the development of the royal power in France, which shows us the predecessors of Louis XIV. and of all the absolute monarchs of Europe in

Philip Augustus and Philip the Fair, and the opposite development in England of the institutions which make the great Charter of King John the immovable basis of the English government and have prepared the way for the diffusion of free institutions throughout Europe.

That is the reason why, when we have taken Germany Italy, and Spain, where the Middle Ages lasted so long, far into the thirteenth century, we have not yet passed the end of the eleventh century in the history of France and England, where modern times, that is to say the new political and social ideas, made an early appearance.

Philip had watched with envy the success of his vassal, the Duke of Normandy, lately become King of England, though he had made no direct opposition; and he gave but a feeble support to the revolt of the Conqueror's son. Louis the Fat, who succeeded his father in 1108, understood better how much danger the French royal power incurred through Normandy's greatness. He was an energetic prince, and was first called the Wide-awake and the Bruiser, but later, on account of his size, he gained the name of Louis the Fat, without losing, it is true, any of his energy.

We have already seen how and to what extent he had assisted the communal movement; we shall, therefore, not return to that point. In the soldiery of the communes he found an ever-ready assistance in the exigencies of police duty on the high roads of his domains. The lords of Montmorency, Montlhery, Puiset, Corbeil and Coucy, were in the habit of descending from their donjons upon the great roads to rob merchants and travelers. Philip, who had succeeded, by means of a marriage, in taking Montlhery away from the insignificant lord who was occupying it, charged his son, on his death-bed, never to let that castle, which had caused him so much trouble, escape him. Louis summoned Bouchard of Montmorency before his court for having pillaged the lands of the Abbey of St. Denis, and condemned him to restore what he had taken. He captured the castle of Puiset and destroyed it after a war of three years. He attacked another plunderer, Thomas de Marle, Lord of Coucy, who fell wounded into his hands. Louis the Fat waged war in every direction against the lawless and rapacious small nobles of his domains. When he had gained mastery over the roads, the sphere of his activity increased, and he ventured to attack the most powerful of his vassals.

On the death of the Conqueror (1087), he was succeeded in England by William II. (Rufus), his second son ; in Normandy by his eldest son, Robert. Robert at first attempted to take England away from his younger brother ; he was unsuccessful, and joined the crusade, after having given his duchy of Normandy in pledge to this same brother for five years. William II., a king red of hair and face, and brutal in speech, was a persistent hunter in the vast forests which he and his father had multiplied in England, and ruled his subjects roughly, both priests and laymen ; they called him the "guardian of the woods and the shepherd of the deer." He died while hunting, shot accidentally or purposely by one of his own followers.

William the Conqueror left a third son, Henry, called Beauclerc, because he was a little less ignorant than the rest of his family. Robert was at Jerusalem, and Henry profited by his absence to take possession of his eldest brother's crown.* He hoped to secure his possession of it by publishing a charter, the most complete and precise of any that preceded the Magna Charta. In it he fixed limits to the rights which as sovereign he possessed over his vassals in regard to feudal dues. Robert came back in 1101, took Normandy again, and claimed England ; where he made an unsuccessful attempt at invasion. Henry returned invasion for invasion, and in 1106 won the battle of Tinchebray ; he captured his brother, and sent him to Cardiff Castle in Wales, where he was confined during the rest of his life. Louis the Fat, fearing the too great power of his vassal, the king of England, appeared as the supporter of William Clito, Robert's son and consequently Henry's nephew. It was a well-devised plan, and its success would have removed the danger which always threatened the throne of France so long as England was united with the duchy of Normandy.

The war took the form of extensive devastation, causing great suffering among the Norman peasants ; the knights of the two countries, on the other hand, spared each other's lives, or, at least, could not do each other much harm on account of their armor. Only three were killed in the fight at Brenneville [Noyon] (1119), the most important battle

* There was no opposition in England to the election of Henry. The principle of hereditary succession was not yet recognized. His charter was the first step toward the Magna Charta.—ED.

of the war, and one where Louis was overcome. The Pope, who had come to France to take part in the council of Rheims, where the question of investitures was under debate (1119), reconciled the two enemies, but did not satisfy the claims of William Clito. The struggle began again in 1124, and was further complicated by a war with Germany. Henry I. having persuaded the emperor, his son-in-law, to attack Louis the Fat from his side, the war with Germany seemed at that time to be popular in France. That circumstance, and also the progress recently made by the royal power, explain the fact that Louis was able to collect a large force of men at Rheims. Suger, abbot of St. Denis, the prime minister and companion of the king, and later the historian of his life, makes a pompous enumeration of them : he admits, however, that the Count of Flanders, the Count of Anjou, and the dukes of Brittany and Aquitaine did not come ; fear of the king had not, as yet, spread far. Nevertheless, the Emperor Henry V. did not venture to enter France, or, rather, desisted from some other motive.

Louis the Fat ventured to make an attack upon the great vassals who had not answered his summons. An excellent opportunity offered itself to unite his designs against them with his usual zeal in defending the bishops and the Church. The Bishop of Clermont, who was at war with the Count of Auvergne, claimed that his church depended directly on the crown, and appealed to the king. Louis hastened to comply. He had to deal not only with the count, but also with the count's sovereign, the Duke of Aquitaine, William IX. But the royal army presented so fine an appearance that, when William saw it, he came humbly to the camp of the king, rendered homage, and begged him to allow the Count of Auvergne to be judged by the barons (1126). The king settled the affair amicably ; he had gained what he wished, the formal acknowledgment of his authority in that important part of the South.

He desired to accomplish the same in the North, and remembered that Flanders had not furnished its contingent in the year 1124. Count Charles the Good was assassinated in 1127 by a family, formerly serfs, who were very powerful at Bruges, the Van der Straten family. The lords of Flanders took up arms to avenge his death ; but Louis obliged them to come to Arras to elect a count "in his presence." He brought William Clito forward, and was

so urgent in his entreaties that he made them elect him count. But hardly had he departed when the Flemings revolted against William, who perished at the siege of Alost ; then, declaring that the king of France had not the right to dispose of their government, they appointed Theodoric of Alsace.

Louis the Fat finally prepared the way, not merely for the influence but for the direct dominion of the throne over the South, by the marriage of his son Louis the Young to Eleanor, the only daughter of William IX., Duke of Aquitaine : the duchy of Aquitaine included Poitou, Limousin, Bordelais, and Agenois, the old duchy of Gascony, and gave sovereignty over Auvergne, Perigord, La Marche, Saintonge, Angoumois, etc.

The accession of Louis VII. to the throne gave him a dominion extending from the north to the south of the France of that date ; but he did not know how to keep it. A question of investiture involved him in that second crusade which was so fatal in its results to France. A dispute had arisen between Pope Innocent II. and himself on the subject of the nomination of an archbishop of Bourges. St. Bernard declared for the Pope, Suger for the King. While waging war on the Count of Champagne, who upheld the choice of the Pope, Louis burned the church of Vitry, and 1200 persons who had fled there for refuge perished in the flames. His own remorse and the excommunication that followed induced him to set out for the Holy Land, where he lost his whole army without making a single conquest, as we have seen. On his return he divorced Eleanor on the ground of consanguinity, and restored her dowry (1152), which Henry the Count of Anjou, better advised, quickly secured by marrying the offended wife.

As the King of England, Henry I., had lost his son by shipwreck, he declared his daughter Matilda heir to the throne. Matilda was the widow of the German Emperor Henry V. ; she married again in 1127, Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, called Plantagenet because he was in the habit of wearing, by way of plume, a piece of broom (*genêt*) in his helmet. Henry died in 1135 ; he had charged his nephew Stephen of Blois, whom he had loaded with domains in England, to protect the "Empress," as Matilda was called. Stephen kept a wolf's watch, in feudal language,

Louis VII.
(1137-1180) in
France ; Ste-
phen and
Henry II. (1135-
1189) in Eng-
land.

that is, he took the crown of England for himself, which was the beginning of great disorder. Matilda protested and gained adherents among the Normans in England. Almost from the very beginning Stephen's reign was a constant warfare. In the west there were incursions of the Welsh; in the north invasions of David King of Scotland, who came across the Tweed. The Normans and the Scotch met in the great battle of the Standard, near Allerton, to the north of York. The warriors of the claymore rushed on, shouting "Albin, Albin!" the old name for their country; they broke through the enemy's center "as through a cobweb," but the Saxon archers and the Norman horsemen soon overpowered them. "It was a beautiful sight, to see the stinging flies dart humming from the quivers of the men of the South, and fall as thick as rain." The Scotch withdrew, but kept the provinces in the north of England.

Stephen then had to fight Matilda, who landed in the south, and who supported the Norman barons of the north and west. The war was again fought at the expense of the poor Saxons. "The Normans," said a Saxon chronicler, "seized all those who seemed to have any property in order to wrest from them their silver and gold. Some were hung over a column of smoke; some hung up by their thumbs, with fire under their feet; some they tortured by tightening a strap about their heads until it forced in the skull; others were put into the chamber of tortures. This was a kind of short, narrow, and shallow chest lined with sharp stones, where the victim was kept screwed up until his limbs were dislocated." The Middle Ages were rich in tortures—Meantime, Stephen was taken prisoner; then Matilda in her turn just escaped capture. Stephen's son had died; and finally a treaty was made. It was agreed that the King should keep his crown until his death, and that then Henry of Anjou, Matilda's son, should succeed him. He died in the following year (1154).

Henry held Normandy, Maine, and England, through his mother; Anjou and Touraine, through his father; through his wife, the duchy of Aquitaine, and its dependencies. In a word, he possessed about forty-seven of the present departments of France, and the King of France had hardly twenty. Later, by marrying one of his sons to the heiress of Brittany, he extended his power also over that country. It is strange that so vast a power,

the most important then in Europe, should not have secured a lasting preponderance; and that, especially, it should not have absorbed the weak monarchy of France. But that it did not, was due to the discord prevailing in England for two centuries, first in the royal family, between husband and wife and between father and children; then in the kingdom, between the king and the clergy, and later, between the king and the barons. It was also due to the feudal inferiority of the King of England on the continent; he would have needed very large forces, impossible for him to collect on account of intestine wars, to break that bond of sovereignty which, though weak and loose at first, grew stronger and closer as time went on, and which enabled the King of France in after years to bind all the French provinces of England to his throne.

This was apparent as early as the reign of Henry II. He tried to make good certain claims of his wife on Toulouse. Louis VII. threw himself into the city, and the vassal did not dare besiege his sovereign. He wished to limit the excessive independence of the clergy; Thomas à Becket rose against him,—Thomas à Becket himself at first, and later, more terrible still, his murdered ghost.

The clergy had had the privilege of jurisdiction over its own members from the time of the Roman Empire. When a clergyman was concerned in a suit, the lay tribunals were incompetent to treat the case; it could be decided only by an ecclesiastical court.* In England William the Conqueror had greatly extended the field of this privilege, called the "benefit of clergy"; his aim was to make powerful tools of his bishops, who were always docile under his strong hand. Great founders always go through the same experience: they count too much on the strength of their power; after their death it declines, and that of which they had no fear becomes in time a formidable force. We find also that the clergy was in a state which had been very often seen on the continent, for instance, under Charles Martel. The ecclesiastical benefices of which the conquered had been despoiled had been seized upon by the conquerors, and with them en-

* This is not true as a universal rule. It was the case only at certain places and for certain times. It was something for which the Church was constantly striving, but which it had never fully attained.—ED.

tered a spirit of license which always follows conquerors into the conquered country. So the Norman clergy, who professed themselves sent to reform the Saxon clergy, fell into the worst forms of vice : murders, acts of violence, and scandals had become common events there ; during the first years of the reign of Henry II. nearly a hundred homicides were recorded, committed by priests still living. Besides the fact of the natural inclination of the clergy to spare its own members, the punishment inflicted by its tribunals was comparatively light : it consisted of penance, at times severe, but the penalty was never death. Abuses crept into what had formerly been good institutions : the clergy was the only asylum in the Middle Ages which feudal violence did not dare to violate ; a refuge for the weak is an admirable thing, but a refuge for crime is thrice odious. Henry II. tried to remedy this evil ; but he came into collision with one stronger than himself.

Gilbert Becket, one of the London middle class, and his wife Rohesia or Matilda, both probably of Norman birth, were the parents of Thomas à Becket. Given a careful education by his father, the child became skillful in the exercises of body and of mind, was made archdeacon of Canterbury, and attracted the notice of Matilda's son, who became much attached to him. First as tutor of the King's eldest son, and then as chancellor, he was a conspicuous figure in the first ranks of the kingdom, and displayed a pomp and state far exceeding the most magnificent of the nobles. Finally Henry appointed him to the see of Canterbury (1162), hoping that he would be of use to him in his reforms. But the courtier vanished in the archbishop ; the dogs and birds and costly raiment all disappeared ; Becket became a strict and austere priest. Henry II. was irritated by this. Nevertheless he broached his plans, and in a great assembly of bishops, abbots, and barons held at Clarendon (1164), he caused the *Constitutions of Clarendon* to be adopted, which obliged every clerk, who was accused of crime, to appear before the king's court of justice, forbade any ecclesiastic to leave the kingdom without the royal permission, and assigned to the king the guardianship and revenues of any vacant bishopric or benefice.

Thomas à Becket rebelled against these statutes ; pursued by the murmurs of the bishops who were partisans of the king, he cried out : " I shall appeal to the sovereign

pontiff, and shall summon you before him." And withdrawing, he reached the coast of Sandwich in disguise, and embarked for France. Louis VII., received him there with favor, and after six years of fruitless effort he succeeded in reconciling him with Henry II. (1170). But Becket had not wavered in the slightest. On his return to Canterbury he again excommunicated the Archbishop of York. At this news Henry II., who was then in Normandy, was filled with wrath. "What!" he cried, "a wretch who came to my court on a limping horse, who has eaten of my bread, and dares to brave me thus! Will no one rid me of him?" Four knights, who understood what he meant by those words, crossed over to England, and five days later the archbishop fell, assassinated by them, at the very foot of the altar (Dec. 29, 1170). The Saxons made a martyr of him, and popular imagination, with that vigorous creative power inherent in it, soon came to believe that at his tomb the blind would recover their sight, the deaf their hearing, and that even the dead would there be restored to life.

The crime came back upon Henry II., whose authority was shaken for a long time. He did not obtain indulgence from the Holy See until he had performed many acts of submission and had annulled the constitutions of Clarendon. Lastly he undertook, in the cause of the Church at Rome, an important conquest, which was of no less importance to him, and for the success of which he used the same pontifical authority to which he had been obliged to submit.

Ireland had been a Christian country since the fourth century; it was even called the "Isle of the Saints." But

Conquest of
Ireland (1171);
The king of
France sus-
tains the revolt
of the sons of
the English
king (1173).

shut off, as it was, at the extremity of Europe, and having kept itself free from European domination, even from that of the Romans, the "green island of Erin" covered with pasture lands, the "Pearl of the Ocean" beaten by the tides, the "wooded island" given over to savage customs in all their ferocity, to patriarchal government of the clans and annual division of the land, had preserved a certain independence even in the matter of its conversion, and did not submit either to the supremacy of the Holy See or to the strict methods of canonical discipline. But in the Middle Ages it was very dangerous to differ from the Roman communion. The Anglo-Saxons had dearly paid for their arrears in St. Peter's tithe, at the time of Wil-

liam the Conqueror. Henry II. promised to establish it in Ireland ; in 1156 Pope Adrian IV. authorized him to proceed.

An Irish chief, who had been banished by one of his rivals, called a troop of Normans to his assistance ; the cross-bows and light arms of the Irish were powerless against the great iron-clad horses, and lances eight cubits long. Richard Strongbow, the chieftain of the Norman adventurers, by marrying the daughter of an Irish chieftain, found himself master of the whole of Leinster. Henry II. demanded homage of him and went himself to the island (1171) ; all the chiefs in the south acknowledged him as their sovereign ; at the same time a synod called at Cashel put the Church of Ireland under the supremacy of the primate of England. But the northern and western parts of the island remained independent.

The end of the reign of Henry II. was taken up by quarrels with his sons ; Eleanor, who was annoyed by the favor shown Fair Rosamond by the king, stirred them up to revolt, and the King of France held himself in readiness to profit by the result. The eldest son Henry, in the mean time, had received from his father in 1169 Maine and Anjou ; the second, Richard the Lion-hearted, had Aquitaine ; Geoffrey, the third son, became Duke of Brittany ; while the youngest, John, had nothing ; he was called John Lackland. The eldest son desired Normandy, too. The two younger brothers believed a revolt necessary for themselves ; so they all three took up arms and paid homage to the King of France. Henry sent out against them, to the continent, mercenaries trained to the trade of war. In England, where the revolt might spread, he undertook to win over the people, by appeasing the shades of Thomas à Becket. Barefooted and clothed in a simple woollen gown, he repaired to the tomb of his martyr, passed a day and night there in prayer, on his knees on the stone, without eating or drinking, while his bishops scourged him. After which, "he departed joyfully." It was all over ; the penance was accomplished, the load of remorse removed, and public opinion reconciled. From that time he was victorious over the King of Scotland as well as the King of France, with whom he signed the treaty of Montlouis (1174). But he could not settle matters with his sons, who had the French provinces ready to support their cause. The south

had seized with joy the opportunity to "drive away the sceptre of the north." The troubadour knights, with Bertram de Born at their head, inflamed the people with their warlike poetry, brilliant and sonorous as a clarion. In 1183 and in 1188 there were new revolts; Henry even saw his youngest and best beloved son, John, raising his hand against him. He died, cursing them all (1189).

These quarrels saved Louis VII. from dangers which otherwise he would assuredly have called down upon his head, for he was much more of a monk than an active and resolute king. Yet he still encouraged the communal movement. Twenty-five charters are signed with his name. But, like his father before him, he did not wish any of them on his own lands. At Orleans a communal movement was harshly suppressed. Sometimes he even aided the feudal lords in doing on their domains what he was doing on his own.

The figure of his minister is more pleasing to contemplate,—Suger, who advised him not to go on the crusade, and continued to remind him of it from the time of his departure, adjuring him "by the oath of his coronation," no longer to abandon his flock to the ravening wolves. Here we see the first indications of the new character assumed by French royalty. From the ninth to the twelfth century the king had lived, but royalty seemed dead, for the public powers which ought to have remained in its hand had been seized by all the great proprietors, and were used by them as *domain* powers. This aristocratic revolution, which had destroyed the unity of the country for three centuries, was followed by another which endeavored to unite the scattered members of the French community to take away from the feudal lords the rights they had usurped, in order to return them to the crown. The monarchical revolution, making the king sole judge, sole administrator, and sole legislator of the country, began with Louis the Fat, Philip Augustus, and St. Louis, and was not accomplished until the reign of Louis XIV., because of various circumstances, such as, for instance, the hundred years' war in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the religious wars in the sixteenth, which interrupted the progress of the great interior development.

Philip Augustus (1180), son of Louis VII., retrieved his

Philip Augustus (1180) and Richard the Lion-hearted (1189). New character of French royalty in the thirteenth century.

father's mistakes. It is noticeable that he was the last king to be consecrated before his accession. This precaution lost its usefulness when the Capetian royal family had thoroughly established itself.

Philip Augustus was remarkable for the patience he always showed in waiting for a favorable opportunity. When fifteen years old and menaced by his vassals, he said : " Whatever they may do now, it pleases me to endure their villainies, violence, and outrageous conduct. If it is God's will, they will grow feeble and old and I shall grow in strength and wisdom ; then it will be my turn for revenge." His first acts showed that he was a pious king ; he robbed and banished the Jews, and in those days that was considered a pious duty. He allowed them to come back, it is true, on the payment of a fine. The Jews were periodically banished and called back in this way. They were like a sponge, which was allowed to fill itself with the gold of the middle classes and the nobility, and which was then squeezed into the royal treasury ; at each reprieve the active tribe began anew to work, and the pressure recommenced as soon as they had repaired their fortunes. The most useful act of the beginning of Philip's reign was the acquisition of Vermandois, Valois, and Amiens, which were yielded to him by the heiress in order to obtain his protection against Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders. When he had become master of the county of Amiens, the bishop, who held sovereign power there, demanded homage in virtue of his new title ; " The king pays no man homage," he replied. It was a new and pregnant principle, and changed the nature of the fiefs acquired by the crown. So when they passed out of his hands again, in the form of appanages, it was under very different conditions from the other feudal domains.

He formed a close alliance with the rebellious Richard, and they were inseparable friends so long as Henry II. lived : they ate at the same table, slept in the same bed. They resisted the king of England and dictated their conditions ; both also pledged themselves to set out together on the third crusade. King Richard, who succeeded his father in 1189, was a somewhat lawless knight, brilliant but brutal, a hard fighter as we should now say, and as such inclined to rule his people with an iron hand : for the rest he was a bold and caustic poet, imaginative even in his exactions, as, for instance, when he conceived the idea of losing

his royal seal and of having another made, so that all those who had charters were obliged to have them sealed anew—for a consideration. He sold everything, offices, castles, and villages, and departed for the crusade, where his hard fighting won him the name of the Lion-hearted.

The third crusade, which has already been described, was a complete failure, but it had no fatal results for France, as had the preceding crusade. Though Richard proved himself the bravest man there, yet Philip appeared as the sovereign of the English king. He was the first to return, and while his rival was fighting in Palestine and afterwards was kept a prisoner in Austria, he made use of his time to work the ruin of the too powerful house of England. He came to an understanding with one of Richard's brothers, who had been left at home, John Lackland, for they both hoped to share the spoils. But Richard, escaping from the prison where the German emperor had kept him, notwithstanding his given word to the contrary, made haste to avenge himself on his brother and his rival. The former bought his pardon by killing a French garrison which he had conveyed into one of the castles; Philip Augustus preferred to go to war. It began in Normandy and was fought with violence. Richard, both troubadour and king, waged it and sang it at the same time. He defeated Philip near Gisors, but derived little advantage from his victory. Pope Innocent III. interposed and made them sign a truce of five years (January, 1199). Two months later, Richard was killed, struck by an arrow at the siege of the castle of Chalus in Limousin, where he was trying to carry off a treasure which had been found by the lord of the castle. But though he had ruled his subjects badly and had constantly plundered them, he was a lamented and popular hero. "With him was interred, in the opinion of many, the glory and the honor of chivalry."

The crown of England should go, by right, to Arthur, the young son of Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany, and John's elder brother; but the latter usurped it. Anjou, Poitou, and Touraine, which were weary of English domination, surrendered to Arthur and invoked the protection of Philip. The King of France undertook to defend Arthur and then abandoned him (1200), as soon as he had obtained from John the advantages desired in his

Strife between Philip Augustus and John Lackland; Conquest of Normandy and Poitou (1204).

selfish policy. He took up arms again, however, when he saw the possibility of great benefits to himself in the revolt of all his French possessions from the King of England. To gain them at the least possible expense he left the burden of the war to Arthur. The unfortunate young man was conquered, captured, killed, and thrown, it was said, into the Seine by John himself (1203). This murder gave Philip Augustus the opportunity he desired; as the avenger of a crime which roused universal indignation, he summoned John to appear at his court.* John demanded sureties for his safe coming and going. "For coming, you may have them," was the reply: "your return will depend upon the decision of the peers." John did not go. Philip, delighted with this forfeiture, seized all the fortresses in Normandy and even entered Rouen: that rich province, whence the conquerors of England had set out, was French from that time, and Brittany, which was dependent on it, became an immediate fief of the king (1204). Philip assumed the guardianship of Alice, Arthur's sister, and later gave both the heritage and the heiress to one of his relations, Peter Mauclerc. The occupation of Poitou, Touraine, and Anjou followed this great conquest, so that the royal domain was suddenly much increased and well protected toward the west.

John's baseness had given France those fair provinces: his quarrel with the Holy See and with his barons secured her possession of them. He had his father's feelings in regard to the clergy; to gain control over them he appointed one of his tools to the archbishopric of Canterbury. The suffragan bishops protested, and Pope Innocent III., insisting upon a new election, had the trust given to the English Cardinal Stephen Langton (1207). John Lackland was exceedingly angry. He drove the monks out of Canterbury, and when three bishops came to see him in the name of the Pope he threatened to have them beaten if they did not withdraw. He swore, "by the teeth of God," that he would cut off the nose of any Roman who should enter his kingdom, and

Quarrel between John Lackland and Innocent III. (1207); Battle of Bouvines (1214); The great Charter (1215).

* Recent investigations make it altogether probable that John was not condemned in 1204 for the murder of Arthur, but that his only condemnation by the King's court, not a court of the twelve peers, was in 1202 on complaint of his vassals in Poitou.—ED,

spoke of throwing all the English clergy into the sea. If the reports of the day are to be believed, he went so far as to intend becoming a Mussulman in order to obtain help from the Emir Al-Moumenin of Morocco. The end of all this senseless rage was his rushing to the other extremes when excommunicated and threatened with an invasion by Philip Augustus, who was authorized by Innocent III. to conquer England. He groveled before the Holy See, and promised tribute and acknowledged himself a vassal (1213).

He tried to avenge himself for his disgrace by forming a vast coalition against Philip Augustus. He was to attack France on the southwest while the German Emperor Otto IV., the counts of Flanders and Boulogne, and all the princes of the Netherlands were to make their attack on the North. But France rose to repel the foreign invasion. The king's son, Louis, went to oppose the English king in Poitou; and Philip, with the remainder of the chivalry, and the communal soldiers of the North, marched toward the enemy, met them near the bridge of Bouvines, on the Marq, entered Lille and Tournai, and having incurred great dangers, secured a complete victory (Aug. 29, 1214).*

Philip seems not to have reaped all the advantages that he might from his great success. He acquired no new land; Flanders remained in the possession of the wife of Ferrand, the county of Boulogne in the hands of Renaud's daughter, and John of England bought a truce which left him Saintonge and Guienne. But he had repelled a formidable invasion, had put an emperor and a king to flight, had foiled the designs of several great vassals, finally had given the Capetian dynasty the baptism of glory which it had lacked till that time, and had revealed France to herself. His triumph, in fact, roused something in his country hitherto unknown there, the national spirit, patriotism; a weak feeling as yet, in spite of the explosion of public joy, and several times it seemed to have been extinguished, but it always reappeared with victorious energy. France had now a nation and a king.

The nobility of France again bore witness to their warlike

* This battle was one of the most important of all the Middle Ages. In France it increased greatly the prestige of the crown; in England it was a decisive step leading to the Magna Charta; in Germany it so broke the power of Otto IV. that resistance was no longer possible to the advance of the young Hohenstaufen Frederick II.—ED.

activity in two great enterprises : the fourth crusade, which changed the Greek empire into a French empire, and the war against the Albigenses, which secured the intractable population of the South to the French dominion.


Philip took part in neither of these expeditions. He allowed his nobles to consume their resources and their energies in these wars, which were of twofold advantage to France, both in the consequent establishment of order in the kingdom, and in the glory shed on its name in distant lands. He wrote to the Pope, who was urging him to engage in a crusade against the Albigenses, "I am flanked by two great and terrible lions, the Emperor Otto and King John ; accordingly I cannot leave France." After their experience at Bouvines, however, neither one nor the other caused him much annoyance.

While his allies had been suffering defeat in Flanders, John had been defeated in Poitou. Returning to his island conquered and humiliated, he found his barons in insurrection. Stephen Langton, the primate, was at their head. They did not feel secure while they were in the power of a tyrant who had no respect for anything, and they wished to place bounds to his caprice. They brought out again the charter of Henry I., and when the King was holding his court at Worcester, at Christmas time, they presented themselves well-armed before him and asked him to confirm the privileges granted to them by that charter. John evaded the question, asked for time, and at last declared that he would grant nothing : "Why don't they ask me for my kingdom?" he cried, livid with rage. But the barons were determined not to yield : they proclaimed themselves the "army of God and of His holy Church," entered London amid the cheers of the multitude, and on the 15th of June, 1215, on the plain of Runnymede, near Windsor, they forced the king to sign the Magna Charta, the fundamental basis of English liberties.

When the charter had been signed and the barons had separated, John, who was beside himself with rage, wished to tear it to pieces : he, the cynic, heaped imprecations on his own head for having yielded, and swore to give England over to plunder and pillage. He appealed to the Pope, Innocent III., who on his own authority declared the great charter null and void and released the King from his oaths. Then he called in his mercenaries from the continent,

who laid the country waste in every direction, until the barons, in wrath, offered the crown to Louis, son of Philip Augustus and nephew of John through his wife, Blanche of Castile. Innocent III. threatened Philip Augustus with excommunication, and the King pretended that he would like to stop his son. But Louis replied to him : "Sire, I am your liege man for the lands which you have given me in France ; but it does not belong to you to decide upon the fate of England." So Louis proceeded in his enterprise, and notwithstanding an excommunication from the Pope, he landed in England, on May 30, 1216. The effect of an excommunication had grown weaker by the force of repetition, and would not have hindered the success of the French prince in the least, had it not been that John died of an attack of indigestion in 1216. He left a child, Henry III. The barons knew that this child king would be worth more to their cause than a foreign prince, who no doubt would be little likely to respect their privileges after his victory was gained, and who would have the assistance of French forces in time of need. Louis's cause was gradually abandoned, and he was obliged to return to France in 1217.

The first period in the strife between France and England ends with the death of John Lackland and Philip Augustus. Beginning with the year 1217, the histories of the two countries, which had run together so long, followed separate courses for one hundred and twenty years.—Each one returned to its own way of life ; France grew more and more monarchical, England more and more constitutional, and they met only at long intervals, in a few combats. We must now take up as separate histories what we have studied for a time as a united history.



CHAPTER XXV.

PROGRESS OF THE ROYAL POWER IN FRANCE FROM PHILIP AUGUSTUS TO PHILIP OF VALOIS.

Internal administration of Philip Augustus.—Louis VIII. (1223) and the regency of Blanche of Castile. Saint Louis, his ascendancy in Europe; treaties with England (1259), and with Aragon (1258).—Government of Saint Louis. Progress of the royal authority.—New character of politics, Philip III. (1270), Philip IV. (1285), new war with England (1294).—A new struggle between the Papacy and the State (1296–1304). The Papacy at Avignon (1309–1376).—Condemnation of the Templars (1307).—Administration of Philip IV.; reign of his three sons (1314–1328).

PHILIP AUGUSTUS had reigned gloriously for forty-three years; he had doubled the royal domain by the acquisition of Vermandois, Amiens, Artois, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Poitou, and a part of Auvergne, which he divided into 78 provostships, under the superintendence of bailiffs; he had attacked feudalism in its most odious right, the right of waging private wars, by establishing the *quarantaine-le-roy** and the *asseurement*;† he had adorned and paved Paris, surrounded it with a wall, and given it markets and a better police; the Louvre had been begun and the University of Paris had been established with great privileges, and the Archives had been started; the authority of the court of the peers had been established by a memorable example, the condemnation of the king of England;‡ and, last of all, the royalty reappeared in the light of a legislative power, and its ordinances were considered as apply-

* This was an enforced truce for forty days between a murder or other acts of violence and the taking of vengeance by the party injured. In the interval passions might be appeased, the king might interfere, and justice be done.

† The *asseurement* was a guarantee of the royal protection to any one who referred the decision of a private quarrel to the king's court instead of appealing to arms himself.—ED.

‡ See above, p. 354, note.—ED.

ing to the whole state, which had not been the case since the capitularies of Charles the Simple. He had made the royal power entirely independent, to the great advantage of order, industry, and commerce, which he encouraged, that is to the advantage both of the royal power and of the people.

This prince had nevertheless incurred the censures of Rome. He had married as his second wife Ingeborg of Denmark (1193); but repudiated her the very day after the marriage. A council of bishops pronounced this union null and void, and Philip immediately married Agnes of Meran. It naturally created a great scandal, that a man, because he was king, should make sport of the honor of a woman, a foreigner who was without help or protection. Philip thought that the sentence of the bishops would end all discussion. But Ingeborg appealed to the Pope, and Innocent III. took up, in behalf of outraged morality and religion, the cause of the poor woman who had been abandoned by every one else. Philip resisted his decrees, and the Pope hurled an interdict against his kingdom. All religious services ceased, and the people were left without prayers and consolation. In vain did the King expel from their sees all the bishops who observed the interdict; he was obliged to yield to the universal discontent, which endangered his crown. He sent away Agnes of Meran, who died of grief, and took back Ingeborg, in 1201. Another great example had been given to the world, and one such as Christianity alone was capable of giving.

Philip showed wisdom in yielding in this case; another time he showed equal wisdom in resisting. In 1203 he invaded the fiefs which John had lost by his treachery. Innocent III. threatened him with the anathemas of the Church if he advanced a step farther; but Philip, after assuring himself of the co-operation of his great vassals, and having received from them in writing their promise to uphold him in this cause against every one else, even against the Pope, went on with his undertaking.

In these two cases the Pope and the king appealed in turn to public opinion and justice; the one by interesting the people in the cause of morality, the other by interesting the barons in the legitimate prerogatives of the crown. This shows some progress, and that we are beginning to leave behind us the times when force alone was of any avail.

In his short reign the son of Philip Augustus completed the work begun by his father. During the lifetime of his father Louis VIII. had been proclaimed king, for a short time, by the revolted English barons, and had also made two crusades against the Albigenses. On becoming king of France he continued these two wars. He conquered from the English the part of Poitou which had escaped Philip Augustus, Aunis, Rochelle, Limoges, and Perigueux, and took Avignon in Languedoc.

Louis VIII.
(1223). The
regency of
Blanche of
Castile.

The country extending from the Rhône to within four leagues of Toulouse made submission to him, and he stationed seneschals or bailiffs at Beaucaire, Carcassonne, and Béziers. Thus all the country west of the Rhône, with the exception of Guienne and Toulouse, recognized the royal authority. France was no longer divided into two countries, and the work of establishing territorial unity was constantly advancing. But the south of France was avenged by an epidemic which decimated the army and carried off the king.

For the whole of the last century the sword of royalty, that is, of France, had been valiantly worn; but the son of Louis VIII. was a child of only eleven years. The barons claimed that the regency could not be entrusted to a woman, and refused to make the queen mother, Blanche of Castile, regent. They declared that the king should not be consecrated unless guarantees were given them against the court of peers and against the recent encroachments of the royal authority. Here was then already a strong feudal reaction. Theobald, Count of Champagne, Peter of Dreux, the Duke of Brittany, Hugh of Lusignan, Count of La Marche, Richard, Duke of Aquitaine, and Raymond VII., Count of Toulouse, formed a league, with Enguerrand, Sire of Coucy, at its head. But the Capetian dynasty was not yet to undergo the fate suffered by the Carolingians. Their dynasty was founded firmly on its own domain, and on the sympathies of the people, even in the states of its vassals. It was also sustained by the great authority of the Papacy, without which neither the usurpation of the Carolingians or that of the Capetians would have succeeded. The cardinal legate of Saint-Ange was in the service of Blanche of Castile, and helped her with his advice; while she herself gained over to her cause the Count of Cham-

pagne, the famous trouvère whose heart she had touched. Louis IX. was consecrated in 1227, and the treaty of Saint-Aubin du Cormier in 1231 brought the war to an end, with all the advantage on the side of the royal power.

Languedoc had revolted during these events, in which the new Count of Toulouse, Raymond VII., was secretly concerned. A last expedition, aided by the Inquisition, brought about the treaty of Paris in 1229, by which the conquests of the last few years were regulated. Raymond formally abandoned to France all lower Languedoc, which was made into the two divisions of Beaucaire and Carcassonne under the jurisdiction of seneschals. He only retained half of the diocese of Toulouse, Agenois, and Rouergue, and merely a life interest in those, on the condition of their being the dowry of his only daughter, who was betrothed to Alfonso, the second brother of the king.

The more the royal power increased, the larger grew the territory directly subject to it. In 1234 Theobald of Champagne, who had become King of Navarre by the death of his wife's father, started off to conquer his inheritance, and sold the counties of Blois, Chartres, and Sancerre to the crown of France.

The majority of Saint Louis was proclaimed in 1236.

We have now come to the true hero of the Middle Ages, a prince who was as devout as he was brave, who loved feudalism and yet struck some telling blows against it, who revered the Church but knew when it was necessary to resist its head; who respected all rights, but yet pursued the course of justice; who had a gentle, loving, and sincere heart, filled with Christian charity, and condemning the method of torturing the body of a sinner in order to save his soul; a man who lived on earth as if heaven were always before his eyes, and who made his royal office into a magistracy of order and justice. Rome has canonized him, and the people still think of him as sitting under the oak at Vincennes administering justice to all who came to him. This saint, this man of peace, in the simplicity of his heart did more to extend the royal authority than the wisest counsellors or than ten warlike kings could have done, because after his time the king seemed to the people the incarnation of order and justice. He found the royal authority all the more firmly established from its having just made a trial of

Saint Louis,
his ascen-
dency in Eu-
rope.

its strength. Another Philip Augustus would have used the many forces which were ready to his hand to advance still farther in the same direction, and, with great advantage to the kingdom, would have driven the English from Guienne which they still held in France; Saint Louis, on the contrary, checked the progress of the royal authority, but also gave it a sacred character. The French royalty seemed very admirable at this time, as wrapped in its robe of blue sprinkled with fleur-de-lis, pure and upright, it took the part of arbiter between the sovereigns of Europe, and yet was brave and valiant in repelling any attack made upon it. In the place of the old feudalism which was hostile to it, it was surrounded by a new feudalism which was still easily controlled because it had first sprung from the royal family itself.

After having rooted out the old feudalism, the royal family spread itself over all France. Robert, the oldest brother of the king, had been made Count of Artois (1237), and had succeeded in attaching the northern provinces to the kingdom by the alliances which he formed. The royal house gained the southern provinces in the same way. Alfonso, Count of Poitou and Auvergne, was heir to the great county of Toulouse, which extended as far as the Pyrenees. Charles, who received Anjou and Maine in 1246, became Count of Provence by his marriage with its heiress Beatrice, and extended the French influence as far as the Mediterranean. With the support of this family feudalism and of his lawful rights, Saint Louis was invincible, at least within his own provinces.

Until the time of his war with the English, he was not very active, but he already showed the firmness of a prince who never draws back because he never advanced further than was just. In 1241, when the Emperor Frederick II. detained the French prelates who were on their way to a council at Rome, Saint Louis demanded that they should be set at liberty, and wrote: "Since the prelates of our kingdom in no way have deserved this detention, it is just that your Highness should set them at liberty; in that way you will appease us, for we regard their detention as an injury, and the royal majesty would lose its consideration if we were silent under such circumstances. . . . May your imperial prudence not be content with pleading your power or your will as an excuse, for the kingdom of France is not so

weak as to be resigned to being trodden under-foot by you." The Emperor released his prisoners. Shortly before this Louis had refused to receive for himself or for one of his brothers the imperial crown of Frederick II., which was offered him by the Pope. He had also refused to allow the bishops to use his royal authority in constraining excommunicated persons to submit within a year and a day, unless he himself were made judge of the causes of the excommunications.

Louis showed as much firmness in his actions when he was forced to take up arms, as he had done in his words. In 1241 the lords of Aquitaine, who had always been hostile to France, formed a coalition against her. The kings of England, Aragon, and Navarre were included in it, and the Count of Toulouse hoped to break the treaty of 1229. The Count of La Marche began the war by refusing to pay homage to his suzerain Alfonso, Count of Poitiers. Louis IX. demanded arms and supplies of the communes, and wisely provided himself with tents, wagons, machines, and ammunition, and brought a fine army into the field. Henry III. of England, who was ill-supported by his barons, came to meet him with an army of French soldiers. Louis rapidly entered Poitou and La Marche, forced a passage from Charente to Taillebourg (1242), and gained a complete victory near Saintes, which he entered. Henry III. took to flight and the French lords submitted to the king. Shortly afterwards the English king asked for a truce, and the war ended in 1243. The following year, Saint Louis made a vow to go to the Holy Land, which vow he performed in 1248. This crusade has already been described.

This prince was as anxious to prevent quarrels between states as between private individuals. As he amicably settled the disputes of his subjects, under the oak at Vincennes, so too he tried to prevent all wars, those disputes which cost the people so dear, in blood and tears. With this view he tried to introduce an exactness and frankness into the relations of the States to each other, and even when it was his own loss, to do away with all rival pretensions. On his victory in 1242 he could have forced all the barons to submit to him ; he preferred to leave them free, but told them that they could not serve two masters, and that all those who held fiefs both from him and from the king of England must choose the one or the other. Later he carried this deli-

cacy even farther,—much farther than is customary in politics, and even farther than was favorable to the legitimate interests of France. He hardly knew what to think of the conquests of his predecessors. Perhaps the lack of success of his first crusade seemed to him a punishment sent by God for some fault into which he must inquire and from which he must purify himself. "His conscience pricked him," on hearing the unceasing complaints of Henry III. ; and he consented in 1259 to sign a treaty by which he gave up, or made over to the king of England, whom he had defeated in a just war, Limousin, Périgord, Quercy, Agénois, a part of Saintonge, and the duchy of Guienne, on the condition of receiving liege homage. In return, he was acknowledged undisputed master of Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, and of Maine. He thus gained a right over the provinces retained by him which was of more value in his eyes than the simple right of conquest.

He followed the same principles in his negotiations with the king of Aragon, yielding him irrevocably the full sovereignty of Catalonia and Rousillon, but obliging him to abandon all suzerainty over the fiefs of Auvergne and Languedoc which had been held from him (1258). A departure was thus made from all the vague and concurrent rights which had resulted from the confused origin of the feudal system, and the states from this time were free in their movements and less likely to embarrass and interfere with each other.

The reputation for integrity possessed by Saint Louis caused him to be chosen arbiter of the dispute between the king of England and his barons, over the Provisions of Oxford (1264). He pronounced in favor of the king, but this time unsuccessfully, for the barons paid no heed to this sentence and overthrew King Henry III.

He was fortunate elsewhere and settled a question of succession in Flanders which was involving the country in civil war.

In the south the French influence was extended even into Italy by Charles of Anjou, the brother of the king, who by his marriage had become master of Provence, and who had taken advantage of the continual intercourse between his new subjects and Italy to interfere in the affairs of that country, where (as we saw in Chapter XVIII.) he finally became king. We have also seen that this prince, after

mounting the throne of Sicily, directed, in his own interest the second crusade of Saint Louis against Tunis.

In spite of the ill-success of his two crusades Saint Louis continued the work of Philip Augustus : and under him the power of France grew apace. His expeditions beyond the sea showed him to be a truly devout man ; and he merited his name of Saint even more by the wisdom of his internal government, by his solicitude for the welfare of his people, and by his beneficent reforms. He felt that it was his mission to substitute peace and order for this social confusion of his times, and to replace with a true, impartial, and deliberate justice the mere forms of feudal justice which hardly concealed the right of force. In 1245 he renewed the ordinance of Philip Augustus which prescribed a truce between the accuser and the accused during 40 days (*quarantaine-le-roy*), and gave the weaker party the right of making a requisition of the *asseurement* of the king. He also made a marked distinction between the judgments of the royal courts and the judgments of the feudal courts ; he abolished throughout his domains the judicial duel, which was one of the greatest evils of the age : " whoever would prove his case by the combat shall prove it either by witnesses or written documents " (1258).

The use of witnesses and written evidence instead of the lists was the beginning of a revolution. The knights themselves, skilled only in the arts of war, had not sufficient keenness, learning, or powers of application to find their way through the subtleties of proofs and the confusion of documents. They called the lawyers to their aid, who belonged to a new profession versed in the laws, and especially in Roman law. At first the barons made these plebeians sit on little benches at their feet, but before long, in this intercourse between ignorance and learning, the latter took its rightful place, and the barons, whose words were of no avail, were silent before their counsellors. The whole direction of the trial, and the fate of the guilty, even of the highest noble, was in the hands of the lawyers. They were admitted to all the different degrees of jurisdiction, to the parliament of the barons, which served the king as a council, and to the feudal courts presided over by royal bailiffs. They everywhere tried to enforce the observance of the principles of Roman law, and to make the French

Government
of Saint Louis.
Progress of the
royal authority.

royalty the heir of the imperial maxims. The *quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem* was soon exactly translated into *Whatever the king wills, the law wills*, and, in spite of his respect for established rights, Saint Louis did not hesitate to make laws to be enforced even on the lands of vassals: "Know ye (1257) that on the deliberation of our council, we have prohibited all wars within our kingdom, all destruction by fire, and all prevention of agriculture." In the same way many suits were transferred from the feudal courts to the court of the king. By straining a little the right of *faussement de jugement*,* which was contained in the feudal customs, and by carrying cases under it to the suzerain, the lawyers were able to make these appeals very frequent. They also enlarged the number of royal cases, that is, the causes in which the jurisdiction was reserved to the king. The establishment of the royal *enquêteurs*, who were something like the *missi* of Charlemagne, the fixing of the standard of the king's money at the definite figure of 79 grains to a silver sou, and its enforced circulation through the provinces, concurrent with the feudal moneys, all were inspired by a spirit which wished to extend the royal authority as far as possible, and at the same time to have its intervention felt everywhere as a benefit.

Saint Louis was the first king to summon simple burghers to his council, to consult with them "concerning questions of finance," and consequently of commerce. He enfranchised many of the serfs on his domains, and remembered, what feudalism had forgotten, that "in a Christian kingdom, all men are brothers." He only founded one commune, that of Aigues-Mortes, and he abolished those of Rheims and Beauvais. He had no understanding of political liberty, which was not even dreamed of by the men of his times, and he was strongly impressed with the rights of the royal authority, of which he certainly made a very good use. This same conviction of the legitimacy of his rights made him ready to defend them at every point. It is, however, an error to attribute to him, as was formerly done, a pragmatic sanction, which would have fixed a limit to the pretensions of the Pope, restored to the cathedral churches

* This was a rude form of appeal in which the person condemned declared the judgment false, and offered to prove it by a duel with each one of the judges.—ED.

and abbeys the right of electing their prelates, repressed the encroachments of the clergy upon the temporal authority, and restricted the impositions that could be laid by the papal court upon the churches of France, to times of most urgent necessity.

The same principle on which all the virtues of Saint Louis were founded forbade the possession of one virtue unknown to the Middle Ages; that of tolerance. Saint Louis was without mercy for Jews and heretics.

Two great legislative monuments, which, however, are only private collections without royal sanction, have been attributed to him: 1. *Les Établissements selon l'usage de Paris et d'Orléans*, a kind of civil and criminal code which was compiled in 1272-3, and divided into two books, the first of which hardly did more than confirm the customary and feudal rights, while the second constantly refers back to the Roman law: 2. *Les Établissements des métiers de Paris*, which contains the statutes of one hundred trades, revised by the provost Stephen Boileau in 1258.

The age of sentiment breathed its last with Saint Louis. The general council of Lyons (1274) decreed a crusade,

A new political era; Philip III. (1270). Philip IV. (1285). New war with England (1294).

which no one performed; a decree and a result which were often repeated. Dynastic interests and struggles for political influence will henceforth govern the external relations of the European states, and the crusades and Jerusalem were forgotten in the endeavor to

organize these states in a more regular way. In this new era France plays the principal rôle. For the next half century she was possessed of that preponderance of power in Europe, which had been formerly claimed by the emperor; and within her limits the work of organization went on more vigorously and rapidly than anywhere else. At this time the lead in revolution was taken by the king, as in the time of Hugh Capet it had been by the aristocracy, and as after Louis XIV. it was to be by the people. The French royalty, which formerly had been limited to the four or five counties possessed by Philip I., had already broken down many barriers and was now marching with great strides toward absolute power. It had already imposed upon its turbulent vassals the king's peace, the king's justice, and the king's money, and had assumed the right of making laws for all.

Philip III., the son of Saint Louis, found himself the arbiter of the destiny of the whole South of Europe. By the death of his brother Alfonso, whose body he brought back from Africa, he inherited the county of Toulouse and Rouergue, which were joined to the crown; the county Venaissin, a part of his inheritance, and half of Avignon, he ceded to the Pope.

A defeat suffered by the Count of Foix, who, on being made prisoner in his capital, was forced to promise faithful obedience to the king and to give up part of his lands, served as a lesson to the unruly lords of the Pyrenees; the creation of a parliament at Toulouse, though it had only a short existence,* showed that the royal authority was not to be excluded from the South. The sway of the king of France extended to the Pyrenees, and even beyond them. Philip married his son to the heiress of the kingdom of Navarre, which thus came into the possession of the house of France; and though he failed in his attempts to have a prince who was completely under his influence proclaimed king of Castile, and to obtain the crown of Aragon for his second son Charles, he at least carried his arms as far as Catalonia, where he took the fortress of Girona. The Capetian royalty, which had been steadily successful within the kingdom since Louis VI., was already trying to extend its conquests without. Such attempts were, however, premature, as there was still much to be done within the kingdom before outside conquest could really be begun.† This mistake of the Capetians was repeated by the Valois when Charles VIII. wished to conquer Naples instead of Flanders, and by the Bourbons when Louis XIV. gave Spain to his grandson instead of gaining the Netherlands for France.

* From 1280 to 1291, and composed of a commission from the Parliament of Paris. The Parliament of Toulouse, the oldest in the kingdom, next to that of Paris, received its definite establishment in the fifteenth century.—ED.

† The expedition of Charles VIII. may be taken perhaps as marking the date when international politics in our sense begins, when the various states had become so far organized and consolidated internally that they could attempt to extend their power externally by foreign conquest. During the earlier period there are numerous foreign alliances and foreign intrigues, but in almost every case the object sought was something to be gained in the internal politics of the state rather than an increase of its external influence, and mediæval history knows no international politics of the modern sort —ED.

This unsuccessful expedition to Catalonia was moreover undertaken in pursuance of a merely family interest. Philip wished to punish Don Pedro, king of Aragon, for the support he had given to the Sicilians in their revolt against Charles of Anjou. Philip died on his return from this expedition. The new king, Philip the Fair (1285), was the lawyer's king. All he accomplished was done through them, and he seemed to think any usurpation permissible which could be made by means of a judicial decree. Philip IV. was at first obliged to continue the war in Spain, but he brought it to an end as soon as possible. The treaty of Tarascon, which was signed in 1291, allowed France to withdraw from the ambitious pretensions she had raised across the Pyrenees, and also to retain Navarre.

Philip the Fair was wise enough to realize that these external wars were only injurious as long as internal warfare was not put down, and that the king had still much to conquer inside his kingdom. He had received Quercy from Edward I., king of England, in consideration of his paying him three thousand livres rent, which, however, he did not pay. This only tempted him to take more. A quarrel broke out in 1292 between some sailors of Normandy and of England, and there was soon war between the seamen of the two countries. Instead of taking up arms, Philip began proceedings in his capacity of suzerain by ordering his civil officers pacifically to take possession of Guienne. The English garrisons drove them out; for this misdeed Philip summoned the king of England before his court, and the latter consented to a forty days' sequestration of his province. When forty days passed and Philip did not give it up, Edward indignantly took up arms against his suzerain, a crime deserving the punishment of forfeiture. The lawyers immediately decreed the confiscation of the fiefs of the king of England. In the end the appeal had to be made to arms, but Philip had the advantage of having at least the appearance of law on his side.

In this war, which can be considered as the prelude to those of the next century, we must notice the alliance of Philip with the Welsh and the Scotch, and that of Edward with the Count of Flanders and Adolf of Nassau, king of the Romans. This combination of allies continued for a long time.

The events of this war resulted in favor of the French

king. He formed an alliance with the Duke of Brittany, which closed that approach to France, which had become very convenient and so often thrown open to the English. He had nothing to fear from Adolf of Nassau, and even concluded a remarkable treaty of alliance with the latter's rival, Albert of Austria by which it was said France stipulated for the recognition of the Rhine as her boundary. If his party in Scotland fell with Balliol, it arose again with Wallace. He himself invaded Flanders with complete success (1297), while another French army held Guienne. Edward was kept in England by the Scotch, and begged for a truce, which was concluded under the mediation of Pope Boniface VIII. on most favorable terms to France (1298). The two kings delivered up their allies into each other's hands; and Edward defeated and killed Wallace, while Philip sent Guy, the Count of Flanders, to the castle of the Louvre, and took possession of all his country with the exception of Ghent. He promised to increase the liberties of the burghers, but they were imprudent enough to reveal their wealth by the magnificence of their dress. "I have seen six hundred queens," said the queen of France with displeasure. Flanders was in fact the richest country in Europe, for it was the country where the most work was done. In this fertile country population and wealth had rapidly increased. There were many cities, containing an active and industrious population, who were attached to England from the fact that the wool used in their manufactures was derived from there, as were the cities of Guienne, especially Bordeaux, because England furnished them with a steady market for their wines. The cloths of Flanders were sold throughout all Christendom, even as far as Constantinople, and the cities of the Netherlands were the markets where the products of the North, brought thither from the Baltic, were exchanged for those of the South, which came from Venice and Italy by the Rhine.

Philip appointed James Chatillon governor over them; he overwhelmed them with taxes, which incited them to revolt. The French nobles hastened thither under Robert of Artois, to restore order and to pillage these peasants. With the imprudence which they have so often shown, they plunged head first into a ditch with which the Flemings had protected their front, and more than 6000 were massacred. This battle of Courtray (1302) was a terrible

revelation to the French lords ; it showed them that villeins could have as much courage as nobles, and, like them, knew how to fight. Philip the Fair, who had lost his brother Robert of Artois and his chancellor Peter Flotte in this battle, marched upon Flanders with an army raised by means of forced contributions. He was victorious at Mons-en-Puelle (1304), but the Flemings still resisted. To put an end to the war he restored Flanders to her count, and only retained French Flanders, Lille, Douai, Orchies, and Béthune.

Thus the French royalty was forced to draw back before the Flemish democracy, but the German royalty almost at same time was obliged to retreat before the Swiss democracy. The isolated communes of France succumbed ; in Flanders and in Switzerland, they joined forces and were triumphant.

Philip the Fair, in order to rule far and wide as he wished to do, required a great deal of money. The expenses

A new struggle between the Papacy and the State (1295-1304).

of the administration, the army, the fleet, and the subsidies to foreigners became enormous, while the resources remained just what they were under the feudal system, that is they amounted to almost nothing. The result was that the kings grew perfectly indifferent to the means employed as long as money was raised. Philip pilaged the Jews, but in this he only followed the ancient tradition. He also gradually lowered the standard of the money, and imposed taxes upon the clergy. This latter course raised a storm, which proved nothing less than the renewal of the quarrel between the Papacy and the Empire.*

The quarrel between Pope and Emperor is too often represented as a struggle between Italy and Germany,

* The struggle between the Empire and the Papacy was a contest for supremacy between two world theories and two world powers—the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Catholic Church. It was the outgrowth of purely mediæval ideas. The contest between Philip and Boniface was different in principle. It was a struggle of the mediæval Papacy, that is, a real political power throughout Europe built up upon the ideas of Gregory VII., with the new, modern nation, which had had no existence in the time of Gregory but which was now coming into existence everywhere, and naturally with its growing sense of national unity and strength was disposed to resist vigorously the old papal claims. This struggle in France is to be likened to that in England between Henry II. and Thomas à Becket, rather than to that between the Papacy and the Empire.—ED.

while these two countries were merely the principal theater of hostilities. It extended throughout the whole of Europe, because it really was the struggle between the spiritual and temporal powers, which has lasted almost to the present day. In the time of Gregory VII. and Innocent IV. it was carried on mainly by the Pope and the Emperor; in the time of Boniface VIII. the king of France was the opponent of the Holy See.

Boniface VIII., a native of Anagni, had been a canon at Paris and at Lyons. When he was elected Pope, on the abdication of Celestin V., the great family of the Colonna, the Ghibellines of Rome, accused him of having forced the abdication; he immediately banished them. The world had greatly changed since the time of the Innocents and the Gregorys, but none the less did Boniface resume their projects. The day of his installation his horse was led by the kings of Sicily and of Hungary, and during the banquet they waited upon him at table, with their crowns on their heads. In the Bull *Unam sanctam* his language even surpasses that of Innocent III.; for instead of being content with acknowledging the existence of two powers, the spiritual and the temporal, of which one was inferior to the other, he seemed to attempt to absorb the latter and to completely subordinate the royal power to the tiara.

Great force was given to his pretensions by the fact that as under Justinian the *corpus juris civilis* had been drawn up by collecting the edicts of the emperors and the opinions of their jurisconsults, and in this way they had been made imperishable, so since the time of Gregory IX., or even earlier, the *corpus juris canonici*, or the canon law, had been forming by writing the pontifical decretals and rescripts in a collection which grew unceasingly.

This ecclesiastical law was interpreted by the canonists, and as, in the interpretation of any law, the spirit of the legislator is always what is sought for, the jurisconsults, in studying this law, encountered first of all the spirit of papal dominion which had inspired it; for instance, the right of deposing kings and emperors, which could be read in every line of it. Therefore they tried to make this spirit prevail. Thus the Papacy possessed in all the Christian states advocates who maintained the cause of its ambition.

In right of these same principles of canonical law, the Pope was able not only to impose religious laws, but also to

exempt from them; he possessed the right of granting dispensations, a right which cost the Papacy very dear in later times. He also claimed the right of disposing of ecclesiastical benefices, at first of a certain number. Honorius III. only asked that each church should have two prebendaries appointed by the Holy See, but later Clement IV., Boniface VIII., and Clement V. introduced the theory that to the Pope, as universal patron, belonged the distribution of all benefices. Under Henry III. England was in a manner invaded by Italian priests. The pretension to the right of disposing of the ecclesiastical revenues of all Christendom followed as a natural consequence; and from 1199 Innocent III. levied from the whole Christian clergy a fortieth of their income, which he had collected by his own agents. Under various pretexts his successors renewed and multiplied orders of this kind, and we must not forget that during the Middle Ages the clergy possessed about one-third of Germany and a fifth each of France and England.

The princes were made uneasy by this great wealth of the clergy, and some of them felt the danger of it and took measures to restrict the increase of this wealth by limiting by law the right of the clergy to acquire any landed property which should come into mortmain, that is, where any future change of ownership became impossible, and where the land was exempt from public charges. This was a right which, in a time when land was the only capital, insured an enormous power to the united and disciplined body into whose possession it came. Such was, among others, the object of the law published in England in 1279 under the title of the Statute of Mortmain.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the fortunate rival of the civil jurisdictions, had made a like progress. It was not the clergy alone who were removed from lay tribunals, but many persons by means of a simple religious vow, or by a promise to go on a crusade, acquired the same privilege, and a great many suits were carried at once before the ecclesiastical tribunals. At first the secular power was not opposed to this, and several kings favored the progress of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, undoubtedly because the feudal justice lost more than the royal justice by this progress. In England, however, this extension of the jurisdiction of the clerical tribunals had been in the twelfth century the cause of a bloody conflict between the temporal power and

the clergy. But Thomas à Becket, though dying, was triumphant. Whatever the clergy and the bishop had acquired in the matter of jurisdiction, the Holy See now tried to obtain by means of appeals to the court of Rome, just as it was trying to obtain, by levies of money, a part of the wealth they had acquired.

Armed with the canons of the Church, which seemed to put the law on his side, and sustained by the clergy and by the great army of mendicant friars, how could Boniface VIII. fail to think that the head of a Church which possessed so much wealth, such a system of land, and so extended a jurisdiction, was the superior of kings? In 1300, he would have smiled at any doubt on the subject, when at the great jubilee appointed by him, he appeared, it was said, before the numberless Christians who had gathered at Rome, in the imperial ornaments and preceded by two swords,* and when the treasures of Europe were poured out before the altar of St. Peter. Three years later the whole scene had changed, and the temporal power, after so many defeats, had suddenly triumphed, and it was definitely decided that Europe was not to become a theocracy. This blow to the papal power was struck by France.

Nevertheless, since France existed, she had never been unworthy of the title of eldest daughter of the Roman Church. Under Clovis she had been the right arm of the Church against the Arians, under the Carolingians against the Lombards, the Greeks, and the idolators of Germany, and later still against the Albigenses. France had sent many men to the crusades, and had given shelter to fugitive popes. She was covered with monasteries, and her University of Paris, her doctors, and her Saint Bernard, were among the lights of Catholicism. It was with great reluctance that the popes had excommunicated Philip I. and Philip Augustus for flagrant sins against the moral law. They had given to the house of France the kingdom of Sicily, of which it had taken possession, and that of Aragon, which it was unable to gain. Even Boniface praised the family of the Capets on every occasion. But the interests of the two powers, which had been united so long,

* In mediæval theories the two swords represented, as suggested by Luke xxii. 38, the delegated Divine authority, the one over temporal affairs, the other over spiritual affairs. The Pope's act was a virtual claim to exercise the authority of both.—ED.

now became opposed to each other, and war broke out under a hard, merciless man, who allowed no considerations to interfere with his projects.

The difference between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII. began in 1296, over the question of the taxes imposed by the king on the churches of France for the needs of the war. By the Bull *Clericis laicos*,* the Pope advanced the pretension that no tax could be imposed upon ecclesiastics without the consent of the Holy See. He excommunicated every clergyman who paid a tax without the order of the Pope, and all who should establish such taxes "whoever they might be" (1296). This was to exempt the immense land of the Church from the action of the local governments in behalf of the national needs; it was to constitute a separate State within the State. The French royalty, which had been occupied for the last century in trying to re-establish the unity of authority which had been broken down by the feudal system, could not permit one-fifth of the French territory to be removed from its control. Philip replied in his defense by forbidding by law all foreigners to sojourn in France, which expelled all the Roman priests and the bearers of the bull, and by not allowing any money to go out of the country without his permission, which was intended to intercept the revenue of the Holy See.† The Pope was intimidated by the anger of the king, and took a step backward. He incited him to be on his guard against the treacherous counsellors who surrounded him, and besought him to treat the Church mildly, who, whenever she should see him in danger, would spare no means to help him, "not even the cross and the chalice." This, however, was not enough for Philip; he claimed that as the clergy were citizens of the State as well as members of the Church they should contribute to its defense, if not by taking up arms at least by giving subsidies. The Pope authorized the levying of certain tithes, recognizing the right of the royal power to impose such taxes, and only reserving for himself the right of preventing extortions. Peace seemed to be re-established, and Boniface VIII. sealed his reconciliation

* The papal bulls are designated by their first words.

† This prohibition, which also applied to horses, arms, and other objects, was quite as much directed against the English and the Flemings with whom Philip was at war,

by pronouncing the canonization of Saint Louis the following year. But in 1301 the quarrel was revived by the supercilious interference of the Pope in the internal affairs of the country. One of his legates, Bernard Saisset, the bishop of Pamiers, defied the king to his face. The king had him arrested on the pretext of a conspiracy against his authority, and began a suit against him. However, he did not dare strike a blow against a man who was clothed with an ecclesiastical office, and asked the archbishop of Narbonne, his metropolitan, to degrade him canonically. The archbishop referred the matter to the Pope, who convoked a council at Rome, and threatened the king with excommunication for having dared lift his hand against a bishop. At the same time he promulgated the Bull *Ausculat fili*, in which he reproached the king with overwhelming his people, both the clergy and the laity, with exactions, with disturbing them by changing the value of their money, with encroaching on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with annulling the effect of episcopal sentences, and, finally, with swallowing up the revenues of vacant churches under the abusive pretexts of the right of *regale*.* Moreover, the pretension of the Pope that there was within the kingdom a power above that of the king's, that of the Holy See, was discernible in his words: "God has placed us, unworthy though we be, over kings and kingdoms, in order that we shall root out, destroy, disperse, edify, and plant in his name and by his doctrine. Do not allow yourself to think that you have no superior, and that you are not subject to the head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Whoever thinks this is a madman; whoever supports him in this belief is a heretic."

The reproaches of the Pope on the subject of the bad administration of Philip the Fair were well founded; but, as we have already seen, neither the king nor the Pope had any very clear idea of the limits of the temporal authority of the former or the spiritual authority of the latter. As every evil deed was a sin, the pontiff thought that he had a right to judge and punish the reprehensible acts of the prince, and the prince on his side, guided by lawyers, who followed the spirit of the Roman law and recognized the

* The recognized right of the king to collect the revenues of a church of which he was the guardian during the time between the death of the last incumbent and the consecration of his successor.

absolute authority of the king, believed that he had a right to interfere in the administration of the churches, and desired that the bishops, like the rest of his subjects, should be under the jurisdiction of his officers and his tribunals, just as they were at the time of the Roman emperors and of Charlemagne. These rival pretensions were the cause of a bitter quarrel. Philip declared in full court that he would disinherit his children if they condescended to recognize any power above them, in temporal affairs, except that of God.

As the pontifical bull contained certain home truths, Philip had it publicly burned* (1302). His famous chancellor, Peter Flotte, then composed and distributed to the public what was supposed to be an extract from this bull, in which the original terms of the Pope, in claiming the temporal as well as the spiritual power, were exaggerated; and he also composed a reply to this false bull in the same style: "Philip, King of the French, by the grace of God, to Boniface who calls himself Pope, little or no greeting. Let your very great fatuity know that—etc." This was putting himself in the wrong as far as the outside appearances went, though he was in the right as to the main matter.

The king must have felt entirely supported by the opinion of the nation to dare advance so far in the direction of violence and outrage. This was in fact the case, and he wished to prove it. On the 10th of April, 1302, he assembled in the Church of Notre Dame a parliament, to which for the first time deputies from communes were admitted, and which for this reason is considered as the first assemblage of the States General. Clergy, barons, and commons all pronounced in favor of the king, and in an address, which was supposed to come from the deputies of the third estate, spoke thus to the king: "To you, most noble prince, to you, our lord Philip, the people of your kingdom present this entreaty and demand, that you shall preserve the sovereign freedom of this state, which will not permit you to recognize as your sovereign on earth, in your temporal affairs, any other than God." Thus the first word spoken by the people of France was a cry for national independence.

* This public burning of the Bull *Ausculat feli* by the king is now regarded as extremely doubtful.—ED.

To this assembly of France Boniface VIII. opposed one of the Church. Forty-five prelates left the kingdom to go to a synod at Rome, in spite of the threats of Philip, who seized their goods and commenced legal proceedings against them. Boniface now promulgated the famous Bull *Unam Sanctam*. In this he declared that the Church is a single body and has but a single head ; that it possesses the two swords, one spiritual, the other temporal ; the former should be used by the Church, the latter for the Church ; the former was in the hands of the priesthood, the latter in those of the barons and kings, but was only to be used when and in what manner the priesthood should permit. After this declaration Boniface excommunicated Philip, who persisted in his hostile measures.

Philip, however, had again assembled his States General (1303), putting his trust in the firm support which he had found in the representatives of his country. The lawyers showed great feeling against the Pope. William of Nogaret, professor of law at Toulouse, accused him of simony, heresy, and of the most infamous vices. Another lawyer, William of Plasian, proposed that the king should convoke a general council and summon Boniface to appear before it. Both these men were from the south, and undoubtedly some old Albigensian leaven stirred them up against the papal power,—the executioner of their country : the grandfather of Nogaret had been burned as a heretic. One of the counsellors who had the most influence with the King, Peter Dubois, went even further and demanded the suppression of the temporal power of the Pope ; the proposition of Plasian was adopted. It was necessary to seize the person of the Pope in order to arraign him before the tribunal by which he was to be condemned. William of Nogaret went to Italy, where he came to an understanding with Sciarra Colonna, a Roman noble, who was a mortal enemy of the Pope. Boniface was then in his native city, Anagni. By means of money Nogaret gained over the chief of the soldiers of Anagni, and entered the place one night with four hundred men at arms and several hundred foot-soldiers. On hearing the noise they made in entering the city, and their cries of “Death to the Pope ! Long live the King of France !” Boniface thought his last hour had come. The active old man (he was eighty-six years old) showed no weakness. He clothed himself in his pontifical

garments, seated himself on his apostolic chair with the tiara on his head, the cross in one hand and the keys of St. Peter in the other, and thus awaited his murderers. They called on him to abdicate, and Colonna cried : " Son of Satan, give up the tiara you have usurped ! " He replied : " Here is my head, here my neck ; betrayed like Jesus Christ, if I must die like Him, at least I will die as Pope." Sciarra Colonna dragged him from his throne, struck him with his iron glove, and would have killed him, if Nogaret had not prevented him. " O wretched Pope," said this grandson of the Albigenses, " consider and see the kindness of my lord the King of France, who, in spite of the distance of his kingdom, preserves and defends you through me." In this way at least the scene was described.

Nevertheless Nogaret hesitated to drag the old man away from Anagni. He allowed the people time to recover from their stupor. The citizens armed themselves, and the peasants collected and together they drove the French from the city. The Pope, for fear that poison should be mixed with his food, had remained three days without eating, and shortly afterward died of shame and anger at the unworthy insults he had endured.

With Boniface VIII. fell the haughty power of the Roman pontiff, which two centuries before had kept the emperor, the supreme representative of the temporal power, standing barefoot in the snow for three days. This vengeance, however, was not taken by the emperor, but by the king of France, who now held almost the same place in Europe that was formerly held by the emperor, and who represented more than any other sovereign the principle of the separation of nationalities, which the pontifical government had desired wholly to eradicate, and also that of the independence of the temporal government, which the Holy See had wished to subordinate to the ecclesiastical power.

Philip the Fair had failed in his attempts against the Flemish soldiers, a new power, but he had succeeded against the Papacy, a power of former days. He did not feel that his success was complete until he had the Papacy completely under his control.

The one thought of the successor of Boniface, Benedict XI., in his short pontificate of seven months, was to reconcile the two ancient allies, the Papacy and France, and he

**The Papacy
at Avignon
(1309-1376).**

revoked all the excommunications pronounced by Boniface except those against Nogaret, Colonna and the authors of the attack on Anagni. His death has sometimes been attributed to poison, but that is improbable. Philip, however, took measures to gain control of the election of the new pontiff; and Bertrand de Goth, archbishop of Bordeaux, was proclaimed pope, with the name of Clement V., after having promised the king to follow all his wishes.

The Papacy, from the time when it became a power notoriously subordinate to the king of France, lost much of its moral authority over the Christian world. Clement V. did not dare appear at Rome; he was crowned at Lyons (1305), and took up his residence at Avignon, a possession of the Holy See to the west of the Alps, where both by his manner of life and his weak subserviency to the king of France, he gave great cause for scandal. After him seven popes resided in this city, and were completely under the influence of France (1309-1376). This was the time of the Babylonian captivity, which unsettled the Church and prepared the way for the great schism of the West, which itself was the precursor of the Reformation.

Philip was never content with half a vengeance. After Boniface's death, he wished to have his memory condemned and his bones burned like those of a heretic, in order to give success to his cause and to remove the effects produced throughout Christendom by his violent deeds. In vain did Clement V. use all his complaisance and his efforts to escape from the false position in which he had placed himself. He succeeded in avoiding pronouncing the sentence himself, but was obliged to summon an œcumenical council to judge a cause which was in reality that of the Papacy itself. The council met at Vienne in 1311, and declared that Boniface VIII. had always been orthodox, but that Philip had not committed any sin against the Church.

Villani describes a dark scene, the sinister interview between the Pope and the king in the forest of St. Jean-d'Angély, where the latter sold the tiara and the former bought it. This interview really never took place, but certain conditions were undoubtedly made and accepted. One of these was no less a thing than the destruction of the Order of the Templars. This military order, the living reminder of the crusades, was an obstacle and a danger in the path of the royal power by

Condemnation
of the Templars
(1307).

its devotion to the Holy See, its intimate connection with all the nobility of Europe, especially with that of France, from which it was mainly recruited, its popularity gained by valor, its extension throughout Christendom, where it possessed more than 10,000 manors and a number of impregnable castles, and finally its firm union in an organization which placed the knights under the control of a grand master. Besides all these considerations they were very rich ; in the treasury of the order there were 150,000 gold florins, without counting all the silver and the precious vessels.

Nothing was known of what happened in the houses of the order. Everything was kept secret ; but vague rumors spoke of orgies, scandals, and impieties. Philip could with the same blow overthrow these men who were so much to be feared, and gain possession of rich spoils.

On the morning of the thirteenth of October, 1307, the Templars were arrested throughout all France. This was an iniquitous deed, but it shows the power of the king, and with what promptness he was obeyed. His influence was so great that he caused all the sovereigns of Europe to make the same arrests. In vain did Clement V. try to call this formidable process before his own court ; Philip maintained that in this affair he was acting as the champion of the Church. The charges brought against the Templars were of secret impiety and of a profound immorality, and they did not succeed in clearing themselves entirely from these accusations, to which some weight was given by their constant intercourse with the East. Torture was used with the usual result of extorting all sorts of avowals, both false and true. Philip, by an assembly of the States General, convoked at Tours, declared that the knights were worthy of death (1308). Provincial councils were then assembled to judge them ; that of Paris was presided over by Margney, the archbishop of Sens, and brother of the king's first minister. Fifty-four Templars were here condemned to die at the stake, and this frightful sentence was carried out (1310). Two years later Clement V., in the Council of Venice, pronounced the abolition of the order. After this Philip the Fair assumed the cross and promised to go in their place to the Holy Land. Finally, in 1314, James du Molay, the Grand Master of the Temple, and several other dignitaries, were brought from prison, where they had suffered fearful things from torture and from

the dampness of their cells. The Grand Master and the Commander of Normandy, after having retracted their previous avowals, were condemned to the flames; they died protesting their innocence. A popular legend was founded on their death: it was rumored that the Grand Master had summoned the Pope and the king to appear before the throne of God, the one at the end of forty days, the other at the end of the year. Philip died on November 29, 1314.

During this reign two new elements of the government either made their appearance or were organized, namely, the States General and the Parliaments. An

The administration of Philip IV. The reign of his three sons.

ordinance of 1303 decreed that twice a year the parliament should be held at Paris, the *échiquier* at Rouen, and the *grands jours* at Troyes.* The parliament of Paris was permanently fixed in that city, where, indeed, it had always been the custom to hold it. The institution of the *ministère public*, or of magistrates who were charged to defend the rights of the king, and later the rights of society in general, in all suits, seems to date back to Philip the Fair.

Philip IV. often changed the value of the money, and he made it so difficult for the lords to coin money that they preferred to sell their right to do so to the king. As he needed money at whatever price he had to pay for it, he freed many of his serfs, disguising his interested motives under fine words, concerning the "freedom of every human creature." He imposed taxes on everything, even on the hay sold in the market, which caused in 1304 a great rising in Paris. Money became a power, and its increased rapidity of circulation demanded the institution in 1305 of fourteen bureaux of exchange in different parts of the kingdom and of the creation in the parliament of a chamber of

* The Parliament of Paris, the supreme court of the kingdom, was a gradual development from the earlier king's court, *curia regis*, by giving to it greater definiteness of composition and procedure, and fixed times and places of meeting. The ordinance of 1303 recognized already established customs. The courts mentioned in the text for Normandy and Champagne, with that for Toulouse mentioned above, were commissions from the Parliament of Paris, substituted by the kings for the supreme courts of these great feudal dominions when they were annexed to the crown. The system was afterwards extended still further and gave rise in the fifteenth century to the permanent provincial parliaments.—ED.

accounts. This indicated a great social change. War had already lost its feudal character and began to be carried on by mercenaries. Philip the Fair defeated the Flemish fleets by Genoese galleys.

Three sons of Philip the Fair ruled after him. Under the first, Louis X., the nobility were in active opposition to the lawyers; they formed confederations and demanded the restoration of the "good customs of the time of Saint Louis," and dragged the king with them in this reaction, of which the victims were the ministers of Philip the Fair, Enguerrand de Marigny and Raoul de Presle (1315). Louis X. continued to give freedom to serfs, "because in the country of the *Franks* no one should be a *serf*." But he obliged them to buy their liberty, which greatly lessened the boon,—firstly, because it must be paid for; and secondly, because they were not free to refuse it.

At the death of Louis X. (1316), as he only left one daughter, Jane, and as his wife was pregnant, the question as to the succession of women came up for the first time. The barons, especially the Duke of Burgundy, Jane's uncle, wished that the crown should be given to the daughter of the king, in case the queen did not give birth to a son. The queen gave birth to a son, but he only lived a few days. At once Philip V., the brother of Louis X., who was invested with the regency, was crowned at Rheims, and he caused the clergy and the bourgeoisie of Paris, who were assembled in the market-place, to declare that "a woman never could succeed to the crown of France,"—an entirely new principle, and one nowhere to be found in the Salic law, to which it has so often been referred.


The reign of Philip V. was a strange mixture of wise ordinances for the administration of the rivers and forests, and for the establishment of a unity of weights and measures throughout the kingdom, and at the same time of persecutions of the Franciscans, lepers, and Jews, of accusations of witchcraft, and of bloody massacres. When the people saw Philip V. die, in his turn, without male issue, they thought that a curse hung over the family of Philip the Fair (1322).

The reign of Charles IV., called the Fair, was very much like that of his brother. The persecutions and executions continued; the members of the parliament grew bolder and bolder, and had a lord of the south, Jourdain de l'Isle,

who was famous for his cruelty, hung on "the common gallows."

Besides this, he favored the revolution in England that deposed Edward II., and received the homage of the latter's son for Guienne and Ponthieu. He almost succeeded in gaining the imperial crown of Germany. But a certain fatality was attached to this house. These tall and handsome princes, who all seemed to have the promise of a long career, died in the prime of life,—Philip the Fair at forty-six, Louis X. at twenty-seven, Philip the Long at twenty-eight, and Charles the Fair at thirty-four. The people considered these early deaths as a sign of the vengeance of Heaven on the family who had laid violent hands upon Boniface VIII., who perhaps had poisoned Benedict XI., and who had burned the Templars.

The Middle Ages are now drawing to their close, especially in France, for all that had most flourished in them, the crusades, chivalry, and feudalism, had either come to an end or were very near it. The Papacy, baffled in Boniface VIII., was a prisoner in Avignon; the successor of Hugh Capet was a despot, and the sons of villeins sat in the States General along with the nobles and the clergy.



CHAPTER XXVI.

PROGRESS OF ENGLISH INSTITUTIONS FROM THE GRANTING OF THE MAGNA CHARTA UNTIL THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR (1217-1328).

Pledges made by the Magna Charta (1215). Henry III. (1216).—The League of the Barons; Provisions of Oxford; the Parliament (1258). Edward I. (1272). Conquest of Wales (1274-1284).—War with Scotland (1297-1307); Balliol, Wallace and Bruce.—Edward II. (1307); Progress of Parliament.

WE have seen that the Magna Charta dated back to the time of John Lackland. The English monarchy, which from the first had been strong enough to make itself feared by the barons and the middle classes, and even by the clergy, found these three classes in league against it. It will now be shown how liberty for all resulted from their common efforts, the barons having made stipulations for the middle classes at the same time as for themselves, because they had need of their support.

Pledges made
by the Magna
Charter (1215).
Henry III.
(1216).

In this memorable document the king promised the clergy that he would respect the liberty of the Church, particularly in the matter of elections; he promised the lords to observe the limits laid down, in the time of Henry I., to his feudal rights of relief, guardianship, and marriage; he promised the middle classes not to lay any tax on the kingdom without the consent of the common council; and he granted to all the famous law of Habeas Corpus,* and of the jury, the foundations of the liberty and individual security which have ever since been England's noblest attri-

* The Habeas Corpus rests upon the clause in the Magna Charta which says; "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned . . . unless by the legal judgment of his peers or unless by the laws of the land." Its great development as a check on the crown is in the seventeenth century. It does not become a statute till 1679.—ED.

butes. Finally, he gave to the Court of Common Pleas a fixed residence. Another charter, called the Forest Charter,* joined with the former, moderated the extreme severity of the punishments inflicted for violations of the hunting laws in the king's forests, and gave the liberties acquired greater security by the establishment of a commission of twenty-five barons charged with seeing it carried into effect and with obliging the king by every means in their power to reform abuses.

When John died, the barons abandoned his rival, Louis of France, and turned to his son, Henry III. As he was still a child he was placed under the guardianship of the Earl of Pembroke, and was made to confirm the Magna Charta (1216). Thus from his infancy he was in the habit of protesting his respect for the fundamental compact of English liberty, though it was repugnant to all the English kings, and he himself repudiated it on more than one occasion.

During almost the whole of his reign, which began with a minority, the royal power was eclipsed by the private influences which struggled for mastery at the court : first, the Earl of Pembroke, then Hubert de Burgh, who succeeded him, and Peter des Roches, his rival and a native of Poitou, bishop of Winchester. The last-mentioned drew great numbers of his fellow-countrymen to the court, who took possession of all offices to the great discontent of the Norman barons. Later (1236), Henry III. having married Eleanor of Provence, the court was crowded with Provençals, while one of the Queen's uncles, Peter of Savoy, brought from his mountains a bevy of poor young girls whom the king obliged his barons to marry. Another uncle of Eleanor was made primate archbishop of Canterbury. Finally, the court of Rome took possession in a way of England, owing to the numbers of Roman clergymen to whom English benefices were given. They fell upon the country in a crowd, and possessed at that time as much as 70,000 marks of revenue.

No glory was shed about the English name at that time to compensate for the ravages of those foreign leeches. St. Louis defeated Henry III. at Taillebourg and at Saintes,

* There was no separate Forest Charter. These provisions are a part of the Magna Charta.—ED,

and only left him his French provinces through an excess of honesty. His second son Edmund, to whom the Pope Alexander IV. had offered the throne of Sicily, then occupied by Manfred, was not able to hold it. His brother Richard of Cornwall, who was elected emperor by the enemies of the Swabian house, saw them turn against him when his purse was empty.

Thus England's money was frittered away while she derived no profit from it. Henry III. tried by every possible means to raise money. Naturally he did not spare the miserable Jews: they were accused of frightful crimes, as, for instance, of having subjected a child to flagellation and crucifixion. The Jews could not defend themselves. But when the king undertook to fleece the Christians too, that was a very different matter, and the barons then made a stand.

Although Henry III. had sworn four different times, and with great solemnity, to respect the Magna Charta, he did

League of the
Barons. Pro-
visions of Ox-
ford. Parlia-
ment (1258).

not scruple to violate it in what concerned the imposts, and all the more because the Pope had released him from his oaths. The barons showed great forbearance. But when in 1258 an envoy from Alexander IV. arrived

at London to demand 40,000 marks, besides interest, on account of Edmund's affair in Italy, the indignant barons resolved to tie the king down by a public constitution, and no longer trust to an oath, a weak support when dependent on a conscience such as his. On the eleventh of June, 1258, in the great national council at Oxford, the first assembly which had officially received the name of parliament,* they forced the king to confide the work of reform to twenty-four barons, twelve of them only to be appointed by him. The twenty-four delegates published the famous Statutes or Provisions of Oxford; the king confirmed the Magna Charta; the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the judges and other public officers, including the governors of the castles, were to be responsible to the twenty-four. Finally, parliament was to be convoked three times a year.

Henry III. protested, and appealed to St. Louis to arbi-

* The first recorded use of the word for a national assembly is in 1246.—ED.

trate between them. The king of France decided in his favor in the assembly at Amiens. But the barons did not accept his decision, took up arms against Henry under the lead of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and son of the conqueror of the Albigenses, and took the king prisoner, together with his son Edward, at the battle of Lewes (1264). Leicester then governed in the name of the king, whom he held captive. It was he who organized the first complete representation of the English nation by writs issued in December, 1264, which directed the election of two knights from every county, and of two citizens or burgesses from each one of the large or important towns of England.

Thus an alliance, fruitful for English liberty, was sealed between the nobles and the commons by the admission of the lesser nobility and the middle class together to the country's great council. Leicester, who was not cordially supported by the great nobles, did not long keep the power in his hands. The Earl of Gloucester brought about a division; Prince Edward escaped. They both collected an army and fought the Earl of Leicester at Evesham, where he was defeated and killed (August, 1265). Henry III. again became king in reality, but did not dare undo the work of Leicester.

Edward I., son of Henry III., was in the Holy Land when his father died (1272). On hearing the news he returned and was crowned. His reign was an important one for England, and brought her much glory; for, on the one hand, the admission of the representatives of the commons to parliament was established as a recognized rule in 1295, thus making the representative system a fixed institution in England; * and, on the other hand, the king-

Edward I.
(1272). Con-
quest of Wales
(1274-1284).

* A vitally important fact at this point in the development of representative institutions in England, was the union into a single body of the representatives of the lesser nobility and of the towns. Upon this depended, in great part at least, whether England should follow out the same line which the continental states were to follow, of division and separation of class interests, and the consequent weakness and ultimate overthrow of the elements of liberty, or whether it should pursue an independent course, in which a close union of people and nobles in a common cause against the power of the crown should make the triumph of liberty secure, however slow. Very important in deciding this question were the existence and influence of the shire moots or county courts in which that union had long existed, and in which the formal election of both knights of the shires and representatives of the towns took place.—ED.

dom was enlarged by the acquisition of Wales, and for a time had Scotland under its sway.

The Celtic race had maintained its independence in the mountains of Wales, while a succession of powers had held the country about them. Besides her independence, Wales had kept her bards, who promised that one day a Welsh prince should sit upon the throne of England, and she offered a refuge to all enemies of the Norman power. Nevertheless a Welsh chieftain had been forced to render homage to Henry III.; but Llewelyn refused it to Edward I., who thereupon marched into his country. After a desperate struggle Llewelyn was killed; his head, crowned with ivy, was exposed on the Tower of London. His brother David took his place. He was made prisoner, and the four quarters of his body distributed through the country, "because he had conspired in different places for the death of the king, his lord." England inflicted this horrible punishment, even until the eighteenth century, on all who were condemned of high treason. The citizens of Winchester and York disputed for the right shoulder of the unhappy man, as if it were an honored relic. Edward organized Wales on the same plan as England, bade the bards be silent, and to change the hopes which their predictions inspired in the Welsh, gave his son the title of Prince of Wales, which has always been held by the heir apparent since that time (1284).

Scotland, like Wales, had retained its independence, although certain of its kings had rendered a passing homage to the king of England. When Edward became king, the throne of Scotland belonged to a young Norwegian princess, who had not taken possession. He succeeded in betrothing her to his son, believing that he was preparing for the happy union of the two countries in this manner. But when "the Maid of Norway" came to seek her throne and her husband, she was not able to accomplish her journey, but died of fatigue at the Orkney Islands. The most important among the many claimants who offered themselves for the throne of Scotland were John Balliol and Robert Bruce. The Scotch referred the decision of the question to Edward. He chose Balliol (1292), with the formal stipulation that Scotland should henceforth own his sovereignty. Balliol soon tried to free himself from that humiliating posi-

War with
Scotland (1297-
1307); Balliol,
Wallace, and
Bruce.

tion. He was defeated at Dunbar (1296), taken prisoner, and sent to die at Andelys, in Normandy. Edward gave the offices and fortified places of Scotland into the hands of the English, and took away the great stone of Scone, on which the kings of Scotland were crowned, and which is still used for the same purpose in England.

Scotland was too proud to allow herself to be treated like a conquered country without resistance. William Wallace, a simple gentleman, led the movement. No one could more valiantly handle the claymore. He fell upon the vanguard of the English army, which had just crossed the Forth by a narrow bridge, near Stirling, and drove it into the river (1297). These brave but ferocious bands were laying waste the north of England when Edward came to the rescue. He conquered at Falkirk (1298), and Wallace, given up by a traitor, was beheaded and quartered.

The third act in this glorious drama of resistance belongs to Robert Bruce, Balliol's rival. When Balliol revolted against Edward, Bruce hoped to be put in his place, and fled to the English camp, and from that time had served in their ranks. One day, after a skirmish with the Scotch, he took his place at table, his hands covered with blood. "See," said some of the English in low tones,—“see this Scotchman feeding upon his own blood.” He heard them, and from very shame made a vow to liberate his country.* He assembled the Scottish barons, who proclaimed him king, and were at first defeated. Scotland would perhaps have fallen under the English yoke forever if Edward I. had not died (1307).

Edward II., a weak and despicable prince, seemed all the more so because he succeeded a sovereign who was energetic and brave. He wished to continue the war with Robert Bruce, and at Bannockburn (1314), he suffered the most complete defeat that is recorded in the annals of England. Scotland's independence was assured. Robert Bruce retained his seat upon the throne.

The plague of this reign was again the influence of favorites and foreigners. Gaveston, a Gascon, later the two Despencers, successively enjoyed the favor of the king and

* This explanation of Bruce's change of sides is of course legendary.—
ED.

incurred the hatred of the barons. The latter were joined [at the end of the reign] by Isabel, daughter of the king of France, Philip the Fair, who had married Edward II. in 1308, and whose cruelty equaled her charms. In 1312 the barons seized Gaveston and beheaded him. In 1326, Isabel herself raised an army on the continent, and, assisted by the nobles, sent the two Despencers to execution and her husband to prison, where he was forced to abdicate in favor of his son, Edward III., and where he was soon assassinated by the orders of that terrible woman.

Liberty took a step in advance, however, under this weak king. Parliament had already voted on the question of taxation. Now, in the second year of Edward II.'s reign, the members added conditions to their vote, and exacted from the king that he should take their advice and redress their grievances. To recapitulate the steps already taken :

In 1215, all England, united against the odious John Lackland, obliged him to grant the *Magna Charta*, a declaration of national liberty.

In 1258, the Provisions of Oxford, under Henry III., established, for the moment, the stated recurrence of the great national council or Parliament.

In 1265, under the same prince, the Earl of Leicester admitted to Parliament the knights of the shire and the representatives of the townspeople, who formed later the Lower House, or House of Commons, while those personally summoned to attend by the king from the great nobles formed the Upper House, or the House of Lords.

Beginning with the year 1295, in the reign of Edward I., the attendance of the county and town members became regular, making Parliament a real representative of the country.

In 1309, in the reign of Edward II., Parliament revealed its possible strength by putting conditions on its vote of taxes.

We see, then, that the foundations of the English Constitution were laid in the thirteenth century ; the fourteenth century confirmed and extended them. It was on this ancient foundation that the power and freedom of England arose in the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR.

Preliminaries of the Hundred Years War (1328-1337).—Battle of Sluys (1340); state of affairs in Brittany.—Crécy (1346), and Calais (1347).—John (1350); Battle of Poitiers; States General; The Jacquerie; Treaty of Brétigny (1360).—Charles V. (1364); Du Guesclin; the great Companies in Spain.—The war with the English renewed (1369); New method of warfare.—Wycliffe.—Wat Tyler and the English King Richard II. (1377).—Deposition of Richard II. and accession of Henry IV. of Lancaster (1399).—Henry V. (1413).—France under Charles VI. (1380-1422); Popular insurrections.—Insanity of Charles VI. (1392); Assassination of the Duke of Orleans (1407); The Armagnacs and the Burgundians.—Henry V. reopens the war with the French (1415). Battle of Agincourt.—Henry VI. and Charles VII. kings of France (1422); Joan of Arc (1421-1431).—Treaty of Arras (1435); Charles VII. at Paris (1436); End of the Hundred Years War.

AT last two countries, both of which had attained a very high degree of power, were going to meet in one of the longest wars known to history; one of these countries, France, was now almost entirely united under her king; while the other, England, had become a nation by the alliance of the Norman barons with the Saxon people and also retained a large domain on the continent, namely, Guienne. There was much more of orderly discipline in the feudalism of England than in that of France, because from its very origin it had been organized and held in check by powerful kings, and because it later undertook certain designs against these kings which it steadfastly pursued and in which it did not scorn to receive the assistance of the people. There was less in the feudalism of France, because it was more frivolous in manners and more contemptuous of the people, both from its natural character and from the circumstances in which it was placed. The court of France was the meeting-place of these feudal nobles of a second age—

**Preliminaries
of the Hundred
Years War.
(1328-1337.**

a chivalrous and brilliant nobility, but better adapted to the splendor of tournaments and passages of arms than to a great war. It formed a bold cavalry, and the finest in Europe, but it was a cavalry unsupported by any infantry, for the footmen of the communes were kept too much in the background and held in too great contempt to be able to take any important part in war: and the foreign infantry, which was hired, fought poorly, as it was ill-treated and little respected. The armies of France were therefore brilliant in their attack, but did not have the endurance necessary to win the final victory. In England, on the contrary, the Saxon archers, who were drilled in the use of the bow from the age of seven years, formed a formidable and respected infantry. They were placed in the front line in battle, and it was through them that the English gained their victories. The nobility of France, which was so vain and so confident in its strength, became much more so after a few advantages gained over the infantry of the communes, when the victory of Mons-en-Puelle, under Philip IV., had effaced the melancholy memory of Courtray. The victory of Cassel, at the beginning of the reign of Philip of Valois, increased this unfortunate confidence of the nobility, which resulted in its ruin and almost in that of France.

We have already spoken of the wealth of Flanders, but we must also mention another characteristic of this country. On this low and moist soil, to drain which a thousand canals had been cut, and among so many cities defended by walls and, still better, by a population accustomed to work at the hardest, and proud of its numbers, strength, and wealth, chivalry had not had a fair field, and there was very little of feudalism in Flanders. Every city had its privileges and it was not prudent to interfere with them, but their Count, Louis of Nevers, belonged to one of the feudal families of France that had little respect for the burgher class. He took it especially ill that these peasants should be so rich, while he, their Count, had not enough for the foolish expenditures to which the nobles had already accustomed themselves. When his exactions brought on a revolt, he asked aid from the new king of France, Philip VI., of Valois, a cousin of Charles IV., who had just succeeded to the throne by virtue of the Salic law. Philip led a fine army into Flanders, and was accompanied by the king of Bohemia, and several foreign princes.

The soldiers of Flanders were utterly defeated near Cassel, and Louis of Nevers was established as count (1328.)

Thus the French nobles thought themselves almost invincible ; while the king of France on his side was powerful, and seemed by wise measures to have removed all possible opposition to his succession. In the first place, he had indemnified one of the pretenders to the throne, Jane of Evreux, by yielding her Navarre* and the counties of Angoulême and Mortain, in exchange for which Champagne and Brie were definitively joined to the crown. In the second place he had demanded and received from Edward III., king of England, feudal homage for Guienne. This same Edward, however, was to enter claim to be the rightful heir of the Capetians, as grandson of Philip IV. by his mother, and to find in France, and even among the royal family, allies who would open the way for him to the throne.

Robert III. of Artois, one of the royal family of France, claimed the county from which he had his name, which was, however, retained by his aunt Mahaut (Matilda or Maud), and by her daughters after her. He was said to have poisoned his aunt and manufactured and used false title deeds against his cousins. When summoned to appear before the court of peers he fled into Brabant and laid the blame on the king himself. To reach a man so well defended as was the king of France by his men of law, he addressed himself to the powers of the other world, to those who, according to the superstitions of the times, received criminal vows, and from whom fortune, worldly success, the pleasures of revenge and the death of an enemy could be obtained—that is, to the Evil One. The art of magic had laid down rules by which to gain the aid of the evil spirits whose legions peopled the lower world ; one of these methods was the making of a wax image resembling the person whose death was desired, which was then baptized, and during a mass said for this purpose a needle was thrust into its heart, and this inevitably resulted in the death of the victim if the operation was correctly performed. Robert was accused of using this means against Philip VI., and then fled to England to avoid a punishment which might

* That is, female succession was recognized in Navarre. She was the daughter of Louis X., and the wife of Philip, Count of Evreux.—ED.

have rendered the magical ceremony of no effect ; once there, he persuaded Edward III. to advance his claims to the crown of France.

Before attacking Philip VI. in France, Edward III. attacked him in England. We have already noticed that Scotland, hostile to England on account of its neighborhood, had been the natural ally of France ever since a Norman prince had reigned at London : just as Flanders was the ally of England because she furnished the latter with the most important market for her wools, which the Flemings employed in their principal industry. Edward III. sent Edward Balliol to Scotland against David Bruce, which latter received aid from Philip. Philip ordered Louis of Nevers, who owed to him his power in Flanders, to drive all English merchants from his States. Edward replied to this by a measure which was well adapted to weigh heavily on the Flemings and which indirectly became the source of one of the great industries of England. He forbade the exportation to Flanders of English wools and the use in his kingdom of cloths made in any but the English workshops (1336) ; immediately the Flemish workshops stood still for want of work and the Flemish workmen crossed the Channel in crowds. This was a final blow to the prosperity of Flanders ; and England would have fallen heir to it if James van Artevelde, a weaver of Ghent, had not assembled the deputies of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, the three principal centers of Flemish industry, in the first of which alone there were 40,000 workshops, and shown them that "they could not live without the King of England : for the whole prosperity of Flanders was founded on the cloth manufacturing, and without wool no cloth could be made." The Flemings were convinced, and drove out their count and formed an alliance with England, without, however, renouncing the obedience due to their suzerain, a matter still serious in those times. The neighboring princes to Flanders, who were both interested in her prosperity and hostile to France, whose power endangered their independence, declared themselves for the king of England. The Emperor Lewis IV. did the same. The alliance between the Papacy and France still continued, and this was reason enough for the Emperor to declare himself in favor of Edward : indeed there was a good deal of justice in his conduct, for since the Papacy had been under the king of France, the head of

Christendom had been subservient to one of its members; and therefore, very naturally, papal authority seemed a thing of the past, and the Emperor, who had so long contested with the Holy See for the supremacy of Europe, seemed now to be alone worthy of exercising such a power. Lewis IV. assembled a diet at Coblenz, at which the king of England and 1700 knights or barons were present, and there promulgated a decree which declared the imperial dignity independent of the Papacy, and the Emperor the chief of the Christian world. He listened to Edward's complaints and appointed him his vicar in the Netherlands. The Pope in turn issued bulls against this imperial decree, and these two fallen powers hurled their thunderbolts at each other without in the least altering the course of events, thus showing that their weight was of small consequence in the political balance, and that the real preponderance had passed into the hands of France and England.

Open war began in 1339. Edward, entering France near Cambray, penetrated as far as the Oise. This was the time

**Battle of
Sluys (1340);
affairs of Brit-
tany; Crecy.
(1346) and
Calais (1347).**

when he first made known his pretended rights to the crown of France, which until then he seemed to have laid aside. The first result obtained by him was his recognition as king of France by the Flemings, who thus succeeded in changing their suzerain without changing the suzerainty. The first great battle was fought at sea (1340). France did not yet possess a navy, but she had gathered from various sources a fleet of 200 vessels. This fleet was poorly commanded and was destroyed by that of Edward at Sluys. Nevertheless the war languished, and after a victory gained by the French at Saint Omer and the failure of Edward to capture Tournay, it was suspended by a truce (1340). In 1341 the hostilities revived in Brittany, where the two kings each sustained a different candidate for the ducal throne. The duke, John III., had just died, leaving no children, and it was now a question to whom the duchy should descend. There were two candidates, one the daughter of the older of John's brothers, who had died before him, Jane of Penthièvre, who had married Charles of Blois, a nephew of Philip VI., the other his younger brother, John of Montfort. According to strict hereditary right, the Countess of Blois should succeed him, but Montfort invoked the Salic law, that recent invention which had

thrown all feudal succession into confusion. The parliament, the nobility, and even Philip of Valois himself, who now opposed the principle by which he had risen to the throne, pronounced in favor of Jane ; Montfort, relying on the burgher class and on the Celtic element in Brittany, claimed the support of England. He recognized Edward as king of France and did him homage. A war now broke out in Brittany between the austere and pious Charles of Blois on the one side and on the other Montfort at first, and after he was taken prisoner his wife Jane of Flanders, a dauntless heroine ; a war which lasted twenty-four years, was difficult and profitless, with no events except the sieges of different cities and fortresses, and small actions by which the great numbers of nobles who were attracted there by the military renown of Jane of Montfort distinguished themselves.

One thing that bitterly excited Brittany against the Count of Blois and against France was the cruel execution of fifteen Breton lords who had gone to see the superb festivities which were continually given by the king of France, at the expense of the people whom he taxed heavily, and of the coinage whose standard he altered unceasingly. They had entered into relations with England, a fact which Philip considered reason enough for their execution (1344). Among the victims was one Oliver of Clisson, whose widow took up arms and whose son joined the army of Montfort.

Edward found this a favorable occasion for attack. With Brittany in arms at the west and Flanders at the east, France was flanked by two formidable enemies, and two passages were opened to him into that country without counting that of Guienne. The situation of affairs determined the campaign for 1345. One English army disembarked in Guienne and gained a victory at Auberoche ; another joined Montfort in Brittany, while a third, commanded by Edward himself, turned toward Flanders. Van Artevelde still ruled this country ; but not content with having made the Flemings subjects of the English king, he wished to give them another count, the Prince of Wales. An assembly of the deputies of the cities, displeased by the ascendancy of a man who had risen from their midst, excited the people against him, and he died the victim of an insurrection. His enemies, however, cared less for a change in his political system than for the satisfaction of their personal jealousy, and after his death they sent ambassadors to the

king of England to renew and strengthen the alliance that had been concluded.

Edward prepared a great armament for the year 1346. A French exile, Godfrey of Harcourt, advised him to make his landing in Normandy, which he devastated. He ascended the Seine with the purpose of menacing Paris, when a lack of supplies obliged him to change his direction, to march toward Flanders, whose soldiers, he learned, were coming to meet him. His army might have been destroyed when crossing the Somme, but he was allowed to establish himself strongly at Crécy, where the skill of the English archers and the rashness of the French nobles made a complete victory easy for him. On the French side there was a loss of 11 princes, 2 archbishops, 80 barons, 1200 knights, and 30,000 soldiers (1346). This victory did not open the whole of France to the English, but it placed Calais, the key to the country, in their hands. It was taken after a long siege, which was made famous by the devotion of Eustace of St. Pierre.

France was defeated at every point. In Scotland David Bruce had been taken prisoner at Neville's Cross (1346); in Brittany, Charles of Blois met the same fate at Roche-Darrien (1347), and last but not least a great natural calamity was added to these other reverses: namely, the Black Death or Florentine plague, "from which a third part of the world died." In the midst of so many misfortunes, however, the crown still continued to gain power. In 1349, Philip VI. bought the seignory of Montpellier from the King of Majorca, and in the same year he gained the dauphiné of Viennois, which was ceded to him by the dauphin Humbert II. Since then it has been the custom to attribute this sovereignty, with the title of Dauphin, to the oldest son of the king of France.

Philip VI. was succeeded by John (1350), who began his wretched reign by committing many acts of violence; he had the constable of Eu, whom he accused of wishing to deliver over the fortress under his charge to the king of England, executed without a trial. Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, who through his mother Jane had some pretensions to the throne of France, followed the royal example. He had the constable of Cerda assassinated, to whom John had given Angoulême,

John (1350);
battle of Poi-
tiers (1356).
States-Gen-
eral; the Jac-
querie; treaty
of Bretigny
(1360).

to which he laid claim, and then took refuge with Edward, who made in 1355 a campaign in Artois, while the Prince of Wales was ravaging the provinces bounding on Guienne.

When the States-General were convoked to ward off these dangers they raised pretensions such as were unheard of until then. They granted 36,000 men-at-arms (about 100,000 men) and five millions of livres, proving that they were actuated by patriotic motives, but they demanded, in return, concessions which recall the Magna Charta of England : the right of administering by receivers, appointed by and answerable to the Assembly, the five millions which they granted ; the establishment of a tax on all three orders alike ; the abolition of the *droit de prise*,* and the right of resisting by force all who attempted to exercise that right ; the necessary intervention of the States-General in matters of war and peace ; and finally a date was fixed for the meeting of the Estates in the following year. The nobles did not easily resign themselves to these encroachments on their privileges, and especially to the extension of the tax to their order. Several of the barons, with Charles of Navarre at their head, opposed the levying of this tax on their lands. One day when the Dauphin Charles, then Duke of Normandy, had invited the king of Navarre and his friends to a banquet, John having learned the hour, came to Rouen and surprised and arrested them himself at the table of his son. In spite of the prayers and tears of the young prince, who seemed to have deliberately enticed the victims into a trap, John had the king of Navarre thrown into prison and had the Count of Harcourt and several others executed.

This act of violence seemed to Edward to give him a favorable opportunity for action. He sent into Normandy an army commanded by the Duke of Lancaster, which was repulsed. In Guienne, the Prince of Wales, or the Black Prince (called so from the color of his armor), penetrated by the Limousin "into the good and fertile country of Berry," advanced as far as Vierzon, and then turned toward Poitiers. He had only 2000 knights, 4000 archers, and 2000 foot-soldiers with him, and King John was there with an army of 50,000 men ; but the battle was fought with

* The *droit de prise* was the right of the lord to take in special cases certain articles belonging to his vassal for his own use.—ED.

the same result as at Crécy. The king fought better, but was taken prisoner, a good part of the nobles who were with him fell like him into the hands of the English, and eleven thousand men were slain on the field of battle, "a loss by which the noble kingdom was severely weakened."

With the king a captive, and the nobles either prisoners or killed, the salvation of France depended on the people, and this younger son, an outcast from the political family of the Middle Ages, now took in hand the government of the kingdom, which had been thrown into confusion by the incapacity of his elder brothers. It was not the people who had been beaten at Crécy and Poitiers. These reverses, on the contrary, had raised their position, for it was evident that they would not have done worse than the nobles, notwithstanding the contempt in which they were held, and that perhaps they would have encountered the English archers with better success than did the knights. It was a new and extraordinary thing for the people to rule. Nevertheless they, or at least their leaders, were not entirely inexperienced in the direction of affairs. Their previous progress had prepared them in some sort. The commoners had been admitted to the Parliament, the Church, and the Universities; they controlled all commerce and formed great industrial corporations. The lawyers and the merchant class, who were soon to become the aristocracy of the third estate, each supplied a leader to the people after the battle of Poitiers: Robert le Coq, bishop of Laon, and president of the parliament; and Etienne Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris.

On the arrival of the news of the disaster, the first care of Marcel was to complete the fortifications of the city, to provide them with cannon, and to barricade the streets. The young Dauphin Charles soon arrived, but little reliance was placed on him; his conduct at Poitiers had been very equivocal, and he had been one of the first to retreat. Charles convoked the States General for the *langue d'oïl* at Paris, for the *langue d'oc* at Toulouse; 800 deputies, of which 400 came from the cities, assembled at Paris. Marcel presided over the third estate, Robert le Coq over the clergy. The nobility had but a small representation, and was led by John of Pecquigny, lord of Vermandois and friend of the king of Navarre. The three orders deliberated separately; but in order to attain more unity of action

they appointed a mixed commission of eighty members. This commission formulated the will of the Estates and demanded the reform of the kingdom; the dismissal, and trial before judges named by the Estates, of the king's principal officers of finance and justice, who were accused of committing malversation and of selling their sentences; the release of the king of Navarre; and the establishment of a council of four prelates, twelve lords and twelve commoners to be elected by the States, without which the Dauphin could do nothing and which should control the whole government. On this condition they granted the Dauphin for a year one-tenth and a half of the revenues of the three orders. By these revolutionary claims the people were in reality taking their place on the throne and assuming the direction of public affairs and the public weal. The Estates of the langue d'oc showed themselves less inclined to innovation, and merely voted 15,000 men and the money necessary to support them. ✓

The Dauphin was by no means willing to agree to such conditions. He skillfully outwitted the deputies of the third estate by persuading them to consult their constituents again, while he himself went to seek aid of his uncle the German emperor, Charles IV., who was at that time publishing his famous Golden Bull in the diet of Nuremberg. The Dauphin went as far as Metz, hoping on his return to find the deputies discouraged and dispersed. On the contrary the provincial estates had assembled and approved the measures of the States General, and the whole country indorsed them to the full (1357). On March 3, the Dauphin was obliged to convoke a general assembly at the palace. The bishop of Laon was the spokesman. He asked the prince to remove from his service twenty-two of his councillors or servitors and to authorize the formation of a council of thirty-six members,* elected by the Estates, "to regulate the needs of the kingdom, and whom all the world should be required to obey." Commissioners were to be sent into all the provinces; and finally the Estates obtained the power of watching over this government created by them, by procuring the right to assemble twice in the year,

* Such a council as this seems never to have been appointed, though some persons selected by the Estates had a place in the king's council for a short time.—ED.

without convocation. As to the reforms, which mainly related to the finances and to the administration of justice, the Dauphin provided for them by the "Great Ordinance of Reform." In this memorable charter he promised never to establish a tax unless voted by the Estates, to divert nothing from the treasury, to leave the raising and the use of the taxes to the delegates of the Estates, to administer justice promptly and impartially, no longer to sell the judicial offices, and not to change the standard of the coinage, for which the provost of the merchants was to furnish a model. The ordinance also reformed the following abuses : the *droit de prise*, forced loans, judgment by commission, and the alienation of the crown domains ; and also declared all the members of the Estates inviolable and authorized armed resistance to any illegal encroachment.

The popular government of 1357 had unfortunately neither the strength, harmony, nor experience to preserve the important gains which the people had just made. At all events, its situation was exceedingly unfavorable ; its credit was shaken by King John, who, from his prison, forbade the Estates to assemble and the people to pay the taxes voted by them. The country was in the most deplorable state. The peasants were overwhelmed with taxes and with heavy ransoms for their captive lords, which were exacted from them with torture, and were no longer able to cultivate the ground, which had moreover been ravaged by the previous military expeditions. They relapsed into a state of vagabondism, and preferred to be the accomplices rather than the victims of the disbanded soldiers of all countries who had been left in France by the end of the war. The Dauphin felt strong enough to declare that he would no longer have any guardians. This was a complete rupture with the Estates, and a resumption of absolute power by the crown.

The people of Paris summoned Charles of Navarre, who had been released from prison, against the Dauphin. This ambitious, clever, and eloquent prince made himself the orator of the populace, and solemnly harangued or "preached" to a large concourse of people, promising to defend the country, and mentioning the fact that he had some claim to the crown of France himself. The Dauphin hoped to counterbalance this new influence by the same means. And as if by a stroke of magic, Paris was suddenly, in the midst of the Middle Ages, adorned with two

forums. The Dauphin, however, lost all he might have gained, by his unfortunate changes in the coinage, though, to be sure, it was the only possible means of procuring any money without convoking the estates. Marcel at once armed the citizens, and gave them, as a sort of uniform, caps which were half red and half blue. At the head of a company of these men he penetrated into the palace of the Dauphin, had his two principal officers, the marshals of Champagne and of Normandy, killed, and placing a Parisian cap upon the prince's head to insure his safety, said to him, while the two bodies were thrown out to the crowd: "I require you, on the part of the people, to ratify the death of these traitors, for they died by the will of the people!" He should have said, by the will of a small part of the people, by the will of the Paris bourgeoisie (1358).

In fact, the farther it advanced, the more did this revolution lose its general character; the ardor of the deputies from the provinces, far removed from their constituents, became chilled, while the commune of Paris, always in the midst of things, without even leaving its own hearth, retained its numbers, its zeal, and its popularity. The Estates, jealous of the influence of the commune, consented to be removed to Compiègne by the Dauphin. The nobles rallied around the prince. He had 700 lances, and with these he lived at his pleasure off the country between the Seine and the Marne, ravaging it as far as Paris, which latter suffered greatly from want of food. A more frightful spectacle had never been seen: the peasants, ruined by the English, by the freebooters, and by their own lords whose ransoms they were obliged to pay, assembled and marched about in bands, under the name of Jacques,* and led by a king of their own making, William Callet by name. In Champagne, in Picardy there were more than 100,000 of them. They were animated with a bitter hatred of the nobles, and considered themselves called upon to destroy them utterly. They pillaged the castles, killed the nobles, and outraged ladies of the highest rank. They were finally attacked on all sides, and 7000 were killed at Meaux. This great peasant insurrection was drowned in blood. This acted like a

* Jacques Bonhomme was the name contemptuously applied to the French peasant class. From it comes the name "Jacquerie" for the insurrection.—ED.

blow aimed at Marcel, and discord began to appear in the commune. The provost of the merchants, obliged to seek help elsewhere, summoned the king of Navarre, promising to help him to the throne of France. However, many of the Parisians were tired of the revolutionary rule and would not take up arms against the Dauphin. During the night of July 13, 1358, while Marcel was changing the watch at the gate of Saint Denis,* through which Charles of Navarre was to enter, he was massacred with those who were with him, by the sheriff Maillard who had discovered the conspiracy. The Dauphin returned to Paris with an army, and had the principal supporters of Marcel either beheaded or exiled.

France was none the better for this turn of affairs. However, peace began to be talked of. The Dauphin first succeeded in calming Charles of Navarre by the treaty of Pontoise, and John, tired of captivity, consented to enter into negotiations with Edward; but under very unfavorable conditions. He was to cede the half, and the better half, of his kingdom, including the mouths of all the rivers; besides this he was to pay a ransom of four million gold crowns. The Dauphin saw that this meant utter ruin to France, and to meet this great danger, consented to assemble the Estates. Very few deputies, came but those who came were full of patriotism. "After the letters from the king had been read and re-read, listened to with attention and well understood, and considered and examined point by point, they decided that the terms of the treaty were too severe, and replied with one voice to the messengers that they would rather bear and endure the great misfortunes from which they were then suffering than allow the noble kingdom of France to be diminished and defrauded: that the King John should still remain in England, and when it pleased God he would provide the remedy for their troubles." Edward III. immediately took up arms again and landed at Calais with a large army, followed by an enormous train. He hoped to have a chance to fight, but none was given him. A new system of defense was adopted in France: it was to avoid all open

* This account of the death of Marcel is no longer accepted. His death probably occurred in full day, and had no connection with the occupation of any of the city gates, but was the result of a royalist conspiracy.—ED.

battles, and to let the invasion wear itself out. The Dauphin stayed at Paris, and after six months of marches and of fruitless provocations Edward arrived at Chartres with an army which was decimated by famine. A violent storm made their plight even worse, and the King of England, stretching out his arms toward the cathedral, vowed to God and to the Holy Virgin that he would no longer oppose a peace. The treaty of Brétigny was concluded (1360), the terms of which were disastrous enough to France, but acceptable considering her utter poverty and the reverses she had sustained. Edward renounced all claim to the crown of France, and received in direct sovereignty Poitou, Aunis, the Angoumois, Saintonge, the Limousin, Perigord, Quercy, Rouergue, the Agénois and Bigorre in the south, and Ponthieu, Calais, and Guines in the north. The ransom of the king was fixed at three millions of gold crowns payable in six years (that is, nearly fifty million dollars).

An occasion soon offered to make good part of these losses. The first ducal house of Burgundy became extinct in 1361, and this great fief fell to the crown. John showed as little wisdom in his peace as in his war policy, and immediately bestowed Burgundy on his fourth son, Philip the Bold, who had fought bravely at Poitiers. This Philip was the founder of the second house of Burgundy, which twice almost ruined France.

John died in 1364, a prisoner again, but this time by his own will and through a chivalrous loyalty, which was made much more easy than the self-sacrifice of Regulus by the gay life and festivities of the English court.

The reign of Charles V. was one of reparation and, as it were, a season of convalescence for the sick and ruined kingdom of France. Three great evils, which were left untouched by the treaties, and were established in the heart of the country, still remained to be cured.

Charles V.
(1364); Du Guesclin; the great companies in Spain.

The king of Navarre and the free companies were together one of these evils. Charles the Bad had gained control of some of those heterogeneous bands of adventurers, which had recently destroyed a feudal army at Brignais, and appointed over them the Captal de Buch, a Gascon adventurer.

Charles V. found an adversary worthy of these men and their leader, an adventurer as bold and even more clever, a

Breton gentleman, who as a child had been the despair of his parents on account of his ugliness, his deformity, and his evil disposition, and who had continually come to blows with his brothers, comrades, and masters, and who had consequently always been covered with bruises and wounds. His mother said : " His father and I would gladly have seen him buried." This quarrelsome little boy became at fifteen a bold tilter, lance in hand, and it was not long before he made the name of Du Guesclin, later so famous, feared throughout his country. With other brave companions at Cocherel, he defeated the adventurers of the Captal de Buch, and took the latter prisoner (1364). The following year the king of Navarre was obliged to sign a treaty by which he gave up his strong places in the basin of the Seine, Mantes, Meulan, and Longueville, which in his hands had proved too dangerous to the peace of France, and received in exchange the seignory of Montpellier. There he was at least out of reach of the English.

The war still continued in Brittany, and Charles sent Du Guesclin thither to crush the English party. But the Breton was less fortunate in his own country, as there he was not supreme in command. Charles of Blois, the head of the French party, would not follow his advice, and was killed at Auray, where Du Guesclin was taken prisoner. Charles at once opened negotiations, and consented to the treaty of Guérande, by which Jane of Blois had the county of Penthièvre and John IV. of Montfort the duchy for which he paid homage to the king.

The battle of Cocherel, however, had not entirely done away with the free companies : there was still much bad blood to be let in France, and a good opportunity was now offered in Spain. Charles V. wished to sustain Henry of Transtamara against Peter the Cruel in his claims to the throne of Castile. Du Guesclin, who had been ransomed by Charles V., pointed out to these brigands the beauty of the country beyond the Pyrenees and of Avignon, the rich pontifical city on the way thither. Thirty thousand Basques, Bretons, Lorrainers, Brabançons, Provençals, French and English, arrived at the city of the Pope, calling themselves, " Pilgrims of God, who had devoutly undertaken to go to Grenada to avenge Our Lord," and who for this pious project demanded 200,000 livres and absolution from their sins. The Pope granted their requests, glad enough to see them

pass by Avignon, which he had feared would be sacked. Du Guesclin brought victory to the cause of Henry of Transtamara; but as soon as all the booty had been collected, his men, whom he had until then succeeded in retaining, disbanded and recrossed the Alps, only two thousand remaining with him. The Prince of Wales, who kept up a splendid court at Bordeaux, could not allow a revolution to take place which would make Castile with her fleet an ally of France. He collected an army in which were many of the adventurers who had just returned from Spain, and forcing an engagement on Henry of Transtamara defeated him in the battle of Najara or Navarette (1367), and took Du Guesclin prisoner. But the Prince of Wales soon returned to France, Du Guesclin was ransomed, went back to Spain, and speedily gained the battle of Montiel, and Henry and the French party were re-established in Castile.

The establishment of a dynasty favorable to France in Castile was a great advantage, but a still greater one was the removal of the free companies from the country. After their departure precautions had been taken to prevent the formation of any other such companies; the forts were put in order, and patrols were organized by the peasants with authorization of the king. Order was restored in the kingdom; the salt tax (*gabelle*) was diminished one half and the aids one quarter on condition that the money so obtained should be used by the citizens in fortifying their cities. Charles V. had given the government of the two provinces Languedoc and Auvergne to his brothers the dukes of Anjou and Berry (not in fiefs as formerly), so that these two countries, which adjoined the English possessions, were no longer subject to continual incitements to revolt, and "the king of France had friends on every side." He renewed the old and valuable alliance with Scotland, arranged a marriage between his brother and the heiress of Flanders, and gained the friendship of the king of Navarre as he already had done of the king of Castile. At the same time he was raising new troops. The man who was to lead them to victory had been released from his prison. He is said to have spoken thus to the Prince of Wales: "My lord, it is said throughout the kingdom of France and elsewhere that you are so afraid of me that you dare not release me from prison." The Black Prince was piqued by this, and allowed him to fix his own ransom. "I will fix it at 100,000

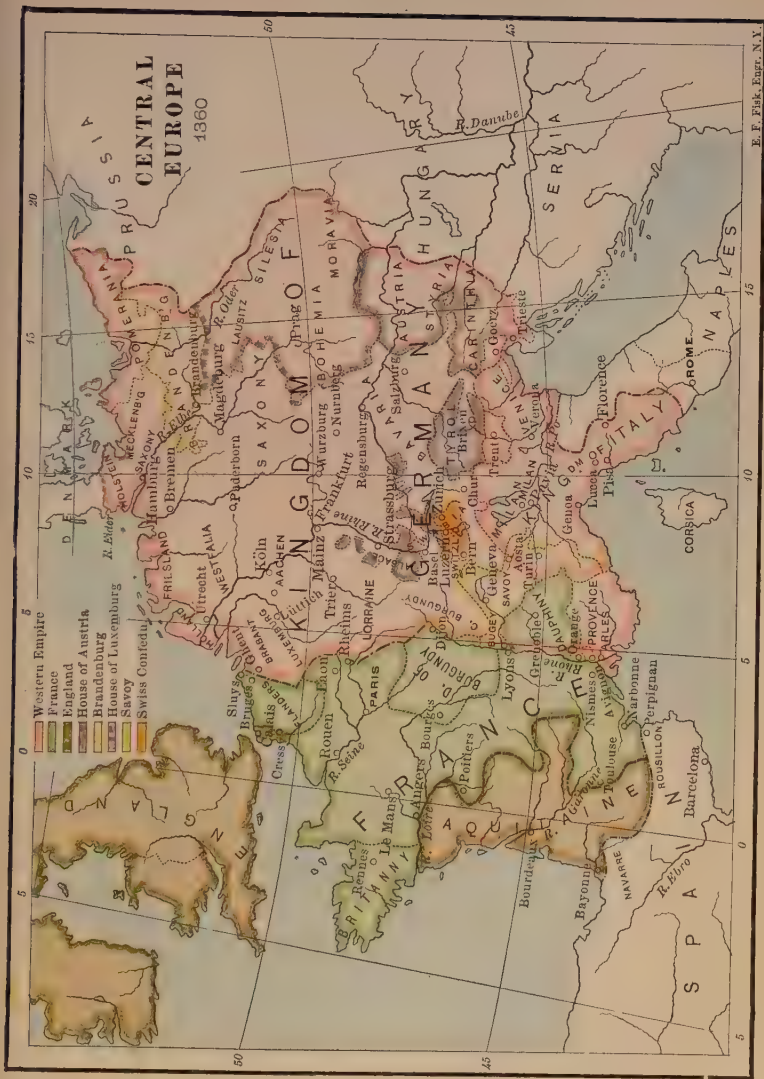
florins, my lord, and do not be surprised at the amount, There is not a woman in my country who would not be willing to join in raising my ransom, and at all events my ransom will be paid by one who does not expect to do so." Everything in France was now ready for war. The Prince of Wales, on the contrary, had been ill ever since his expedition into Spain, and, disliked by the Aquitanians on account of his melancholy and cruelty, was unable to procure any subsidy from them. Charles thought that the moment for action had come at last. He complained that the treaty of Brétigny had been violated, which was indeed the case, as on his return from Spain the Black Prince, unable to pay his adventurers, had sent them to pay themselves off the territory of France; he also complained of the oppression of Aquitaine and Gascony, from which provinces many of the nobles had come to demand justice of him. He finally summoned the English prince to appear before his court of peers. The Black Prince replied: "I will come, but with my helmet on my head and 60,000 men in my company."

The English landed at Calais, and a great army under the Duke of Burgundy went to meet them, but refused all encounter with them and withdrew as they advanced. The cities were well fortified and defended, and the English were unable to take a single one. Their expedition only resulted in their ravaging the country without gaining any advantage. They returned in 1370; and the same system of defense was used against them, and though they went as far as Rheims and Paris no action took place. From his palace of Saint-Pol the king could see the villages as they were set on fire; but the wise Clisson said: "Sire, there is no need of your employing your people against these madmen; leave them to tire themselves out. With all this smoke they will not drive you from your inheritance."

"There never was a king of France who fought less, and there never was a king who gave me so much to do," said Edward III. The Black Prince himself took the field, but was not more successful. He sacked Limoges, but this was his last exploit (1370). He languished a few years longer, and then returned to England to die (1376).

The French were wise enough to avoid all battles with

The war with the English renewed (1369); a new system of warfare.



great armies; but between these English expeditions, Charles willingly allowed his knights to strike a few blows with their spears, especially his brave Du Guesclin, whom he had recalled from Spain to make him his constable. The *poore chevalier* wished to refuse this high office, but the king replied: "Messire Bertrand, do not refuse, for I have neither brother, cousin, nephew, count, or baron in my kingdom who shall not obey you, and if any one should not do so he will soon know how angry he has made me." Does not this sound a little like Louis XI.? Du Guesclin began by defeating the men of Robert Knoll, an adventurer in the service of the English, and pursued them into Brittany, where the duke was an ally of Edward's and for that reason disliked by the Bretons. The Bretons, indeed, since Du Guesclin and Clisson had been held in such favor at court, and, thanks to the skillful maneuvers of the king, who never lost an occasion to flatter them, had become French at heart. They closed their fortresses against the English and opened them to Du Guesclin. In a very short time John of Montfort was deposed, and only Brest was left in Edward's hands. During the same time the Castilian admiral Boccanegra captured an English fleet off Rochelle. This city, which was French at heart, and the commercial rival of the English city of Bordeaux, also freed itself from the foreign yoke (1372). The clergy and the citizens everywhere called the French to their aid. Poitiers, Angoulême, and Saintes drove out their English garrisons, and Du Guesclin utterly destroyed the remnants of these garrisons at Chizey in Poitou (1373). After that time no territory north of the Gironde was left in the possession of the English.

Nevertheless these stubborn foes reappeared in 1373. The Duke of Lancaster landed at Calais with 30,000 men and expected to conquer France; he only succeeded in marching across it. His journey was comfortable as long as he stayed in the rich provinces of the north; as soon as he reached the poor and barren country at the center his army began to suffer from privations and disease. In Auvergne he had not a single horse left; at Bordeaux he had only 6000 men, and knights and soldiers alike begged their bread from door to door.

The English were at last disgusted with this kind of war. They did not return the following year, and in 1375 demanded a truce, which lasted till the death of Edward III.

in 1377. Charles then broke the truce and struck blow after blow. He brought five armies into the field and conquered the whole of Guienne, while a Castilian fleet, manned by French troops, devastated the coasts of Kent and Sussex. By 1380 the English only possessed Bayonne, Bordeaux, Brest, Cherbourg, and Calais on the continent.

This was a propitious moment for France to have done with Charles the Bad and his intrigues. Under the pretext of a conspiracy against the lives of the royal family of France, Charles V. had two of his ministers executed and his two sons arrested. The Duke of Anjou conquered the seignory of Montpellier, Du Guesclin the county of Evreux, and the king of Castile the kingdom of Navarre. He did not recover his kingdom till 1379, when he delivered up twenty of his strong places as a pledge of peace.

Charles tried to accomplish the same work in Brittany as in Guienne. He summoned the duke, John, to appear on June 20, 1378, before the court of peers, and when the duke did not appear his fief was declared to have fallen to the royal domain. The Gascons had already given themselves to France. The Bretons, however, would not allow themselves to be conquered. Barons, knights, and squires signed at Rennes on April 26, 1379, an act of confederation, which was subscribed also by the burghers, and John of Montfort, whom they had driven from the country, was recalled. All the Bretons in the service of the king of France, and there were a great many, threw up their places. Even those who had first promised him to second his projects now turned against him. Du Guesclin, now an old man, sent him back his constable's sword, and on March 1, 1380, a treaty of alliance was signed at Westminster between England and Brittany. An English army landed again at Calais, led by the Earl of Buckingham, and traversed the whole of the north of France with impunity. He had not reached Brittany, where he was aiming, when Charles V. died at Vincennes on September 16, 1380. Du Guesclin had preceded him to the grave by two months. A new truce, concluded soon after, put an end to the first period of the Hundred Years War.

The first period of the Hundred Years War came to an end with the death of Charles V. The scene now shifted. France, which had been a partly conquered country, was again mistress of herself, and each of the two belligerent

nations returned into its natural sphere of activity. The principal actors had disappeared : Philip VI., John and Charles V. in France, and Edward III. and the Black Prince, in England. Richard II., son of the Black Prince, came to the English throne in 1377 at eleven years of age, and Charles VI. in 1380 to the French throne at twelve years of age. During the minorities of these princes, France and England both fell a prey to internal disturbances. They were both stirred up by a sort of effervescence which brought out the ideas produced by the general progress of civilization. The emancipation of thought and the emancipation of the people, the characteristics we have already noticed of the age, continued to be advanced at the end of the fourteenth century, though by tumultuous and violent means.

In England an organized parliament, the condition of industry stimulated by the introduction of the Flemish workmen, and the frequent disregard of the authority of the Holy See, all prepared the way for some popular movement, and gave it both a political and a religious character. In 1366 there were thirty-three years of arrears due of the annual tribute of 1000 marks which John Lackland had promised to pay to the Holy See. When Urban V. demanded payment, a public act of the king, lords, and commons declared that no one had a right to make the kingdom subject to any foreign power. Fifteen years before, other statutes had been passed which reserved exclusively to the king the gift of certain benefices and impaired the jurisdiction of Rome.

In this resistance to the Holy See, an English monk, John Wycliffe, was especially prominent and defended the rights of the crown against the pontifical pretensions. After once attacking the Papacy in behalf of national independence, he attacked it also in behalf of evangelical equality, and wished to undermine the whole Catholic hierarchy by recognizing neither Pope, archbishop, or bishop, as superior to the simple priests. He wished to forbid all temporal possessions to the clergy, and even to make the spiritual power of the priests dependent on their good or bad conduct ; and finally he even dared to attack the dogmas of the Church and denied transubstantiation in the Eucharist, the necessity of confession and baptism, and the value of a reli-

Wycliffe;
Wat Tyler and
the English
king Richard
II. (1377).

gious ceremony in marriage, etc. One of his acts which bore the most important consequences was the translation of the Bible into English, and by this means the admission of all to the reading and interpretation of the holy books. A certain Lollard, who was burned at Cologne by the inquisition in 1322, had already preceded Wycliffe on this path, and it was by his name that the people who adopted these ideas, and who mainly lived in the country, were called.* Some of Wycliffe's disciples extended his ideas into the region of politics and one of the most famous of these was John Ball.† A foolish priest in Kent, named John Ball, had preached to the peasants that at the beginning of the world there were no slaves, and that therefore no one could be reduced to slavery unless he had betrayed his lord as Lucifer betrayed God. They were neither angels nor demons, but men created in the image of their Lord. Why then should they be treated like beasts? Why, if they worked, should they not be paid for it?

“When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?”

The explosion of these ferments was finally provoked by one of those violent acts which have stirred up so many revolutions. A collector of taxes insulted the daughter of a blacksmith, Wat Tyler,‡ who stretched him at his feet with a blow from his hammer. All the villeins of Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Sussex, and other counties rallied at the call of the men of Kent and declared that they would no longer be slaves. Sixty thousand assembled at the gates of London on Blackheath (1381), entered the city, took the tower and put to death the chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, as an oppressor of the people. Their demands were, however, moderate; they required the abolition of serfdom, the liberty to buy and sell in the fairs and markets, a general amnesty, and, what was less reasonable, the reduction of rents to a uniform rate. The king had an interview with Wat Tyler at

* The origin of the word Lollard is not known. Another and perhaps more probable derivation would make it mean “an idle babbler.”—ED.

† Ball was an agitator before Wycliffe began his teaching. Wycliffe had personally no connection with the peasant revolt.—ED.

‡ There were many different Tylers connected apparently with this revolt. The incident narrated of Wat Tyler has no real connection with its outbreak.—ED.

Smithfield. The blacksmith seems to have played with his dagger rather proudly and to have been about to seize the bridle of the king's horse, when the lord mayor, fearing a hostile design, plunged his sword into his breast. This death disconcerted the rebels momentarily. The young King Richard II. seized this opportunity and urging his horse into the midst of them, said : "My friends, now that Wat Tyler is dead you have no longer any leader but me." These words from a king of fifteen years filled the people with enthusiasm, and they cried out, "Long live King Richard !" and received charters of emancipation sealed with the royal seal. They had hardly dispersed, however, before the promises were disregarded. John Ball and 1500 of his followers were executed, and Wycliffe was summoned before a council and forced to retract his previous statements. But this work was not wholly in vain, and was later of assistance to the reformation.*

After an unsuccessful military expedition against the Scotch in 1385, who were sustained by the French, new troubles of a different character broke out in England. Richard demanded from Parliament subsidies to resist a projected invasion by the French : it was replied to him that he had only to make his favorites disgorge, and he would have money enough to raise an army. He threatened and inveighed, and said he would seek a reconciliation with the king of France and arrange with him to punish his rebellious subjects ; but the parliament was firm, for it was supported by the uncles of the king and all the nobility of the kingdom. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was then in Spain trying vainly to enforce his claims to the crown of Castile, to which he pretended to have a right : the other two, the dukes of York and Gloucester, and especially the latter, who was very popular, put themselves at the head of the formidable opposition formed against the two favorites of the king, Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Pole, the chancellor. The latter was impeached by the lords and condemned to the loss of his office. The parliament of 1386 went even farther, and instituted a commission of

* Wycliffe made no retraction, and he was not seriously molested.—
ED.

Deposition of
Richard II. and
accession of
Henry IV. of
Lancaster
(1399).

government composed of creatures of the Duke of Gloucester, and when the king tried to get rid of them the duke took up arms, defeated the royal troops, and had the ministers of the king condemned to death, and two of them were executed (1388).

An energetic step seems to have saved the king a second time. In 1389 he dismissed his council, declaring that he no longer needed any guardians, and by flattering the Duke of Lancaster was able to restrain the turbulent Duke of Gloucester. But his foolish prodigalities and his violence revived the spirit of faction and the legitimate fears of England. He could no longer borrow any money. The city of London had refused him a loan of a thousand pounds sterling. He obtained the money he used for his pleasures from gratuitous or really forced gifts. A contemporary says of him : "There was not a single lord, prelate, gentleman, or rich citizen who had not been forced to lend the king some money, which they well knew he would neither wish nor be able to repay." Surrounded by a guard of 10,000 archers, he ruled without a thought of the laws of the kingdom.

For several years matters went on in this way, and in 1397 Richard thought himself strong enough to get rid of Gloucester. He sought him out on one of his estates, invited him to accompany him to London on some pressing business, and had him kidnapped on the way thither, thrown into a vessel and carried to Calais, where one night he was smothered between two mattresses. It was given out that he had died suddenly. The Earl of Arundel was executed, the Earl of Warwick exiled to the Isle of Man, and the Archbishop of Canterbury condemned to banishment.

Richard believed that he had now avenged his long years of humiliation, and had succeeded in assuming his power. One man, however, still caused him some anxiety ; Henry of Bolingbroke, son of the Duke of Lancaster, and him he banished. On the death of his father (1399) he did not allow the son to receive his inheritance, and appropriated the lands of this wealthy house.

But Henry, on being banished and despoiled, did not remain inactive. He formed a conspiracy at Paris, and acted in concert with the principal peers of England. Three frail vessels carried him and his men to Ravenspur, near the mouth of the Humber. Here he was joined by his uncle, the Duke of York, and by the earls of Westmoreland

and Northumberland, and succeeded in entering London and occupying almost the whole country before Richard, who was then suppressing a rebellion in Ireland, had even heard of his arrival. When the wretched king arrived in England every one had abandoned him. He fell into the hands of Lancaster, and a deputation of the lords and commons forced him to read the following declaration in a loud voice: "I confess and acknowledge, according to my inmost thoughts, and declare in conscience that I consider myself to have been and still to be incapable of governing this kingdom, and that my notorious faults make me worthy of deposition." The parliament drew up a bill of impeachment in thirty-three articles, in which he was accused of unjust revenge and of violation of the laws and privileges of the nation, and his deposition was pronounced. Then Henry of Lancaster rose and said: "In the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England and the crown with all the members and the appurtenances, as that I am descended by right line of the blood from the good King Henry III., and through that right that God by his grace hath sent me, with the help of kin and of my friends to recover it, the which realm was in point to be undone by default of governance and undoing of good laws." Henry of Lancaster thus established his right on the double foundation of heredity and of public weal. He was recognized as king under the name of Henry IV. (1399).

When Henry IV. usurped the crown he not only passed over Richard II. but also over the descendants of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III., to whom the throne should legitimately have fallen. The wars of the Roses were the result of this usurpation. The head of the house of Lancaster spent all his reign in strengthening his dynasty, and to do this he recognized the rights of Parliament, that he might put his reliance upon it. In spite of this wise policy of the first Lancaster, who contributed greatly to the establishment of the parliamentary rule in England, he had to contend against various revolts. The first of these, which was in behalf of the deposed king, Richard II., was successfully quelled and he died, as it was believed, assassinated in his prison (1400); but another more formidable one was carried on by the Welsh. A lord of Wales, Owen Glendower, in consequence of a

decision against him by the English parliament in a lawsuit, forcibly kidnapped the Anglo-Norman lord with whom he was at law. This was the signal for an insurrection, which was stirred up by the bards, who had been persecuted for a long time. The Welsh found allies in the two Percys, the sons of the Earl of Northumberland, who had been offended by Henry IV. This formidable insurrection was ended in the king's favor by the victory of Shrewsbury (1403), but the country of Wales was only gradually subdued. Nevertheless the victor, after a very disturbed reign, realized that great foreign expeditions would be the only means of assuaging the spirit of revolt of the barons, and that great victories alone could command their respect. Shakespeare represents him on his death-bed as advising his son, in noble words, to resume the war with France in order to renew the laurels of Crécy and Poitiers to the glory of the house of Lancaster. He was worthy of this homage of the king of English poets, from his own and his father's friendship for the first great poet of England, Geoffrey Chaucer.

The son to whom Henry IV. bequeathed the task of making these conquests was a singular kind of prince. At twenty-five years of age he was no better than
HENRY V.
 (1413.) the worst subject of the kingdom he was going to govern. His intimate friends were a few dissipated nobles who were deeply in debt,—Falstaff is a remarkable type of them,—and he even associated with highway robbers and passed his life in debauchery and brigandage. Not that his character was naturally disposed to these coarse vices, but he plunged into them out of English eccentricity and for a pastime. When his father died he changed completely; the frequenter of taverns and the breaker of doors became a wise, grave, severe, and devout king. He heaped favors upon William Gascoigne, a judge who had once sent him to prison;* he showed great clemency and paid fitting honors to the remains of Richard II., and after having made peace with the public opinion by this good beginning, he declared that he would cross over to

* The stories of the youthful dissipations of Henry V. are pure legend. The one concerning Gascoigne appears to be based on a fact in the life of the eldest son of Edward I., which later legends attached to sons both of Henry IV. and of Henry VII.—ED.

France as soon as an opportunity offered for an English attack.

France had had a minor as king at the same time with England. But in England this minority ended when Richard II. grew up, while in France the king had passed from one childhood into another. Of all eras of the history of France this one is the saddest and most wretched.

France under
Charles VI.
(1380-1422); pop-
ular insurrec-
tions.

At other times there has been as much and more bloodshed, but never this extraordinary and memorable spectacle of a madman upon the throne. There was discord in the religious orders, for the Babylonian captivity had only ended by giving rise to the great schism of the West, and while Urban VI. had restored the Papacy to Rome, France recognized Clement VII. as Pope at Avignon. In the civil orders there were a thousand elements of dread, which had been held in check by the weak but skillful hand of Charles V., but which now were fermenting and appearing everywhere from the seat of the government to the very heart of the country. The four selfish and greedy uncles of the king, the dukes of Anjou, Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon (the latter a maternal uncle), wrangled over the public treasury and the taxes, not in order to use them for the good of the state but for their own personal ambitions. The Duke of Berry wished to retain the government of Languedoc in spite of the hatred which had been kindled there by his exactions; the Duke of Anjou seized the royal treasure almost before Charles V. had closed his eyes for the last time, and soon after being invested with the kingdom of Sicily by the Pope at Avignon, went thither to die in the kingdom which he was unable to conquer. During this time the peasants rose in Poitou, the Limousin, and Auvergne, and the great communes of Flanders and of the north of France revolted. In 1382 the people at Paris, irritated by the double taxes imposed by the Duke of Anjou on commerce, armed themselves with mallets and massacred the collectors of the impost. Rouen followed in the steps of Paris, and repeated the action of the Jacquerie by creating themselves a king; a merchant draper became king of Rouen.

These popular movements were no longer isolated as at the beginning of the communal revolution; they were in close correspondence and were supported by each other.

Ghent was the center of the movement. "All was settled and arranged after the manner of the citizens of Ghent; and the communes throughout the entire world declared that the citizens of Ghent were worthy people, and that they valiantly sustained their liberties, wherefore they should be loved and honored by all men." Ghent with its 400,000 inhabitants was led by Philip van Artevelde, who was no less celebrated than his father James. The city rose against her Count Louis de Male, who governed the country with cruelty. With 5000 chosen men, Philip defeated the 40,000 men of the count near Bruges, and the latter just escaped being taken prisoner. This success made Philip master of the whole of Flanders, and the fame of it spread far and wide. The nobility were alarmed by the victory of the great commune, and felt the need of combining and striking a blow at the heart of the movement to preserve themselves from general destruction. The king of France started for the country, followed by all the knights and gentlemen of his kingdom. The English nobility, sacrificing their national interests to their class interests, decided not to help the faithful allies of England, and Artevelde was not able to make a successful defense. He set out with 50,000 men. The war was so terrible that no life was to be spared but that of the king, and he was a child and should be forgiven. These poor people of Flanders wished "to teach him to speak and be Flemish." But this time the nobles were able to take their revenge at Roosebek. The unwise disposition of the Flemish infantry caused its overthrow; it was an enormously thick mass and perfectly unwieldy; 26,000 men fell, most of whom were crushed to death. Artevelde and the whole battalion of Ghent were left on the field (1382). Flanders was, however, not entirely crushed, and a new insurrection now broke out, this time with the assistance of the English, which brought the king of France back to the country. The death of the Count Louis de Male changed the situation of affairs. In the name of his wife, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, inherited the counties of Flanders, Artois, Burgundy,* Nevers, and Rethel (1384). He received the oath of fealty of the Flemings, and promised in

* The county of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, joined the duchy on the east and was a fief of the empire.—ED.

return to respect their liberties. This was an event of great importance, for after this time the Duke of Burgundy, though prince of the blood, was involved by his new subjects in a course hostile to France, and in an alliance with the English.

The battle of Roosebek had struck a blow not at the Flemings alone, but also at all the rebellious communes of France. The French nobility returned to Paris highly elated by their victory. Thirty thousand Parisians advanced under arms, not to fight them, but to act as a cortège to Charles VI. This act of submission did not disarm the young king, and bloody executions, confiscations, and the abolition of the municipal offices and the corporations signalized the re-establishment of the government of the king. The same course was pursued at Rouen, Châlons, Rheims, Troyes, and Orleans: for this great movement had extended throughout the whole kingdom. Even Toulouse had taken part in it. "If the king of France had been defeated in Flanders, we can well believe that the whole nobility and gentry would have been destroyed in France and in the other countries as well; the Jacquerie was never so great or so terrible as this insurrection." Thus Froissart, the historian of the Middle Ages and the great partisan of the feudal nobility, considered the battle of Roosebek to have saved the social order of his times.

This social order was especially distinguished by the absence in its leaders of all national sentiment, by their personal views, their spirit of adventure, their vain and rash expenditure of the public strength, or, in one word, the wasting of the resources of France by a few princes of the blood, who were covetous of foreign kingdoms and cared little or nothing for the prosperity of their own country. In 1386 a great expedition was planned against England, and taxes were laid upon the people which were so heavy that many of the inhabitants were driven from the country. Finally preparations were made on a gigantic scale: 1400 vessels were brought together from all directions, and 20,000 knights, 20,000 cross-bowmen, 20,000 foot-soldiers, and a crowd of adventurers were collected. A city of wood, 3000 feet in diameter, was loaded on 72 vessels piece by piece, and was to be erected on landing on the coast of England. When this was all ready, the Duke of Berry did not appear and the season passed; the expedition did not start, and the

army which was to have conquered England ravaged the provinces of the north of France. The same enterprise was undertaken the following year, and with the same result. After this an expedition to Germany was planned against the Duke of Gueldres, an enemy of the new Count of Flanders. The king conducted it himself, and though it consisted of 80,000 men, it all came to nothing. A little later Louis II. of Anjou found his ruin in the kingdom of Naples instead of conquering it; and almost at the same time the French nobility, not content with their defeats at Crécy and Poitiers, went to seek another at Nicopolis, on the banks of the Danube (1396). (See Chapter XXXI.)

To account for this confusion and disorder in the affairs of the kingdom one would naturally assume that the king must have been mad, and this was the case. In 1392, Charles VI. was marching into Brittany to avenge the attempted assassination of his constable Clisson, by the lord of Craon, who had taken refuge with the Duke John IV. When crossing the forest of Mans under a hot sun, and heavily dressed, that is, under all the conditions conducive to cerebral congestion for a head which was already weak, he saw a beggar dash at the head of his horse, crying, "Return, you are betrayed!" The clashing of an iron spear behind him made him think that he was about to be assassinated, and turning he killed four of his suite. He had lost his reason, and during thirty years had only rare intervals of lucidity. The government was disputed by two parties: one was led by the brother of the king, Louis Duke of Orleans, a young and brilliant prince, generous but dissipated, of light morals and contemptuous of the people, though in other respects he was a good Frenchman, a bitter enemy of the English, and an enemy also of the University, the great democratic body, both wise and disputatious, whose sharp and sombre humor could not accord with his character. Opposing him was the Duke of Burgundy, a severe and gloomy man, who was accustomed to flatter the people of Flanders, as he needed them for his financial necessities, and who was impelled by them to sustain the democratic cause everywhere, and was in consequence allied with the citizens of Paris and the University, and by reason of his Flemish interests allied also with the English. The Duke of Orleans had no resources save in

Insanity of Charles VI. (1392); assassination of the Duke of Orleans (1407); the Armagnacs and the Burgundians.

the taxes which he imposed upon the people of Paris, in the name of the royal government. The Duke of Burgundy, on the other hand, was rich from his own States, and asked nothing from the Parisians, and would even willingly have forbade their paying anything. This antagonism did not come to open violence until after 1404, when John the Fearless succeeded Philip the Bold. The rivalry then threatened to turn into a civil war in the heart of Paris. Each one assembled his men-at-arms and fortified his hôtel with the intention of fighting, but peace was made between them. The hatred, however, was too bitter for this to endure, at least on the part of John the Fearless, who had a less compliant disposition than his cousin. He was at the table with Louis and hypocritically received the sacrament with him, and three days later had him assassinated as he was leaving the king's palace at eight o'clock in the evening (1407). The citizens of Paris and of Flanders approved of this murder; John the Fearless owned to it proudly, and found a theologian, John Petit, to write his apology. The king was made to declare that his brother had been justly put out of the world, and Valentine of Milan, who had demanded vengeance for the murder of her husband, died without obtaining it. The power of John the Fearless was confirmed by the bloody victory of Hasbain, where 25,000 citizens of Liege were killed.

This power, however, provoked a reaction. Charles the new Duke of Orleans, and the dukes of Berry, of Bourbon, and of Brittany formed a league together with Bernard VII. Count of Armagnac, the most powerful lord in the South. The young Duke of Orleans married the daughter of Bernard, and the latter by his talents and power became the chief of the party of the Armagnacs (1410). This lord of the Pyrenees was joined by Gascon adventurers who were in search of fortune, and who were filled with hatred of the men of the North, and contempt for the mad king who was revered and pitied by the latter. John opposed these Southerners with a force of Picards, Brabançons and Lorrainers. The king was in the power of the Burgundian faction which controlled Paris; the other, the real French party, already found its support, as it did later, in the country to the south of the Loire. John the Fearless ruled Paris only by giving it over to demagoguery and to the party of the butchers. The head of the faction was the

flayer Caboché, its orator the surgeon John of Troyes. These men assumed the cross of Burgundy and dictated their will to the council of the king. Paris recovered her ancient privileges which she had lost in 1382. The Armagnacs were everywhere driven out, pursued and killed like wild beasts. The people of Paris were drawn on to cruelties which the Duke of Burgundy did not dare restrain. He renewed his alliance with the people of Ghent, and showed his intention of extending democracy everywhere. We must also mention as an act of great importance, the Cabochian Ordinance, due mainly to the University, by which, with as much wisdom as boldness, happy reforms were decreed for all departments of the administration of the kingdom. It is needless to say that this ordinance of reformation was abolished almost as soon as it was decreed.

But the excesses of the Cabochian party and the revolutionary state of the city wearied its inhabitants. Nine of the twelve quarters declared for a compromise with the Armagnacs, who re-entered the city (1413), while the butchers were put to flight. This was a change from one tyranny to another. The Armagnacs, with their aristocratic spirit and their contempt for the people, treated Paris like a conquered city, silenced the University, re-established the old régime, and revived the hatred of the English, which for them was at the same time the hatred of the spirit of liberty by which England was already being inspired. Thus when Richard II. was deposed the Duke of Orleans refused to recognize Henry IV. The interests of liberty and the interests of the nation were opposed in France at this time. The latter interests were the most urgent, in order that the country might acquire force and unity. It is this question which was to be debated in the new period of the Hundred Years War, and which was decided by the triumph of the French nationality.

To strengthen his power Henry V. needed a war with France, which country, moreover, was now governed by the party which had refused to recognize the legitimacy of his father Henry IV. He demanded the fulfillment of the treaty of Brétigny and the hand of Catharine, the daughter of Charles VI. When these were refused him he landed at the mouth of the Seine and

Henry V. re-opens the war with France (1415). The battle of Agincourt.

took Harfleur. An epidemic forced him to change his route and to turn toward Calais as Edward III. had done before him. Instead of taking the measures necessary to check his progress the court of France sent after him one of those great feudal armies such as it had so often collected during the century. The army consisted of about 80,000 men. Henry V. had only 20,000. A battle was fought at Agincourt, under conditions as unfavorable to the French as those at Crécy. The feet of their horses stuck fast in the deep and heavy mud. Disorder, lack of discipline, and tumult reigned in the French army, order and piety in the English. Henry V. pretended to be sent by God to punish "the disorders, excesses, sins and vices which were visible in the kingdom of France." He was closely allied with the Church and found a great assistance in this alliance. France was still schismatic, and sustained the pope of Avignon against the pope of Rome. Their belief in the mission of their king added to the ordinary coolness of the English. Henry V. went about on foot without any state, and ordered everything with calmness. He placed his archers in the front ranks of his army. The Saxon arrows again had a fine field in the masses of horses which could hardly move. When the confusion was sufficient the archers advanced, knife in hand, and set to work to kill the horsemen who had been unhorsed and were encumbered by their armor: 10,000 Frenchmen perished, most of them gentlemen, among them 120 great nobles and 7 princes. The English lost only about 1600 dead. The nobility had never before been weakened by such a terrible wound. This was a third and decisive condemnation of the feudal armies, which were good in a former age, but which henceforth were powerless (1415).

The disaster of Agincourt discredited the government of the Armagnacs, who were only able to maintain themselves in Paris by violent means. In 1418 a conspiracy opened the gates of Paris to the Burgundians; with them the butchers returned, and with the butchers, massacres. The slaughter of the Armagnacs deluged Paris in blood. During twenty-eight hours a butchery of from 1600 to 3000 victims went on in the prisons. The count of Armagnac was among this number, and as Charles of Orleans had been taken prisoner at Agincourt, the Orleans party was left with no other leader than the Dauphin Charles, who separ-

ated himself from his father, the king, who had fallen into the hands of the Burgundians. These governed no better than the Armagnacs. If the Armagnacs lost the battle of Agincourt, the Burgundians were to lose Rouen, which, however, did not open its gates till one third of its population had perished. Its leader, Alain Blanchard, was less fortunate than Eustace of Saint Pierre, for his patriotism cost him his head (1419). Thus, through the equal impotence of both the parties which governed her, France was about to fall into the hands of foreigners.

This disaster was precipitated by another assassination. John the Fearless was enticed to an interview on the bridge of Montereau, and was killed there by Tanneguy-Duchâtel at the instigation of the dauphin. This indolent young prince, plunged in the pursuit of pleasure, thought by this treacherous crime to become sole master of the government, but exactly the reverse took place. He aroused a feeling of pity for his victim and horror for himself in the minds of the people. The alliance of the Burgundians with the English astonished no one. The Parisians, decimated by a terrible famine, found a pretext for going over to the English party, which alone could rescue them from misery. "Rather the English, than the Armagnacs," said they. A century later a Carthusian friar of Dijon showed Francis I. the tomb of John the Fearless, saying, "This great wound by means of which the English entered France." Soon afterwards the treaty of Troyes (1420) was signed, by which Henry V. was recognized as heir of Charles VI., and the dauphin was excluded from the succession. The queen, Isabel of Bavaria, for a pension of 2000 francs a month consented to this treaty, which was hardly a reproach to Philip the Good, who was avenging his father, or to Charles VI., who did not know what he was doing, but doubly so to her, the unnatural mother who could write the following words: "The so-called dauphin of Viennois," and "our son the king Henry." At any rate, except for the country on the banks of the Loire and a few cities in Burgundy, almost the whole of France did the same. The States General recognized Henry V. as heir; and the parliament proceeded judicially against Charles of Valois, the dauphin of Viennois, and declared him banished from the kingdom and unworthy of succeeding to any seignory. The great lords, both temporal and spiritual, gave their

oath of fidelity to the new heir without any conscientious scruples.

Henry V. married Catherine, the daughter of Charles VI. But his troubles were already beginning ; he was attacked by disease, and foresaw the future fate of his conquest when he should be no more. When the birth of his son was announced to him he said, "Henry of Monmouth," speaking of himself, "will have reigned but few years and conquered much ; Henry of Windsor will reign long and lose all : may God's will be done !" He died August 31, 1422, leaving the regency in the hands of his brother Bedford, whom he commanded never to enter into any negotiations with the dauphin, and to preserve peace with the Duke of Burgundy. On the 21st of October Charles VI. followed him to the tomb.

Two kings were proclaimed in France at the same time ; one an Englishman, Henry VI., at Paris, the other the Frenchman, Charles VII., in Berry, at the church of Mehun-sur-Yèvre.

Henry VI.
and Charles
VII., kings of
France (1422).
Joan of Arc
(1429-1431).

The situation of Charles VII. was very critical. His recent defeat at Mons-en-Vimeu had driven his troops from Picardy, where, however, Xaintrailles was still fighting for his cause, and he had almost been driven back upon the Loire. He did not lack skillful captains and valiant knights, but all his brave warriors were demoralized by the court, which was a scene of indolence, intrigues and of the most insane extravagance. The English under the lead of the wise Duke of Bedford showed much more order and regard in their plans. They had undoubtedly wearied the French by their pride and insolence, and the Duke of Burgundy, their indispensable ally, had already been on the point of fighting with the Duke of Gloucester over Jacqueline of Hainault and her inheritance, but Bedford had made peace between them and had smoothed away all feelings of resentment. For years the Duke of Burgundy had looked with longing eyes on the valuable succession of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, of which Jacqueline had acknowledged him her heir ; desirous of adding to his possessions in the direction of the Netherlands, he bought the county of Namur and the seignory of Bethune ; and in order that he might be allowed to do this in peace and quietness by the English, he allowed them to pursue the conquest of France undis-

turbed. The battles of Crévant-sur-Yonne (1423) and Verneuil (1424) expelled the soldiers of Charles VII. from Burgundy and Normandy, and Chartres and Mans were taken. Finally in September, 1428, after all the approaches to the Loire had been conquered, the Earl of Salisbury laid siege to Orleans. This is the time when the fortunes of Charles VII. and of France were at their lowest ebb. The treasury of the poor king contained hardly four crowns; his table was wretched, and one day when La Hire and Xaintrailles came to see him he could offer them nothing but "two chickens and a sheep's tail." The nobles were jealous of his Scotch guard. They quarreled and fought with each other even at the meetings of his council. The constable of Richemond had vainly tried to restore order by energetic measures and by the execution of several of the most baneful of the king's favorites; one of them, La Trémouille, succeeded in having him banished, and then there was no longer any one at court who was capable of restoring order and prosperity. Charles listened only to the most unworthy counsels; after the disastrous "day of the Herrings" (1429), he was persuaded to take refuge in the South and to abandon Orleans, the key to the Loire, and the gate to southern France. France was on the point of falling entirely into the hands of the English, when she was saved by one of those sudden changes of fortune which seem so impossible when we see them on the stage.

In Domremy, a little hamlet belonging to the diocese of Toul, but detached from it, there lived a poor family of peasants. The father was called Jacques d'Arc and the mother Isabelle Romée.* They had three sons and two daughters. One of the daughters (Jeanne d'Arc), Joan of Arc, was a gentle, docile child, industrious and so timid that a single word was enough to disconcert her. In spite of the raillery of the other young girls, her piety increased with her years. As soon as she had finished her work she would hasten to church to say her prayers, of which she only knew the Pater, the Ave, and the Credo, or would go to the fields and sit dreaming and listening to the sound of the

* It has been recently shown that the family of Jeanne d'Arc occupied a position of more importance and consideration locally than was formerly supposed.—ED.

bells. At that time the war, both foreign and civil, had penetrated everywhere. Joan knew its consequences, for its ravages had extended even to her own hamlet. The political feeling was so strong there that the children of Domremy, which was Armagnac in its sympathies, often fought battles with those of a neighboring village which sympathized with the Burgundians. Possibly Joan may have seen her brothers return bleeding more than once from these combats. With a temperament prone to enthusiasm, and with weak health, a political exaltation was soon joined to her religious exaltation, as is often the case with women. After the battles of Crévant and Verneuil she fell into that strange state, well known to us to-day from thousands of examples, in which the conceptions of an excited imagination appear to it as outward realities. She saw visions and heard voices which said, "Joan, be always a devout, good and true child, and God will help you." When Orleans was besieged the Archangel Michael appeared to her and told her to go to the aid of the king. She was much alarmed and protested that she was only a poor country girl; but the angel repeated his command, and appeared displeased with her. After that she had three visions a week, and kept seeing Saint Margaret and Saint Catherine, and acted entirely according to their words. To fulfill the commands from heaven, she planned to leave home with some soldiers. Her father heard of this, and said to his sons, "If I thought that such a thing would happen, I should wish you to drown her; and if you would not do it, I should drown her myself." He tried to arrange a marriage for her. Hearing this Joan fled from her father's house to that of an uncle near by. She then approached Baudricourt, a French captain of Charles VII., who was stationed at Vaucouleurs, and after much hesitation he directed Joan toward the banks of the Loire with an escort of six men.

She accomplished this difficult journey successfully, through a country almost in the hands of the enemy, and arrived at Chinon where the king had his headquarters, and hid herself among the courtiers. It was a hard task to convince this frivolous court of the reality of her mission, but she succeeded in doing so. When sent to Poitiers, she was questioned by the doctors, for some of them thought she was possessed of the devil; she foiled the subtlety of their questions by the simplicity of her answers. Her

purity and piety inspired the people with enthusiasm, and public opinion triumphed over the hesitation of the court. Charles VII. consented to give her arms, a banner, a page and a squire, and to send her to Orleans accompanied by his wisest captains. She restored decency to the camp, and even reformed the oaths of the old La Hire, the hardened Gascon captain who used to pray in these words : " Lord God, do unto La Hire as you would have La Hire do unto you, if you were La Hire and La Hire were God." On Friday, the twenty-ninth of April, 1429, Joan of Arc entered Orleans. On Sunday, the eighth of May, the English raised the siege. The first part of her mission was accomplished ; it now remained for her to have Charles consecrated at Rheims.

She carried with her the French army, and, what was more difficult, the king also. Her courage and piety inspired the French soldiers, while the English believed her to be a sorceress and fled at her approach. She took Jargeau and made Suffolk prisoner. She tried to reconcile the king with Richemond, and she gained the battle of Patay, where the brave Talbot was taken prisoner. She had an assault made on Troyes, against the decision of the council of the king, and Troyes fell. Finally she entered Rheims with the king, and was present at his consecration (July).

Joan now believed that she had accomplished the main part of her mission, and would gladly have returned to Domremy. When asked where she expected to die, she replied : " Where it pleases God, for I am no more sure of the time and place than you are, and would to God, my Creator, that I might go home, giving up my arms, and help my father and mother by taking care of their sheep with my sister and my brothers, who will greatly rejoice at seeing me." She was not allowed to go, however, and served in the following campaign, taking part in the unsuccessful siege of Paris, where she was wounded. She was betrayed. Having shut herself into Compiègne to save it from the attacks of the Duke of Burgundy, she attempted, after a sortie, to cover the retreat ; but the governor had the gates shut before she could re-enter the city, and she fell into the hands of the bastard of Vendôme (May, 1430), and she was at last sold to the English for 10,000 francs.

In the eyes of the French Joan was a messenger from

God ; in those of the English she was sent by the devil, and they wished to prove this by a trial for witchcraft. The University of Paris demanded that the trial should be held in that city ; but Bedford wished it to take place at Rouen, the most English as well as the most secure of the cities, and he put the direction of this shameful process in the hands of Peter Cauchon, the Bishop of Beauvais. It is hard to decide whether this monstrous affair was more odious or more contemptible. Every form of justice was violated. Calm, serene, and deep through her very simplicity, she escaped all the traps that were set for her without an effort and through the uprightness of her soul. Her replies were brief, spirited, and heroic. When asked if she believed herself in a state of grace, she wisely replied, " If I am not in such a state, may God help me." Another time she said, " I carried a banner instead of a spear in order to avoid killing any one. I have never killed a single person. I said, ' Go boldly among the English,' and I went among them myself." Was the hope of victory in this banner ? " It was founded on God and on nothing else." Why did you carry the banner up to the altar at the consecration of Charles ? " It had been present through all the trouble, which was reason enough that it should share in the honor." Does God hate the English ? " Whether God loves or hates the English, I know not ; but I well know that they will be driven from France." They had at first wished to treat her as a witch, but they had no grounds on which to do so. Only two of the articles of accusation could be maintained, her wearing man's apparel and her refusal to submit to the Church. She had been persuaded that to submit to the Church was to recognize the legitimacy of the tribunal which was judging her, which she did not do ; as to the man's apparel she gave it up for a while, but was obliged to resume it on account of the brutality of her jailers. Cauchon immediately declared her a relapsed heretic, and delivered her over to the secular arm to be burned. " Alas !" cried she at this terrible news, " I appeal to God from the cruelties done me." Truly there was no one on earth for her to appeal to. The Pope would not hear her cries ; the King of France forgot her on the throne which he had ascended through her help. The poor girl was burned on an enormous pile placed in the market-place at Rouen, and bore this torture with heroic courage (May 30, 1431).

Joan of Arc, who had saved France during her life, was still useful to her country by her death. The English party became odious and almost accursed to the people, because they had put to death a woman, a virgin, and a saint! The crime committed on the market-place of Rouen far surpassed the crime of the bridge of Montreureau, and the memory of the latter had, moreover, grown somewhat dim with time. The Duke of Burgundy began to feel ill at ease in the anti-national party. Joan of Arc had rallied the whole nation about Charles VII. In 1431 Philip concluded a two years' truce with the king. The war turned to his advantage. Richemond, who had driven Trémouille from the court and had regained his influence, conducted it with energy. It was in vain that Bedford brought young Henry VI. to Paris and had him solemnly crowned there (1431). This ceremony was melancholy and boded no good. The capital was dying of hunger, commerce was paralyzed, the houses were falling to ruins, and bands of "flayers" scoured the neighboring country. Paris, whose sufferings had only increased under the English rule, began to think of returning to the legitimate king.

Preparations were now made for peace, and a congress was held at Arras (1435). This is the first great assembly of the kind, and was almost European in its character. Two cardinals presided over it, and besides the French and English ambassadors, ambassadors were sent by the emperor, the kings of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, Navarre, Naples, Sicily, Cyprus, Poland, and Denmark, and by the dukes of Brittany and Milan. Ten thousand foreigners were present at the congress. After long discussions, the French consented to yield Aquitaine and Normandy to Henry VI. as a fief. This did not satisfy the ambition of the English. They stood firmly on the treaty of Troyes and demanded the crown of France. As they could not gain this, the congress broke up without accomplishing anything. It had, however, one important result: the Duke of Burgundy, seeing that the war was to be continued through fault of the English, abandoned them and concluded the treaty of Arras with Charles VII. (1435). This treaty was very advantageous to him, as he gained Auxerre, Mâcon, Péronne, Roye, and Montdidier, with the cities of the Somme, and was released for his whole lifetime from

Treaty of Arras (1435).
Charles VII. at Paris (1436).
End of the Hundred Years War (1453).

all homage to the crown of France. Charles VII. judged wisely when he decided that even in this way the end of the civil war was not too dearly bought.

The reconciliation of the Burgundians with Charles prepared the way for that of Paris. In spite of the efforts of the English, the constable of Richemond entered the city through a gate which was opened to him by Michel Lallier, a rich merchant of the city. He promised the Parisians peace, amnesty, and harmony with both the king and the duke (1436). Charles VII. visited his capital the following year, and from that time he could be called the veritable king of France, while until then the English had called him, and with some justice, the king of Bourges.


From this time Charles was no longer the same man. The indolence of his younger years gave way to activity, prudence, and to boldness in enterprise. While he finished reconquering France, he also was busy in healing her other ills. Some attribute the honor of this change to Agnes Sorel,* but more weight should be given to the influence of the constable of Richemond, of the count of Dunois, of the seneschal of Normandy, Jean de Brézé, of the chancellor Jouvenel, of Jacques Cœur, the minister of finance, of Chevalier, of Cousinot, secretary of the king, and of the brothers Bureau, who by greatly improving the French artillery procured a decided advantage for France on the field of battle and in the sieges of cities. By the Pragmatic Sanction Charles applied a remedy to the religious disorders; and by the ordinance of Orleans, to the military disorders. The establishment of a standing army, which was fatal to the feudal régime, stirred up the whole nobility in a resistance which came to a head in the "Praguerie." He was victorious over them, at the same time continuing to drive the English from the cities they still retained. A party in England, at the head of which was the cardinal of Winchester, demanded peace. Through his influence a truce of two years was concluded with France (1444), and was sealed by the marriage of Margaret of Anjou with Henry VI.

Charles seized this interval to imitate Charles V. by getting rid of the roving bands that infested France. He started with 25,000 of these freebooters on the pretext of

* It is now certain that this was not the case. Agnes Sorel does not appear at the court before 1443.—ED.

going to help sustain the rights of René of Anjou to the duchy of Lorraine, and sent his son, the Dauphin Louis, with a like army to fight the Swiss in a war with the house of Austria. Charles failed in his siege of Metz, and contented himself with exacting money for himself and his ally. As to the Dauphin he defeated in the battle at Saint Jacques 1600 Swiss, losing 8000 men himself. This loss was of little importance, as his aim was to "draw the bad blood of France." The Dauphin was struck by the valor of the Swiss mountaineers, and made a treaty with them by which they engaged to help him with 4000 men whenever he should need their help.

When the truce with the English had expired, Charles VII. hastened to renew the war with great energy and success. Normandy was reconquered by Dunois and Richemond, who gained the battle of Formigny (1450). Guienne shared the same fate in spite of the friendship of the Gascons for the English. The victory of Castillon, in which Talbot was killed, and which was due to the French artillery, permanently restored this province to France. The English retained only Calais on the continent. This was the end of the Hundred Years War, a war which, by giving rise to the lasting antagonism between France and England, made their separate nationalities much more distinct. France especially gained unity from it, and the south and north drew closer together, while her people, who are only moved by violent and continuous action, were initiated into a national life and acquired a sentiment for it. They now saw in their king not only their protector, but the hereditary defender of France, and they loved him with a kind of adoration. It was this spirit which had in a way found its personification in Joan of Arc, a daughter of the people, both saint and warrior, the liberator of her country, inspired with the worship of royalty.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND DURING THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR.

Parliament's increasing power in England.—The English Constitution in the middle of the Fifteenth Century.—France : Progress of royal authority.—Formation of a princely feudalism by appanages.—Development of the old and new institutions.

DURING the Hundred Years War, France and England tended in opposite directions. The French royal power, though weak at first, had kept up a continuous growth, while the English, which had Parliament's progress in England. been very strong under the first Norman kings, declined under their successors. The Hundred Years War favored both these movements. In order to carry on the war, the kings of England were constantly obliged to ask parliament for subsidies, which by this means held the crown in a sort of dependent position, while France, which was thrown into confusion by the foreign war, was incapable of a steady development of the germs of free institutions, which had sprung up under Philip the Fair, and had only explosions, so to speak, of liberty, as transient as they were violent.

It was precisely at this time, the time of the Hundred Years War, that England gradually reached the parliamentary form of government, the organic form of liberty. In the reign of Edward III., who was the most victorious of England's kings, but who was obliged by the need of money to convoke parliament every year and even several times a year, three essential principles of constitutional right were established : first, the illegality of taxes imposed without the consent of parliament ; second, the necessity of the concurrence of both houses for a change in the law ; third, the recognized right of the commons to inquire into abuses and to impeach the councillors of the king. In the same reign,

the crime of high treason was defined and limited to seven very grave cases, while before that the king had applied that name according to his pleasure ; finally, a well-sustained resistance was brought to bear on arbitrary increase of taxation, and on the levying of men, horses, and provisions.

In like manner, we begin, about the time of the reign of Edward III., to have some definite information concerning the constitutive elements of parliament and its separation into two houses—namely, the Upper, or House of Lords, which comprised the great barons who possessed their seats by hereditary right, though by virtue of an individual summons from the king, which even took the place of hereditary right at times, and also the great clerical dignitaries, archbishops and bishops, who held their seats by virtue of a personal title ; secondly, the Lower House, or House of Commons, whose members obtained their seats by election only and were divided into two classes, the knights of the shire, representatives of the smaller county nobility, elected by the freeholders ; and the commoners, elected, first, by all boroughs created by charter, whether they held their privileges from the crown or from a feudal lord, as, for instance, many boroughs in Cornwall, which held their rights from Richard, king of the Romans ; secondly, by all the towns which were included in the former or present crown lands ; thirdly, by all those towns which, though not converted into municipal communities, could afford to support representatives.* The order for the meeting of parliament was sent to the sheriff, and enjoined upon him the duty of having two knights elected to represent the county, two citizens for each city, and two burghers for each borough. But in practice the organization of parliament did not always correspond with its theory ; the sheriffs often purposely omitted some of the boroughs, and sometimes the boroughs tried to evade their obligation of electing deputies, in order that they might not have to furnish them with the compensation determined by law, thus voluntarily condemning themselves to political nullity. The county members received from their constituents four shillings per day, worth to-day about six dollars ; the city members received somewhat less. At first, perhaps, all the inhabitants of a bor-

* The writs for the election of borough members were addressed in general terms to the sheriffs, and under them the sheriffs made selection, often arbitrarily enough, of the towns to be represented.—ED.

ough took part in the election, but later it was seized, in many cases, by the corporation or municipal council. As for the number of members from cities and boroughs, there were on an average 180 in the time of Edward III., that is to say, about ninety towns were represented.* The number of knights was at the rate of two for every county. In spite of their smaller number, they possessed the greater influence in the Lower House, because they represented an aristocratic element.

During the troubled reign of Richard II. parliament continued to increase in power. In the trial of the Chancellor Michael de la Pole, the right to prosecute public officers before the House of Lords, for acts which could not be reached by ordinary laws, was enforced for the first time in an important case. We can only mention here the formidable opposition led by the uncles of the King, the nomination of eleven commissioners, and the deposition, by judicial proceedings, of Richard II. That was the first instance of a king being tried by his people, and it had a very different import from a murder or an outrage of any kind on the royal person. Richard II. was the forerunner of Charles I.

The reign of Henry IV. was for different reasons favorable to the growth of public liberty. The house of Lancaster, which had gained the crown with the assistance of the House of Commons, showed a popular and parliamentary spirit and made it its principle of government. No complaint was heard at that time of the right of parliament alone to make taxation legal. Under Henry IV. redress of grievances was made a preliminary condition to the voting of subsidies, and the right to direct their use, which had already been introduced, was exercised without obstruction. But parliament showed great moderation in claiming its rights. By forbidding the barons to fill the country with their dependents in livery, they succeeded in diminishing the number of quarrels between the noble families. By prohibiting appeals of treason in full parliament, it suppressed one source of disorder and real danger to the public.

Under Henry V. an English king again became all-conquering and victorious ; but, as in the reign of Edward III.,

* The number of representatives from the towns fluctuates very greatly. It was probably at a minimum under Edward III. Who were electors in the early elections is very uncertain.—ED.

the necessity for money to carry on his expedition on the continent held him in dependence upon parliament, which body gained two important concessions : first, that no act was valid which did not have the consent of the Commons ; secondly, that the changes made in the wording of their petitions, when the matter was converted into laws, should not be of such a nature as to alter the sense.

Thus the English liberties and their securities gradually accumulated, and thus England's glorious constitutional edifice took shape and substance. In the middle of the fifteenth century the English people had a declaration of their rights in the Magna Charta, in the jury a guarantee of their individual safety, and in parliament a guarantee of the public safety. The national securities may be classified under five heads, as follows :

The English Constitution in the middle of the fifteenth century.

First, the right to vote the taxes, to determine their nature, to fix the rate of assessment, and to supervise the outlay ; while the king could levy no tax which had not been passed by vote.

Second, the right of parliament to settle questions concerning succession to the throne and the regency.

Third, the right to present grievances and demand their redress before voting on subsidies.

Fourth, the necessity for the concurrence of both houses to change the law.

Fifth, the right of the House of Commons to impeach the royal officers.

The two principal guarantees of individual liberty were as follows :

First, no one could be arrested except by order of a magistrate.

Second, no one could be judged except by his peers, twelve jurors, sitting in public court in the county where the crime had been committed, and from whose decision there could be no appeal.

The national spirit ought to be placed above all these guarantees, for the best institutions are worth nothing unless they are sustained and defended by public opinion. As a consequence of the old alliance between the nobles and the people, a liberal spirit animated the English aristocracy, a spirit acquired during its struggle with the royal power, and which has continued to animate it for the most part since

that time. It accepted the doctrine of equality in the eye of the law, reserving for itself a few purely honorary privileges, and even at that time it opened its ranks to those who raised themselves from obscurity by their talents or their services, while the younger sons of the greatest houses were not nobles but formed a part of the gentry, who came into close contact with the middle classes, in the House of Commons. The latter, on their side, felt none of that hatred of the aristocracy, their old and faithful ally, which filled the heart of the masses in other countries. Therefore, says an eminent English historian, there was nowhere to be found a democracy more aristocratic nor an aristocracy more democratic than the people and the nobility of England.

But then the War of the Roses broke out, and English liberty, drowned in blood, disappeared for a century and a half. The country restored it in the seventeenth century and did not lose it again.

The royal power of France, unlike that of England, which stood alone against the combined forces of the nobility and the people, had joined with the people against the feudal nobility, their common enemy.* It had encouraged the communal movement at its start. Later it admitted the growing Third Estate to a share of political rights. This alliance lasted as long as did the necessity which caused it. But the royal power, in the moment of victory, forgot those who had given it their assistance, and, at the end of the thirteenth century, it tried to become absolute in power. Neither the States-general, convoked by Philip the Fair, nor those consulted by Philip VI. in 1328 and 1345 on the question of currency and taxation, exerted any influence on the general government of the kingdom. It was otherwise during the calamitous period of the Hundred Years War. Then the great need of money made it necessary to convoke the Estates, and the Estates, united during the time when the

France: progress made by royal authority. Formation of a princely feudalism by appanages.

* No systematic and continued policy on the part of the king must be understood here, but rather something occasional merely. The crown made use of the cities when anything was to be gained by it, and turned against them when that seemed better policy—aiding one to-day and opposing another to-morrow, and using them in every way possible, as it did everything else within its reach, to build up its own power.—ED.

masters of France were working her ruin, constituted themselves her masters in order to save her. But they squandered and exhausted their strength ; lassitude followed, and the Estates of 1359, greatly differing from those of 1356 and 1357, re-established the royal authority upon its old foundations. The king profited by this tendency on their part to dispense with the States-general, which the ruling power sometimes found a useful assistant, though formidable and hard to manage. Charles V., while Dauphin, had learned that lesson by bad experience ; he called the Estates together once more to break the disastrous treaty signed at London by King John, then ceased to convoke them and had recourse only to assemblies of notables, chosen by his own officers, or to provincial assemblies, which were more compliant in the matter of taxation, like those in Languedoc, Normandy, Auvergne, etc. It was much the same in the reigns of Charles VI. and Charles VII. Although the latter assembled the representatives of the whole country many times, it is certain that, from the accession of Charles V. until the meeting of the Estates in 1448, the royal power maintained its victory over the States-general and had nothing to fear from them.

The royal power had also triumphed over feudalism. The growth of the royal domains, which had not stopped even during the Hundred Years War, had put the king as a landholder in a position far above all the feudal lords. But feudalism died only to be born again in a less dangerous form, in some respects, though in others more dangerous. The greater part of the time, in fact, the crown, instead of keeping the direct possession of its newly acquired fiefs, gave them as appanages to some prince of the blood, founding in this way a new feudal power which, emanating from the will of the head of the State and attached to him by family ties, might be considered as the representative of the king's authority in the provinces, though at times it aspired to a higher and almost royal power. There was, moreover, an important difference between fiefs and appanages. The latter did not pass to the daughters, but reverted to the crown on the extinction of the male line. This custom of conferring appanages on the "sires of the fleurs de lis" arose in the reign of St. Louis. The Valois continued the habit. The most celebrated example of this period is the

investiture of Philip the Bold, son of King John, with the duchy of Burgundy on the death of Philip of Rouvres, the last heir of the first Capetian house of Burgundy.

The king's most useful instruments were his parliament at the center of affairs, and his royal officers in the provinces.

The lawyers had waged war for the royal authority on all questions that arose, but they were not ready to fight the crown itself as was the case later ; under the first of the Valois, parliament confined itself to its judicial functions. In the performance of these, it gained an authority and influence over public opinion which gave it a certain boldness under Charles V.; it was with that prince, in fact, that it first remonstrated on the abuses in the administration of justice, and on two other occasions it remonstrated with Charles VI. on non-political subjects. In the absence of the States-general this body, already respected for its learning and its character, seems to have been designed by nature to control the government. In 1371, the nobility of Languedoc appealed to parliament from a tax imposed by the king. Charles V. set the appeal aside.

One very simple but necessary function, the registration of the royal ordinances, grew to be of great importance. To apply the law it was necessary for the judges to know it, and as the art of printing did not exist, it was necessary to make and preserve a copy ; in other words, to register the law. But the laws of one day often differed from those of the day before. When the question came up, which should be obeyed, parliament pointed out (*remontrait*) to the king its embarrassment, and asked for advice. Thence arose two rights of great importance and great elasticity, which gave parliament, the simple judiciary power, the chance, later, of entering into the affairs of the State and of claiming to be a political power. By refusing or by delaying the registration, it succeeded in arresting or suspending the promulgation and the effects of the royal ordinances. By means of the custom of "remonstrances," which it developed into a right, it presumed to modify the law itself. Examples of this were seen as early as 1418 and 1443, and many others since that time. Charles V. made a great concession to parliament when he permitted them to make their own appointments to the vacant places within their body. Charles VII., on the other hand, resumed the right to dispose of those places,

The University possessed considerable authority on account of its learning, its renown, and its 20,000 students,* and more than once it had played an important part in public affairs. It sustained the kings in their efforts toward Gallican independence of the Papal power. In the midst of the civil disturbances which prevailed at Paris it exerted a great influence on passing events, and feeling that, with the parliament, it formed the thinking head of the country, it urged that body to join in seizing the government when the king went mad and the different factions were contending for control. Their audacity was well justified by the extraordinary merit of the Cabochian ordinance, their work. But, like everything else, the University finally gave way to royal authority.

The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) was one of the important acts of the administration of Charles VII. It recognized the superiority of a general council to the authority of the Pope, reserved the right of election to the bishoprics and the great benefices to the churches and chapters of France, and withdrew from the court of Rome the reservations, provisions, and annates, which drew a great deal of money out of the kingdom. This act put great influence over the elections into the hands of the patrons of the Church, consequently into those of the king, and of the other lords on whose lands the churches and abbeys were built. The last-mentioned circumstance induced Louis XI. to abolish later the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, and Francis I. established in its place the Concordat of 1516, which was followed, as a natural consequence, by that of 1802.

Another measure struck a heavy blow at the feudal system. It was the formation of a standing army, and it took the military monopoly, which they had enjoyed till that time, away from the nobility. The employment of mercenary soldiers, an old custom, had prepared the way for the change. But Charles VII. desired that his standing army should be really a national army and not a collection of men from all nations, having no feeling of patriotism. The Estates held at Orleans in 1439 published an ordinance to that effect, which was executed in 1445; it instituted 15

* This number, like those given for other mediæval universities, is of course an exaggeration. One tenth the number would be much nearer the actual attendance.—ED.

companies furnished with 100 lances each, that is to say, with 100 men-at-arms, each one followed by three archers, a swordsman, and a page, and each wearing a jacket in the livery of their captain. That was the first appearance of uniform. A perpetual tax of 1,200,000 livres annually was appropriated for the special purpose of the support of the troops. In 1448, the creation of free archers (made free from nearly all taxes) completed the military organization which paved the way for the national infantry of our times. "In every parish of our kingdom there shall be an archer who shall be and maintain himself continually in proper equipment, and armed with a helmet, dagger, a sword, with a quiver and jacks, or coats of mail. . . . It shall be their duty to practice on feast days and on days which are not work days. We shall pay them four francs a month while in our service."

To these efforts toward establishing political unity there must be added a premature attempt at unity of laws; namely, the ordinance of Montils-les-Tours (1453), which prescribed that all the customs of the kingdom should be written down and made to accord with each other.

Thus Lords and Commons, the nobility and the clergy, the States-general, parliament, the University, and all who at different times had given offense to the royal power, or who had tried to arrest its progress later, were at least made powerless, if they were not entirely overthrown. Most of the great seignorial titles had disappeared, the rest were to fall with Louis XI., Charles VIII., and Francis I. Moreover, the king had kept all the government of the country in his grasp, in spite of the efforts of the States-general to seize some parts of it, especially those relating to finance, and in spite of numberless commissions appointed to watch over such and such a branch of the administration. The four great bodies holding the positive administration of the kingdom between them were: the great council assisting the king, for matters of general policy; parliament for the judiciary department; and the chamber of accounts, with the court of excise created after the battle of Poitiers, for the financial department. It should be noticed that we have in this separation of functions an attempt at an analysis of government, though it is true that under these higher departments the bailiffs united in themselves the judiciary, financial, administrative, and military functions.

It is evident that England's organization tended toward the noble end of political liberty, while France tended in the direction of a great and strong monarchy, where the king was to rise alone to a position high above all others. It might have been predicted with truth even at that early date, that the strongest sentiment of the one people would be for liberty ; of the other, for equality.

BOOK IX.

ITALY, GERMANY AND THE OTHER EUROPEAN STATES TO THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ITALY, FROM 1250 TO 1453.

Italy after the Investiture Strife; Complete ruin of all central power (1250).—Manfred and Charles of Anjou.—The Principalities in Lombardy; Romagna and the Marshes.—The Republics: Venice, Florence, Genoa, and Pisa.—Reappearance of the German Emperors in Italy and the return of the Popes to Rome.—Anarchy; the Condottiere.—Splendor of Literature and the Arts.—Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio.

In the midst of the mighty combat between the two supreme powers of Christendom, the Empire and the Holy

See, over the investiture and over the possession of universal dominion, Italy, at once the scene and the victim of this struggle, had not succeeded in attaining independence. When the power of the Emperor and that of the Pope declined, it might have been expected that she would at last become the

Italy after the investiture strife; ruin of all central power (1250). Manfred and Charles of Anjou. mistress of her own destiny; but this was not the case. She had formed the habit of intestine warfare and that of summoning foreign aid in her party quarrels. Nevertheless, although in the midst of most bloody conflicts, inspired by the rare boon of local political liberty, she shone with a wonderful brilliancy in civilization, literature, and the arts, and in these respects was far in advance of all the other countries of Europe.

The death of Frederic II. prepared the way for the downfall of German dominion in Italy, although it did not

actually complete it. He left behind him sons worthy of succeeding him—Conrad IV. in Germany and Manfred in Southern Italy. It is true that Conrad died very soon, and his heir, Conradin, was only a child (1254). Manfred, however, by his talents, by his politic alliances in the north of Italy, and finally by the formidable assistance of the Saracens of Lucera, was a redoubtable enemy. Innocent IV., who had been triumphantly received by almost the whole of Italy on his return from the council of Lyons, had not time to overthrow his power.

Innocent's successor, Alexander IV. (1254), made a vigorous attack on the enemies of the Holy See. In the north he profited by the cruelties of Eccelino of Padua, which were so great that they provoked a general league against him. When defeated at Cassano Eccelino killed himself by tearing open his wounds. But in the south Alexander's attempts failed, and Manfred had himself crowned king of Sicily (1258). At Rome the senator Brancalcione, on whom the people had bestowed a dictatorial power for three years, treated the Pope with the greatest harshness and even drove him from the city.

Thus Innocent IV. had triumphed over Frederick II., but not over Manfred, and his successor, Urban IV., was not more fortunate. He resolved to resort to the great remedy of applying for foreign assistance. He offered the throne of Naples to Saint Louis, who refused it, and then to his brother, the Duke of Anjou, who accepted it eagerly. On condition of paying homage and an annual tribute of 8000 ounces of gold, the latter received as a fief from the Holy See for himself and his direct descendants the kingdom on both sides of the strait, with the exception of Benevento and the territory ceded by that city to the Pope. He promised to support 300 horsemen in the service of the Church, never to unite the imperial crown, or Lombardy or Tuscany, with Naples, and to continue all the immunities of the clergy; he consented to his dethronement in case he violated any one of these conditions (1263). Clement IV., who had succeeded Urban IV., gave his expedition the color of a crusade by excommunicating Manfred, and thus attracted many of the Italians of Lombardy to the standard of the Angevin. The son of Frederic II. and the brother of Saint Louis met in the plains of Grandella, near Benevento (1266). The Germans and the Saracens had

the advantage at first, but Charles of Anjou, as he was fighting with the excommunicated and infidels, gave the order to strike at the horses, which in that age was considered unfair, and the tide of battle turned. The Apulians, who were of doubtful loyalty, took to flight. At this sight Manfred was overcome by despair, and when a silver eagle which he wore on his helmet fell from it he cried, "It is a sign from God!" and dashing into the midst of the enemy, was killed on the field of battle.

After Manfred's death Charles still had to conquer Conradin, who was on his way with an army from Germany. The Italians already felt a strong repulsion for the gloomy Charles, and received this last scion of the house of Swabia with great affection. But what could this child, who had just left his mother's arms, accomplish in the face of the man of iron who had just triumphed over Manfred? "He is a lamb sent to the slaughter," said the Pope. He was defeated at Tagliacozzo by a ruse and was made prisoner with his friend Frederic of Austria, who was almost as young as he. They were summoned before a court of justice, composed of Provençal barons and jurisconsults and presided over by the conqueror himself, a derisive tribunal which accused them of revolt against the king of Sicily! They were playing chess in their prison when they were told that they must die. "What terrible news for my mother!" cried Conradin, and went on with his game. The next day this heroic child ascended the scaffold, which was placed in sight of the bay of Naples, over which he had hoped to rule as his fathers had done before him. After having protested in a loud voice, and, according to a later legend, thrown his glove to the crowd as if to call for vengeance, he embraced Frederic, and was the first to lay his head upon the block, a favor which he had asked that he might not see his friend die. When his head fell from the body Frederic uttered a loud groan, picked it up and kissed it, and then placed his own head upon the block. The people asserted that they saw the eagle of the house of Swabia hovering over the scaffold and then descending when the head fell, to dip its wing in the blood of the emperors, when it soared aloft and was lost to sight in the heavens (1268).

To make his victory secure Charles of Anjou followed it up by many executions. A great number of Neapolitan and Sicilian barons were beheaded, and the chiefs of the

Saracens of Lucera met the same fate. In Rome, a hundred and thirty nobles, who were accused of felony, were shut up in a wooden hut and burned alive. Charles had himself called Imperial Vicar and Pacificator, and under various titles dominated the whole of the Italian peninsula. He was one of the most powerful of sovereigns. His family alliances extended his influence far and near, and, elated by his rapid success, he dreamed of a still greater power. The Latin empire had just fallen, and a Paleologus had reascended the throne of the East; now it was not far from Brindisi to Constantinople. To restore the empire of Constantinople for his own profit, with Italy as a dependency, under the specious pretext of putting an end to the schism, which would have assured him the support of the Church,—this was the favorite dream of Charles of Anjou.

The execution of these plans was delayed some time by various circumstances, by the crusade of Saint Louis to Tunis (1270), and by the reigns of Gregory X. and Nicholas III. These two Popes felt that the new power which had been established by the Holy See was becoming dangerously strong. Gregory X. put an end to the great interregnum in Germany, and named Rudolf of Hapsburg Emperor, in order to counterbalance in the north the preponderance of Charles of Anjou in the south. With the same end in view, he removed the principal pretext for the expedition planned by the ambitious Angevin, by bringing about by peaceful means a temporary reconciliation of the churches of the East and West. Following the same policy, the one desire of Nicholas III. was to oppose the emperor to the king of Sicily, to strengthen the power of the Papacy between the two, and finally to reconcile the Guelfs and the Ghibelines throughout all the peninsula, in order to destroy the influence of foreigners in the affairs of Italy; he even favored the Ghibelines because Charles of Anjou, the leader of the Guelfs, was more dangerous than the emperor. His reign, however, was short, and his successor, Martin IV. (1281), was wholly devoted to the cause of Charles, who had brought about his election. The latter prepared to start for Constantinople with a regular army of 15,000 men.

At this moment the Sicilian Vespers occurred, the explosion of a discontent which had long been brooding in the hearts of the conquered people. For several years a Sicilian physician, John of Procida, had been wandering,

disguised as a Franciscan, through Spain, Italy, Sicily, and Greece. He had formed the plan of a great league between the Pope, the King of Aragon, Peter III., and the Emperor Paleologus, and Peter III. was already cruising in the waters of the kingdom of Naples, when on Easter Tuesday, March 31, 1282, during the service of this solemn feast, some insolent actions of the French caused them to be attacked by the population of Palermo. The cry of "Death to the French" soon rang through the entire city and the whole of Sicily. They were massacred almost everywhere.* Charles of Anjou, thirsting for vengeance, sent a fleet against Messina, which was heroically defended even by its women, and this fleet on its return was surprised and burned by the admiral Roger of Loria. Charles watched it flaming out at sea and gnawed his scepter with rage. Soon afterwards his son, Charles the lame, was defeated in another naval battle and was taken prisoner, while the king of France, Philip III., was driven from Aragon. Charles himself died, ruined by his overweening ambition (1285). The treaty of 1288 gave southern Italy to Charles the lame, and Sicily [this was the origin of the two Sicilies] to James the son of Peter III., a separation which lasted a long time, and, though it does not now exist in name, still exists at least in the feelings and in the very different characters of the two peoples of Naples and Sicily. The acquisition of Naples by the house of Aragon laid Italy open to Spanish dominion, another evil for this country.

As the main activity of political affairs in the south of Italy centered upon the house of Anjou, and as the emperors resided in Germany, northern Italy was much more independent in this era, and was able to settle its constitution, or rather its various constitutions. As the multitude of little states into which it was divided makes its history singularly complicated, we must notice that in Lombardy a system of principalities, the Tyrannies (in the Greek sense), prevailed, of which Milan is a good type, while in Tuscany we find a system of democracies, or of free republics, of which Florence is the most striking example. The Romagna was divided almost equally between the two sys-

The principalities in Lombardy, the Romagna and the Marches.

* The massacre was a popular outburst not connected with the plans attributed to Procida.—ED.

tems. Besides these two categories, we must mention still another form, that of the aristocratic republics, like Venice.

In earlier times, when the Macedonian dominion was withdrawn from Greece, it left tyrants behind it like a foul sediment. The same thing happened when the German dominion was withdrawn from Italy. Podestas and captains of the people the chiefs of the adventurers who had made their fortunes by the wars, and the very citizens who had led their cities to victory over the Germans, had seized upon or kept the power. "Italy," said Dante, "is full of tyrants, and every peasant who joins in any enterprise is taken for a hero." At Milan the Della Torre, the Guelf podestas of the city, rose to power and became successively lords of Lodi, Novaro, Como, Vercelli, and Bergamo, until 1277, when having changed from popular chiefs to hateful tyrants, they were overthrown by the Ghibeline archbishop of Milan, Otho Visconti, whose nephew Matteo the Great was proclaimed perpetual lord of Milan and imperial vicar of Italy (1295). The dominion of his house extended from the Sesia to the Oglio, and often even further, until 1447.

Verona fell under the dominion of the Della Scala family, whose most illustrious member, Cane Grande, conquered Padua and Treviso, which lay to the right of the future duchy of Milan, and obtained for the house of Della Scala a power which extended from the Mincio to the lagoons of Venice. He died in 1329, and his house perished miserably at the end of the century.

To the left of Milan the house of Savoy, which was in possession of the territory on both sides of the Alps (Savoy and Piedmont), was holding aloof from the revolutions in Italy. The marquisate of Saluzzo was hemmed in by their domains, while they also bordered on the marquisate of Montferrat, which passed over to the Greek house of Paleologus in 1305 as a marriage portion. One of the last marquises of Montferrat, William VI., a true condottiere, had been shut up by the inhabitants at Vercelli for seventeen months in a cage of iron and had died in this terrible prison.

The Gonzagas seized Mantua in 1328 and reigned there until 1708; the house of Est ruled over Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio.

In the Campagna of Rome, the Orsini ruled toward the Tiber and the Colonnas toward Præneste. At Rome a legate

represented the authority of the Pope of Avignon, but wielded no power.

A number of cities struggled to remain free in the midst of these principalities, and some of them succeeded in doing so. By the 14th century four cities had obtained a great power : Venice, Genoa, Pisa and Florence.

In 1297, the aristocratic constitution of Venice was established by limiting the eligibility for the grand council to the members of the noble families of the councillors then in office : a measure which was later completed by the inscription in the Golden Book and by the establishment of the Council of the Ten. At this time Venice had no territory on the mainland of Italy, but possessed, besides Dalmatia, Négrepont, and Candia, many islands in the Archipelago and was supreme over the Adriatic. Even since the downfall of the Latin Empire in Constantinople, (1261) Genoa and Venice had contended for the supremacy in the East.

A few years earlier than Venice, Florence had undergone revolution in the opposite direction. Her citizen population had been divided into two classes : the Major Arts comprising the higher professions, the judges, notaries, bankers, physicians, mercers, furriers, and drapers ; and the Minor Arts the dyers, carders, washers, smiths, and stone-cutters.* They formed the great and small, the citizen nobles and the artisans, the rich people and the poor people, (*populus crassus*, *populus minutus*.) In 1282, a nearly complete political equality was established between these two peoples of the same city by a measure which constituted the Priors of the Arts, that is, the chief men of each profession, an executive council or Signory—which was renewed every two months and possessed the sole authority in the city. The true nobility were excluded from this political equality, as they had often disturbed the peace of the city and caused much bloodshed by their family quarrels. The nobles were declared ineligible for any public office unless they had renounced their rank by having their names inscribed on

* The number of arts covered by the names of *Major* and *Minor*, at this time, was twenty-one. The Major Arts here mentioned were the first organized and the wealthiest. Later, fourteen others were organized, of which five, called sometimes the Middle Arts, were associated with the Major Arts in electing the Priors,—EP.

the registry of one of the trades. Somewhat later Giano della Bella made this proscription of the nobles even more severe and completed the organization of Florence by dividing all the citizens of the city into twenty companies, each of which had a gonfalonier at its head, and all of which were united under the direction of one supreme gonfalonier. This curious organization of Florence was imitated with little change by most of the cities of Tuscany, Lucca, Pistoia, Pisa, Arezzo, and even by Genoa.

This similarity of political organization did not bring with it any good understanding between the rival cities. Genoa, which was contending with Venice for supremacy in the East, and with Pisa over Corsica and Sardinia, destroyed the military force of the Pisans in the great naval battle of Meloria (1284) as they almost succeeded in doing to the forces of the Venetians a century latter at Chioggia. All Tuscany immediately threw itself upon the conquered city, and Florence, Lucca, Sienna, Pistoia and Volterra disputed over the spoils. Pisa resisted for a while by giving all her power to the too famous Ugolino,* that odious man who met so terrible a death. When he with his sons and grandsons had perished in the tower of hunger, Pisa was only able to save herself from utter ruin by renouncing all her power.

Florence then ruled over Tuscany, but she did not enjoy her triumph peacefully but turned her arms against herself. Though already divided into Guelfs and Ghibelines, names which now had no other significance than to designate the bitterness of parties, she borrowed from Pistoia the terms of the "Whites" and the "Blacks," as if desirous of enriching still farther the vocabulary of discord.

There never was an epoch where party spirit was so bitter, when man was more precipitate in his action either good or evil, or when the human soul vibrated more tensely and carried its feelings, whether noble or depraved, to greater lengths. On reading the history of the Italy of those times we are astounded by the variety and the atrocity of the punishments. Was not this the very inferno that Dante (1265-1321) tried to describe in his Divine Comedy? He only needed to observe, not to imagine. He himself was persecuted, banished from his country,

Reappearance
of the German
Emperors in
Italy and return
of the Popes to
Rome.

* See Dante's Inferno, Canto xxxiii.—ED.

Florence, for being a Ghibeline, and when wandering with his thin and gloomy face over the land of exile, he presented himself at the gate of a monastery, and a monk, almost terrified by his silence and his appearance, asked, "What are you looking for?" he replied: "I am looking for peace."

He sought peace not for himself alone but for Italy. But from whom should he demand it after so many unsuccessful attempts, after so many powers had collapsed in this land which was as unstable as the sides of her own Vesuvius. He, and with him many others, turned for help to the Emperor, whose authority had formerly been so fatal to the Italians. Henry VII., summoned by the Visconti and the Ghibelines, crossed the Alps in person, but brought but little authority with him (1310). He busied himself with re-establishing the fallen authority of Matteo in the Milanaise and in ransoming its cities. When excommunicated by Clement V. and his progress checked by the army of the king of Naples and the Guelfs, he was about to re-cross the Alps, leaving as much anarchy behind him as he had found on his arrival, he died either of malaria or poisoned by the host given him by a Dominican friar (1313).

Dante died without having seen peace (1321). Another Emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, the successor of Henry VII., appeared in Italy, and like him was excommunicated. He crossed the Alps in 1327 to go to Rome to seek the useless crown of the Roman Empire. He made an even poorer appearance in Italy than did Henry, and, when he left it, was almost deserted by his followers.

The arrival of the chivalrous John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia and imperial vicar in Italy (1330), gave the Italians a moment's hope that they were going to find the pacificator of their country, the podesta of their longings. But this royal knight fared no better than the others, and after a few months he was detested. It is a curious spectacle to see Italy rushing with artless enthusiasm to welcome all the strangers who crossed her threshold and becoming as quickly disgusted with them as she had been infatuated. But we must not cast it up against her. She, like Dante, was also searching for peace; she asked it of all, and the only response they made to her confidence was to continue the pursuit of their own selfish and ambitious designs.

Passing from one illusion to another, she finally came to

the most extraordinary one of the whole century, the illusion of which Nicolas Gabrini, or Cola di Rienzo,* was both the author and the object. This Roman, the son of a tavern-keeper, a pupil of Petrarch, and well versed in ancient history, thought to awaken in the people of Rome memories which had never entirely passed away, and which the renaissance of the study of the classics was then renewing. On the steps of the capitol, in sight of some of the monuments of former ages, he spoke to the Roman people of the glory of their fathers as witnessed by these same buildings; he evoked past times and ancient Rome, the republic and the mistress of the world. With Livy in his hand, he wished to make a new Rome on the model of the ancient city and to establish what he called the "good state" (*buono stato*). On May 19, 1347, he ascended the capitol, where the people were assembled, and was proclaimed tribune for the establishment of the *buono stato*. He immediately instituted a prompt and impartial justice by organizing an urban militia and a naval force upon the coasts. He caused the refractory nobles to return to their allegiance and had the brigands hung; he established public granaries in the city and many charities for the poor and the widows and orphans of those who should die for their country. The republics of Tuscany and Romagna applauded his course with enthusiasm, and several of the Lombard princes consented to receive the deputies of the Tribune. Petrarch called him "the knight who does honor to the whole of Italy." There was a season of great enthusiasm. The "holy Roman Republic" proclaimed the freedom of all the cities in Italy. Rienzo was elated with this glory and mixed a sort of Christian mysticism with this evocation of pagan antiquity. One day, arrayed in the ancient imperial ornaments, and at the same time consecrated a knight of the Christian Cross, he pointed to the four points of the compass and cried, "All this belongs to me, and even more than this."

It was only a dream, for soon the prosaic difficulties of the government unsettled the authority of the poet-tribune. The people grew tired of him and deserted him when the legate of the Pope declared him a traitor and a heretic.

* This is the form of the name given by his contemporary, the author of the *Vita di Cola di Rienzo*.

Italy awakened from her glorious dream to the terrible plague of 1348, which carried off three of every five inhabitants and which so greatly debased public morals, as is witnessed by the Decameron of Boccaccio. Rienzo, whose life had been spared, and who had withdrawn from the city, was called back by the cardinal legate, Alborno, in order to make use of his authority in restoring the people to obedience to the Pope at Avignon. But the people would not recognize their favorite of 1347 in the agent of the Pope, and Rienzo perished by the same hands that had so often applauded him. This was the beginning of the restoration of the papal authority at Rome, and in 1378 the Pope, Urban VI., restored the pontifical seat to Rome and put an end to the Babylonian captivity, though this gave rise to the great schism of the West.

Petrarch died like Dante, disappointed and disheartened.

"Liberty," cried he, "that precious and greatly desired boon, is never appreciated until lost!"

The papacy which returned to Rome in 1378 was no longer the great papacy of former times. Without temporal power and with little moral influence over the peninsula, in consequence of its long exile, it could no longer accomplish any good for Italy. A free field was open for the quarrels of the republic of the north. In this same year 1378 Florence was shaken by a great popular movement, and Venice and Genoa were carrying on a quarrel which exhausted the strength of both.

The Albizzi and the Guelf party held the power in Florence. The Guelfs were led by Silvestro de Medici, a

Anarchy; the rich plebeian, and relying on the Minor Arts
Condottieri. who were jealous of the Major Arts, and on

the *Ciampi* or the inferior trades, which were not organized into regular corporations, they provoked a revolution which soon went further than they intended. The Minor Arts and the *Ciampi* demanded to be admitted to government on the same footing as the Major Arts. Medici was willing to sustain the demands of the Minor Arts, of which he was a member, but not those of the *Ciampi*, who, displeased by this partiality, spread through the city and burned the houses of the Albizzi. They put Michael Lando, a wool carder, at their head, and he seized the signory and founded a government of nine members, three from the Major Arts, three from the Minor Arts, and three from the

common people. The Ciompi were not content with this, and they still demanded certain financial measures favorable to the plebeian debtors. Lando felt unable to satisfy their demands, and showed as much firmness in refusing them as he had shown in his measures against the nobles. This equivocal position discredited his authority. The three priors of the Ciompi were driven from power, and a new government was formed of nine members, five of whom were from the Minor Arts.

While Florence was a prey to this fruitless agitation, the rivalry of the two great maritime and commercial powers of Italy broke out in the war of Chioggia. The Venetian admiral Victor Pisani attacked and defeated a Genoese fleet in 1370. The following year the Genoese admiral Lucien Doria entered the Adriatic and avenged this defeat by a victory which forced the Venetians to take refuge in their lagoons. Doria, to keep them imprisoned there, established himself at Chioggia, at their very gates, and declared that he would not withdraw until he had bridled the bronze horses of Saint Mark. Venice seemed lost, and the signory wished to change the seat of government to Candia. But the people opposed this move, and released Pisani from the prison where he had been thrown as a punishment for this defeat. The Genoans were besieged at Chioggia and obliged to surrender at discretion. The only result of this war was to weaken both the republics. Venice regained her strength, but Genoa continued to be torn by the quarrels of the Adorni and the Fregosi, who had succeeded to the Doria and the Fieschi.

In their quarrels the republics of the north showed at least some fine feelings and heroic traits; but after the wise reign of Robert I. the monarchy in the south of Italy exhibited only crimes and intrigues, unrelieved by higher motives or aspirations. This Robert (1309-1343), the grandson of Charles of Anjou, was a lover of peace and of the arts. The Pope of Avignon, Clement V., appointed him vicar of the empire in Italy, but he made nothing of this title. The king of Aragon ceded to him Sicily, which was being governed by his brother Frederick, and the Pope commanded the Aragon prince to give up the island to the king of Naples. Robert, however, left it in Frederick's possession, and to make sure of peace gave him his sister in marriage. He was the friend of Petrarch, and wished the

nomad poet to make his home at Naples. His nephew, Charles Robert, became king of Hungary in his mother's right, and founded on the banks of the Danube the short Angevine dynasty which temporarily raised the country of the Magyars to so high a position. All this was changed at the accession of Robert's granddaughter, Jane I. She married her cousin Andrew of Hungary and had him assassinated at the end of two years. After a life of debauchery and crime, and after many vicissitudes of fortune, she adopted her cousin Charles of Durazzo, son of the king of Hungary, as her heir, and then, a little later, Louis of the second house of Anjou, whom we already know, the brother of Charles V. of France. Durazzo defended his rights with force. He got control of Naples and of Jane, and had her smothered under a mattress at the approach of his rival (1382). For some time he exercised a great influence in Italy, and overthrew the popular government in Florence in order to re-establish the power of the aristocracy. But when he died in Hungary, in 1386, the kingdom of Naples was plunged for a long time into complete anarchy, under the government of Ladislaus (1386-1414), and of a second Jane (1414-1435), who was as wicked and dissolute as the first. She also chose two successors to her throne, Alfonso V. of Aragon, and Louis III., Duke of Anjou, and later still René, his brother. This double choice gave rise to the prolonged struggle between the French and the Aragonese parties in the kingdom of Naples and to the Italian wars which broke out at the beginning of modern times.

This decline of the kingdom of Naples marks the beginning of the disappearance of the last great power in Italy, of that power which after the Emperor and the Pope might have exercised a real influence over the peninsula. Another power was, however, arising in the north. Gian Galeazzo Visconti, the great-grandson of Matteo the Great, became sole master of Milan in 1385, and dreamed of founding a kingdom of Italy. At first the enemy of Venice, but later her ally, he seized Padua and Treviso, subdued the greater part of Lombardy, and from there tried to enter Romagna. When Florence checked his progress in that direction by means of her famous condottieri, the Count of Armagnac and the Englishman John Hawkwood, he still succeeded in insinuating his influence everywhere, and in 1395 he bought from the Emperor Wenzel a charter of investi-

ture which conferred upon him the titles of Duke of Milan and Count of Pavia. He was then supreme over twenty-six cities in Lombardy together with their territories. When he was carried off by the plague in 1402 the Milanese power almost passed out of existence. Venice and Florence regained their prestige, but used it ungenerously. Venice subjected Padua, Verona, and Vicenza to her tyranny, while Florence utterly destroyed Pisa.

For the rest, the real power was in the hands of the mercenary adventurers, the condottieri, who were then wandering through Italy letting themselves out to the highest bidder, and who proved a new scourge for the peninsula. Two of these were especially famous and wandered all over Italy, fighting over every province, and even over Rome herself. These were Braccio da Montone and Sforza Attendolo, the latter a peasant soldier, whose family was destined to become so powerful. These condottieri, who fought only for money, kept up an understanding with each other and were on good terms, though in opposing armies. At the battle of Anghiari, one of the most important of this epoch, only one man was killed after an engagement that lasted ten hours. This was undoubtedly a very humane method of warfare, but disastrous to the national character.

Philippo Maria, the son of Gian Galeazzo, restored the Milanese power, thanks to the talents of Carmagnola, who later went over to the Venetians and met a tragic death among them.

The most fortunate and most successful of the condottieri was Francesco Sforza, who, having become the captain and son-in-law of Philipppo Maria, seized his kingdom at his death, triumphed over the long resistance of Milan, and assumed there the ducal crown, scepter, and sword.

Venice protested in vain against the restoration of the Milanese power under a mighty prince, and allied herself against them with Alfonso V., the king of Aragon and Sicily, and the heir of Naples. A like revolution was going on in Florence. Cosmo de Medici was busied in establishing his power there, and hoped to make the city into a principality. Liberty was everywhere disappearing, and the attempt of Porcaro at Rome (1453) was but a feeble echo of the bolder projects of Arnold of Breccia and of Rienzo. Republican Italy had overcome the Germans, but had not been able to conquer herself, because liberty had been un-

willing to subject herself to law. The Italy of the principalities was to lay herself open to outside influences and continually to summon foreigners into her midst, and in this way to inaugurate a new era of calamities.

Though, during this period we have just been reviewing, Italy was in a very disturbed state, and though she missed

Splendor of
Italy in litera-
ture and the
arts; Dante,
Petrarch, Boc-
caccio.

the goal of happiness toward which the actions of men are wont to tend, she was indemnified for it by the splendor and glory with which she was then adorned; and does

not this in itself form a great part of happiness? Her language, which was already half formed, was, under the pen of the great Florentine poet, Dante Alighieri (1265 to 1321), the first of the European languages to receive its modern form. Energetic and sonorous, even when most graceful, it furnished the poet with the means of writing his immortal poem, the *Divine Comedy*. This poem is an epitome of the Middle Ages, and passing from the ecstatic contemplation of the beauty of Beatrice when transported to the heavens, to the tortures and the cries of the damned, from the serene splendors of Paradise to the fiercest fires of the infernal regions, we can discern, as it were, the whole religious and theological conception of the age. This language was less harsh and more tender and perfect on the lips of Petrarch, the author of those sonnets and canzones in which his constant and invincible love for Laura in spite of her absence, even of her death, will live forever, and also his no less faithful love for his unhappy country, for Italy, whose fate he mourns in wonderful lines. After Dante, whose poems were interpreted by professors especially appointed to that end, and after Petrarch, who, crowned with laurels, ascended the steps of the Capitol followed by the applause of a whole people, there came a decadence in letters as far as the subjects, sentiments, and conceptions were concerned. Boccaccio was born in Paris in 1313 and died at Florence in 1375. His *Decameron* shows him as the greatest of the prose writers, but not of the moralists of his country. After him literature was silent and slumbered, not to reawaken until the second Italian renaissance with Tasso. Learning now took the place of letters. Petrarch himself was deeply versed in antiquity. John of Ravenna, Chrysoloras, Bracciolini, and Leonardo Bruni, or Aretino, were the famous scholars

of the times. They began that eager research for the ancient manuscripts which brought literature back to the pursuit of the true and the beautiful. Bartolus had lectured on Roman law with great renown at Pisa and Perugia (died in 1356), and Villani, on beholding the spectacle of the great jubilee of 1300, had conceived the idea which he executed by writing a history "for the glory of his country, Florence, which is still increasing in power, while Rome is declining."

The arts had already attained a point that foreshadowed the splendors of the age of Leo X. Venice and Pisa were the first to distinguish themselves in this line. In 1071 the wholly Byzantine church of St. Mark's arose at the head of the Adriatic. In 1063, on the banks of the Arno, the famous dome of Pisa was begun; in 1152 the wonderful baptistry, in which the Byzantine cupola, the Roman arcade, the Greek column, and gothic ornamentation were all united; in 1174 the leaning tower, and in 1278 the gallery of the Campo Santo, a cemetery of consecrated ground destined to receive the bodies of the great men of Pisa. Florence somewhat later, at the end of the thirteenth century, began to build the churches of Santa Croce and of Santa Maria del Fiore, in which Arnolfo di Cambio combined the pointed arch and the rose window in the Tuscan style; next came Brunelleschi, whose dome placed on the latter church was the admiration of Michel Angelo. In 1386 Gian Galeazzo had begun the cathedral of Milan, a mountain of marble which carries a world of statues, and is hardly finished to this day. By the side of architecture, painting was already freeing itself from its trammels with Cimabue, Giotto, and Masaccio.

The same activity was apparent in commerce and industry. Gold was abundant in all the thousand cities and paid for all these works. Amalfi had been the first to send vessels to the East. Pisa had supplanted her, and after the battle of Meloria had been obliged to yield the empire of the seas to Venice and Genoa. The former was mistress of the Adriatic, of a part of her islands, of the coasts of Greece, of Candia, and, through Alexandria, of almost all the commerce with the extreme East; the latter, which traded with the coasts of Spain and France, had the suburb Pera at Constantinople, and at the head of the Black Sea the flourishing colony of Caffa, which took the name of the Queen of the Crimea.

In the interior of Italy industry was flourishing at Milan, which contained 200,000 inhabitants and numberless manufactories of armor, trappings, saddles, and fine cloths; at Verona, which manufactured 20,000 pieces of cloth a year; and at Florence, which had 80,000 inhabitants within, and almost as many outside, her walls, 30,000 workers in wool and workshops which wove 80,000 pieces of cloth each year.

A skillful system of irrigation, which made Lombardy into an immense garden, added to the natural fertility of the soil, from which the Tuscans, Lombards, and Romagnols were able to produce an enormous quantity of products. Money circulated as freely as the commodities, thanks to the *monti* or state banks established at Venice perhaps as early as the middle of the twelfth century, and later on a broader foundation at Genoa and at Florence. The men of Lombardy, Florence, Genoa, and Lucca were not only the great merchants but also the great bankers of the age, and their commercial operations extended over the length and breadth of Europe. Even sovereigns were inscribed upon their books.

Such was the Italy of the Middle Ages, the European country which was farthest advanced in the path of civilization. This advancement is explained by the persistence of the traditions of the ancient civilization and by the great ability of this remarkable Italian population. But though they had attained a high degree of civilization their standard of morals was very low. Another evil in the midst of this splendor, and one which was long incurable, was the loss of all national spirit, the ruin of patriotism. Each man, whether prince or common man, lived entirely for himself, not understanding that the surest means of obtaining the well-being of the individual is to establish public prosperity, and that it is necessary to sacrifice some personal independence to insure general liberty, with all the benefits that follow in its train.

CHAPTER XXX.

GERMANY FROM 1250 TO 1453.

The Great Interregnum (1250-1273). Usurpation of imperial property and rights.—Anarchy and violence; leagues of the Lords and of the Cities.—Rudolf of Hapsburg (1273). Founding of the House of Austria (1282). Adolf of Nassau (1291) and Albert of Austria (1298). Liberation of Switzerland (1308).—Henry VII. (1308) and Lewis of Bavaria (1314). The House of Luxemburg (1347-1438); the Golden Bull.—The House of Austria recovers the imperial crown, but not its power (1438).

THE imperial authority had worn itself out in Italy under the different dynasties which had occupied the throne of Otto the Great, especially under the Hohenstaufen. After the death of Frederick II. (1250), which may be considered as putting an end to the Swabian house, a general emancipation of the two countries which had owned his sway took place. Italy, left to herself, was exhausted by the old quarrel between the Empire and the Holy See, and was incapable of attaining political unity. Germany had a like experience. There, in the twenty-three years known as "the great Interregnum" (1250-1273), the lords and towns threw off all dependence and, advanced by industry and commerce, raised themselves to political power by the same movement that lifted up the middle classes of France, the commons of England, and the Italian republics. Nothing but the great strength of the feudal system in Germany kept them from going as far as the others in that direction.

The Great Interregnum was a period of disturbance and anarchy. Emperors there were, but more in show and name than in reality. Thus William of Holland, whom the Pope Innocent IV. had set up in opposition to Frederick, bore the title till 1256. Then the electors sold the imperial crown with no feeling of shame, putting it up, like the Roman Pretorians, to public auction. To drive a better

bargain, they chose two emperors instead of one, both foreigners, Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., king of England, and Alfonso X., king of Castile.* The latter never made his appearance in Germany; the reign of the other was entirely taken up with voyages to England, whither he went to fill his purse, which was immediately emptied again by the German lords, who robbed him and laughed at him.

This period was justly called the Interregnum, for it was really an eclipse of the imperial authority, whose rights and property were everywhere usurped by the princes, the lords, and the towns. The four electors of the Rhine, that is, the three archbishops of Treves, Cologne, and Mainz, and the Count Palatine,† divided among themselves the great imperial domain, which lay for the most part on both sides of that river. In the duchies and counties the dukes and counts seized whatever of the royal domain lay within their borders, and the bishops followed the example set them. The towns stopped paying their dues and the clergy furnishing the sums they owed to the imperial treasury, and the regalian rights, which had brought a large revenue to the emperors, were everywhere seized and used to the profit of the princes and the towns. Under Frederick I. the revenues had annually exceeded six million crowns; under Rudolf, who recovered some of them, they did not reach a third of that amount.

The number of immediate lords, that is, of those who were directly dependent on the Emperor, and consequently independent when there was no Emperor, or, what amounted to the same, when there was a weak Emperor, had greatly increased. It had been the policy of the Hohenstaufen emperors to multiply the number of these smaller immediate lords whenever opportunity offered, by subdividing the larger states. The domains of the house of Saxony had, in former days, undergone this experience when Henry the Lion was despoiled (1180) of his property, so that many of

* As in theory the Holy Roman Empire embraced the whole of Europe, it was possible for any prince, however remote from Germany, to be elected Emperor.—ED.

† This Count Palatine was the most important of all those established by Otto I., and the only one able to make himself independent. His domains on the two banks of the Rhine formed the Lower Palatinate, his possessions between Bavaria and Bohemia the Upper Palatinate.

the most powerful German sovereignties were now minutely divided. Everything in the neighborhood of Germany that was subject to the Emperor broke away. The vassals of the kingdom of Burgundy freed themselves from the imperial sovereignty; the kings of Denmark, Poland, and Hungary did the same. Ottocar II., king of Bohemia and duke of Moravia, seized Austria, Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia, and was invested with full power over them.

The imperial authority was able to do nothing in its own defense, and far less able to act in defense of others. So

Anarchy,
acts of vio-
lence; leagues
of the lords
and the towns.

Germany was racked with private warfare, highway robbery, and the reign of brute force. The nobility on the banks of the Rhine and in Swabia was conspicuous for exploits of that nature. Every little eminence was surmounted by a castle, especially in Alsace and the Black Forest, and from each of them rapacious noblemen, who did not refrain from murder in pursuit of their booty, were ready to descend upon the roads. A social and moral transformation was taking place at the same time with the political changes. The power of money was growing day by day, and the feudal lords, who scorned to acquire wealth by commerce or industrial pursuits, procured it by plundering. The thirst for gold drove away all sentiments of a chivalrous nature in Germany as well as elsewhere, in spite of the sense of honor in their national character. Contemporary writers deplored the fact. "Formerly," said one of them, "I used to see tournaments and armed men; now it is thought a creditable thing to steal oxen and sheep." "It is with unmixed grief," said another, "that we regard the present time, and with regret, the past. How can a nobleman fall so low as to bring dishonor on his family by a miserable desire for money? The evil is spreading from the noble to the lower classes, so that there is no honor or confidence anywhere."

As the supreme authority no longer checked disorders, it devolved upon the subjects themselves to attend to it. Defensive leagues were formed in every part of the empire. Most of them had come into existence in the reign of Frederick II., for anarchy was already rife in Germany in the time of that prince, on account of his long sojourn in Italy. Some were formed by the nobles; such were the *Ganerbschaften*, in which the lesser nobility joined for the

twofold purpose of regulating by family compact the transmission of estates in case the direct line died out, and of fortifying at the common expense the castles held for refuge and defense. Other leagues comprised cities whose commerce would have perished if it had not been energetically protected. In the middle of the thirteenth century the archbishops of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne entered into a league with sixty cities that bordered on the Rhine. This confederation, called the League of the Rhine, sanctioned by William in 1255, had a definite organization: the allies were to come together every three months in assemblies whose place of meeting was agreed upon, and the towns pledged themselves to equip 600 vessels for use on the river. The most important of these confederations, the Hanseatic League, has already been described.

These federations and the importance of the cities bear witness to considerable progress made in city populations. This progress had been encouraged by some of the emperors, particularly those of the Franconian house, who, to gain the support of the middle classes, had declared the tradesmen of Spire, Strassburg, etc., free. In all the cities the guilds, self-governing trades-unions, increased in numbers and importance and influenced greatly both the development of manufactures and of commerce and the government of the cities. It was, of course, the advantage to be gained that induced the emperors to favor the towns; the authority of the emperor in judicial matters and in the care of the fortifications and the collection of the revenue was represented in the imperial cities by vogts or burggrafen of the emperor's appointment. The bishops or dukes appointed similar officers to represent them in the cities which were dependent upon them. The townspeople naturally wished to carry their independence farther, and free themselves from the authority of the emperor as well as the lords: Frederick tried to resist the movement, but did not have time to accomplish his object, and in the most of the cities these offices finally pass into the control of the cities themselves.

The country districts followed the cities in the path of progress. There was a decrease in serfdom. In North Germany, which had been almost depopulated by the crusades and the wars against the Slavs, numerous colonies

of Brabanters, Flemings, Dutch, and Frisians had settled down as free cultivators of the soil. The custom of emancipation spread from low to high Germany. The cities welcomed the serfs and gave the freedom of the city to those who settled in their suburbs, so that the nobles were forced either to treat their serfs better or to free them if they wished to keep them.

Such was the condition of Germany in the middle of the thirteenth century. The Great Interregnum only added new force to the tendency toward dislocation and isolation. Under Frederick II. it was still uncertain whether Germany would be a monarchy with a parliamentary constitution or a confederation, each member of which would have a share of the power. In the former case, the Germans would have remained a *nation*, in the full acceptance of the word, as all public life would have centered about the constitution of the empire. But the long period of disturbances which followed the death of Frederic II. strengthened the desire for local independence, and it was the latter system which finally prevailed.

Richard of Cornwall died in 1272. At that moment anarchy had reached its highest point, and though the strong, who caused it, suffered little from its effects, the weak suffered much. There was a general feeling in favor of having a man who would at least keep order in the empire, guard the safety of the roads, and maintain the public peace, without interfering with the independence which the people wished to retain. "Everybody desires a good and wise Emperor," wrote the Bishop of Olmutz to Pope Gregory X. ; "but no one is anxious for a strong Emperor." At the end of a year Rudolf of Hapsburg was elected, a knight full of courage, but one of the lesser nobility, whose few domains were scattered through Alsace, Swabia, and Switzerland, and who did not belong to the princely families. Although, apparently, he was not formidable, yet on the day of his coronation the nobles sought to evade the oath of fealty which they owed him, and the scepter which was employed for this purpose could not be found; they had hidden it. Rudolf seized the cross from the altar : "Here," he said, "is the symbol of our salvation ; we shall use it as a scepter."

Rudolf was an able Emperor. In the first place he was

Rudolf of
Hapsburg
(1273.) Found-
ing of the Aus-
trian house
(1282.)





wise enough to distinguish the possible from the impossible, his unquestionable rights from those that were out of date, and the vindication of which would have been fatal to him. Thus he resolutely sacrificed Italy, the "cave of the Lion," as he justly called it. "The footsteps leading to it are many, there are none that return." He sold to Florence, Lucca, Genoa, and Bologna the right to govern themselves by their own laws, and he solemnly confirmed the Pope in the possession of the Exarchate and the Pentapolis, disposing of the imperial domain in Italy as one does in a country he is about to leave forever. Nevertheless he always kept an imperial vicar in Lombardy to collect the revenues still remaining to him there.

He decided that he would have enough to do in trying to re-establish the law in Germany, and in regulating the relations between the local powers and the imperial authority. Ottocar II. king of Bohemia, refused to do him feudal homage (1275). He was a powerful prince who had built up a great Slavonic monarchy flanking the German possessions, from Saxony to the Italian Alps. Germany was troubled by this dangerous neighbor and willingly followed the new Emperor when he went to attack him. Rudolf forced him to submit. The story goes that Ottocar would only consent to do homage behind closed doors in a tent; but that while he was taking the oath, the tent fell down, and all the camp saw Ottocar, in magnificent apparel, on his knees before their Emperor with his thin face, aquiline nose, dressed in a wretched-looking overgarment, a kind of German Louis XI. minus the cruelty. There is some doubt about the fact, but for one reason or another, Ottocar took up arms again, and this time was conquered and killed on the Marchfeld, a great plain opposite Vienna, on the left bank of the Danube (1278). In the treaty which followed, Rudolf left Bohemia in the hands of young Wenzel, but at the same time he married him to his daughter and detached Moravia for many years from his kingdom in order to indemnify himself for the expenses of the war.

When he had accomplished that great work, he turned to the German lords of the interior. He annulled all grants made by the successors of Frederick II., and demanded, though he did not succeed in obtaining, restitution of the rights and property which had been usurped from the imperial crown. He forbade private warfare, made the states

of Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria, and Alsace swear to keep the public peace, and destroyed many castles, the dens of noble bandits, one of whom, the Count of Württemberg, had inscribed upon his banner the words : "A friend to God, a foe to man." In the province of Thuringia alone, he razed seventy fortresses to the ground.

Another feature of Rudolf's policy, besides the relinquishment of Italy and the pacification of Germany, was the founding of the dominion of his house. He granted Carinthia to the Count of Tyrol, who had lent him great assistance in his war with Ottocar, but in 1282 he put his sons in possession of the duchies of Austria, Styria, and Carniola, the provinces, in fact, which are still the foundation on which the great structure of the Hapsburg power rests ; in the following year Albert, the eldest, is given sole possession of them. It was also his desire that the title of King of the Romans should be conferred upon his son. But the electors already found that the new house of Austria was becoming too powerful, and they refused.

On his death, in fact, in 1291, a prince from another family, poor and obscure, Adolf of Nassau, was elected after an interregnum of ten months. His reign of six years is marked by two events ; he sold himself to Edward I. in 1294, against Philip the Fair, for 100,000 pounds sterling, and used the money in an attempt to obtain in Thuringia a principality for his family as Rudolf had done in Austria. The electors were displeased and chose Albert of Austria to succeed him, who conquered and killed his adversary at Göllheim, near Worms (1298).

The ten years' reign of the new king of the Romans* showed that he was very ambitious for his family, which he wished to establish on the throne of Bohemia, where the Slavonic dynasty had lately died out, and also in Thuringia and Meissen, where he lost a battle. He was also bent upon extending his rights, even unjustly—in Alsace and Switzerland—and it proved an unfortunate venture for him. For, on the one hand, he roused the three Swiss cantons of Uri, Schweiz, and Unterwalden to revolt; on the other hand, he roused the wrath of his nephew John of Swabia, whom

* The prince chosen by the electors bore the name of King of the Romans after Henry II. until he had received at Rome the title of Emperor with his imperial crown.

Adolf of Nassau (1291) and Albert of Austria (1298). Liberation of Switzerland (1308).

he defrauded of his inheritance (domains in Switzerland, Swabia, and Alsace). As he was crossing the Reuss, John thrust him through with his sword (1308). The assassin escaped. One of Albert's daughters, Agnes, dowager queen of Hungary, had more than a thousand innocent people killed to avenge the death of her father. The greater part of the present Switzerland had been originally included in the kingdom of Burgundy, and was ceded to the empire, together with that kingdom, in 1033. A feudal nobility, lay and ecclesiastic, had gained a firm footing there. Nevertheless, by the twelfth century the cities had risen to some importance. Zurich, Basel, Bern, and Freiburg had an extensive commerce and obtained municipal privileges. Three little cantons, far in the heart of the Swiss mountains, preserved more than all the others their indomitable spirit of independence. When Albert of Austria became Emperor he arrogantly tried to encroach upon their independence. Three heroic mountaineers, Werner Stauffacher, Arnold of Melchthal, and Walter Fürst, each with ten chosen friends, conspired together at Rütli, to throw off the yoke. The tyranny of the Austrian bailiff Gessler, and William Tell's well-aimed arrow, if tradition is to be believed,* gave the signal for the insurrection. Albert's violent death left to Leopold, his successor in the duchy of Austria, the care of repressing the rebellion. He failed and was completely defeated at Morgarten (1315). That was Switzerland's field of Marathon. The confederation of the three first cantons was increased by the admission of Lucerne in 1332, of Zurich in 1351, of Zug and Glaris in 1352, and of the great city of Bern in 1353. Those are the eight original cantons of Switzerland. Their number was not increased till 125 years later. The battle of Sempach (1386) continued what had been begun at Morgarten. Another Duke Leopold was killed there with 676 counts and lords. A third defeat sustained by the Austrians at Näfels (1388) made them decide to leave the rude mountaineers alone.

When Rudolf of Hapsburg was chosen by the electors, it was because of his poverty and weakness. At his death accordingly they did not give their votes for his son Albert, master of Austria, but for a knight of an unimportant family

* The stories regarding William Tell are now considered pure legend. The Rütli oath is also unhistorical.—ED.

and of small fortunes, Adolf of Nassau. Albert, however, succeeded in overthrowing his rival. But on his death they were firm in their decision not to give the crown for a third time to the new and ambitious house of Hapsburg. They likewise refused, for similar reasons, to accept Charles of Valois, brother of Philip the Fair, whom the latter tried to place on the imperial throne in order that he might indirectly rule over Germany. They supported the Count of Luxemburg, who became Henry VII.

Henry VII. (1308). Lewis of Bavaria (1314). By choosing emperors who were poor, the electors placed them under the temptation of enriching themselves at the expense of the empire. Adolf failed, it is true, in Thuringia, but Rudolf gained Austria by victory; Henry succeeded in Bohemia by means of marriage, and Bohemia was worth more than Austria at that time because, besides Moravia, it was made to cover Silesia and a part of Lusatia (Oberlausitz). Henry's son, John of Luxemburg, married the heiress to that royal crown. As for Henry himself he remained as poor as before. He had a vigorous, restless spirit, and went to try his fortunes on his own account beyond the Alps, but could persuade no more than 2000 cavaliers to follow him (1310). It was an escort, not an army. He proclaimed that he would recognize neither Guelf nor Ghibelines, hoping to overpower them all. Robert, king of Naples, took up arms against him, Clement V. excommunicated him, the Guelfs declared themselves his enemies. He was obliged to pronounce openly in favor of the Ghibelines, and he found himself involved in all the Italian broils like the emperors of former days. He appointed Matteo Visconti imperial vice-regent in Italy; he put Florence as well as the king of Naples under the ban of the empire. Things went no better. Yet, with the aid of the fleets of Pisa, of Genoa, and of the Aragonese king of Sicily, he was seriously threatening Naples, when he died either from some sickness or from being poisoned by a Dominican in partaking of the host (1313).

A year's interregnum followed; then two emperors at once: Lewis of Bavaria and Frederick the Fair, son of the Emperor Albert. After eight years of war, Lewis gained his point by the victory of Mühldorf (1322), which delivered Frederick into his hands. He kept him in captivity for three years, and at the end of that time became reconciled

with him and, they were on such good terms that both bore the title of King and governed in common. The fear inspired in Lewis by France and the Holy See dictated this singular agreement.

Henry VII. had revived the policy of interference by the German emperors in the affairs of Italy, and had kindled again the quarrel with the Papacy which had long appeared extinguished. Lewis IV. did the same. But the question of investitures and the domination of the world was no longer agitated by these two enfeebled powers. The Emperor now saw that his true enemy was the king of France, the strongest sovereign in Europe and the one most to be feared. While Boniface VIII. was making war on Philip the Fair, Albert allied himself with him; when, on the other hand, the Papacy was reduced to the state of a servile auxiliary to France, the Emperor returned to his former hostility. When excommunicated by Pope John XXII., who wished to give the empire to the king of France, Charles IV., Lewis IV. made use of the same weapons; he declared him a heretic and unworthy of the pontificate, turned his lawyers loose upon him, allied himself with the Ghibeline condottieri, and went to be crowned at Rome, by the hands of the prefect of the city, Sciarra Colonna (1328). He immediately deposed John XXII. and appointed an antipope Nicolas.

Nevertheless pontifical excommunication was still a formidable affair; Lewis weakened, and begged, even humbly, for absolution. John was inflexible and exacted the relinquishment of his crown. Benedict XII., made Pope in 1334, was at bottom better disposed toward him, but he was not his own master; the king of France forbade him to absolve the Emperor, and set up in opposition to the latter one of his relatives, John of Bohemia.

Lewis IV. then resolved to attack the king of France himself; he assisted Edward III. in rousing the Flemings against Philip of Valois, proclaimed the English king viceregent of the empire in the Netherlands, and awarded him the kingdom of France. These measures had little effect, because there was no strength to back them. Tired of a crown loaded with anxieties, Lewis of Bavaria was finally about to submit to the Pope and abdicate, when the electors perceived the necessity of supporting their Emperor and of formally releasing the supreme power from

foreign dependency which brought the whole nation to shame. That was the object of the Pragmatic Sanction of Frankfort, pronounced in 1338 by the Diet, on the report of the electors. This fundamental law of the German empire establishes first the principle that the imperial majesty and authority are held from God alone; that they are conferred by the sole election of the prince electors; that a prince elected by the majority of their votes must be considered as the king and emperor; that the Holy See has no superiority over the empire, and that it has neither the right to approve nor to reject the choice of the electors; finally that all persons, whether ecclesiastic or secular, who should dare to violate these statutes, should be accounted guilty of high treason and punished as such. Thus the question, so long disputed, of the relations of the Holy See to the empire was decided in favor of Germany's absolute independence. The State refused to allow the Church to meddle in any way in political affairs. Even the ceremony of the year 800, the pontifical coronation, was soon dropped, and after Frederick III. it went entirely out of use. In this act the German nationality shone forth victorious.

The king of France and Pope Clement VI., whose claims were directly affected by this declaration, set up against Lewis IV. Charles of Luxemburg, son of John the Blind, who became king of Bohemia in 1346, when his father had been killed fighting on the French side at the battle of Crécy. Lewis died the following year. He had gained possession of Brandenburg and the Tyrol for his house, but it was unable to retain possession of them. The latter county reverted to the house of Austria in 1363.

The electors most hostile to the French party tried to put up, as a rival candidate to Charles of Luxemburg, Edward III., king of England, who refused the Empire; then they offered it to a brave knight, Gunther of Schwarzburg, who died perhaps poisoned, after a few months (1349). The king of Bohemia then became Emperor as Charles IV. by a second election. He was a very able man, and yet no other emperor ever cut such a sorry figure. His butcher stopped him in the streets of Worms to demand payment; he was detained at an inn where he had not been able to settle his bill.

A man who had not wherewithal to pay for his dinner

The House of
Luxemburg
(1347-1438); The
Golden Bull.

might well have concerned himself little about keeping Italy. Charles IV., nevertheless, looked upon it as a legacy of the ancient German Roman Empire, and thought he could make something out of it. He went there himself to see, and found that, in fact, he could sell regalian rights to some, titles to others, and to Venice her neighbors Padua, Verona and Vicenza. He thus went through the whole of Italy two several times (1355 and 1368), a veritable market-man plucking and selling the imperial eagle, as the electors reproachfully told him. Little respect was shown so grotesque a majesty. Galeazzo Visconti kept him under lock and key until he had been appointed perpetual vicar of the empire in Lombardy. He stayed only a day at Rome because the Pope had forbidden him to stay longer. On his return the Pisans set fire to his house. The prefect of Cremona made him wait two hours at the gates. Other cities did not have time to receive him, and begged him to pass them by.

This much-abused Emperor had nevertheless the glory of concluding and promulgating the electoral code of Germany, a prime necessity in an elective system—namely, the famous Golden Bull, published in 1356 at the Diet of Nuremberg, and deriving its name from the golden seal attached by the Emperor to all authentic copies. Its contents are as follows :

First. The number of electors remained fixed at seven, in honor of the seven candlesticks of the Apocalypse ; three of them were always to be ecclesiastics, the electors of Mainz, Cologne, and Treves ; four of them laymen, the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg.

Second. The three ecclesiastical electors were to retain the title of arch-chancellor, which belonged formerly to their churches, and were to exercise the functions belonging to this office in their respective departments ; the elector for Mainz was to keep the title of the arch-chancellor of the kingdom of Germany, the elector of Cologne that of the archchancellor of the kingdom of Italy, and the elector of Treves that of the arch-chancellor of the kingdom of Burgundy.

Third. The four great offices connected with the crown were irrevocably attached to the four secular electorates : the office of arch-cupbearer went with the kingdom of

Bohemia, the office of arch-steward with the electorate of the Count Palatine, the office of arch-marshal with the duchy of Saxony, and the office of arch-chamberlain with the margraviate of Brandenburg.

Fourth. The election of the King of the Romans, the future Emperor, should be held at Frankfort and should be carried by a majority of votes : he should be crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the archbishop elector of Cologne, and should always hold his first diet at Nuremberg.

Fifth. The electoral dignity was to remain attached to the soil of the provinces which bore the title. Those provinces could never be divided or dismembered. . . .*

Germany was thenceforth saved those electoral dissensions which had troubled her before, and had two firm supports of her public rights in the Pragmatic Sanction of 1338 and in the Golden Bull. A little law and order was obtained at the price of much disorder : the permanence and authority of the electors was determined, but not so the power of the Emperor ; the Golden Bull, on the contrary, consecrated its forfeiture. Charles IV., however, was not disturbed by that, busy as he was in extending his own state of Bohemia to cover the lower Lusatia and all Silesia and Brandenburg. If he served the empire ill, he had at least done great service to his own house.

He was succeeded in 1378 by his son Wenzel, whom he had had elected King of the Romans, with the assistance of Italian gold. Wenzel spent most of his time in Bohemia, and, like his father, increased his private domains by selling the imperial domains. It was a melancholy reign : Germany was distracted with private wars ; the lords formed leagues to escape paying their debts and to resist prosecution by their creditors among the burghers, who, in their turn, joined together to enforce payment. The diet of Nuremberg, with a view to restoring the public peace, divided Germany into four great divisions [*Parteien*], which may be considered as the origin of the later divisions into circles (1383) ; but it had no effect, the war continued. The general discontent finally broke out in rebellion against a despicable sovereign who was drunk from morning to night ; and he was deposed (1400).

* Certain royal rights were also granted to the electors, such as coining money, working mines, and taxing Jews, and there was to be no appeal from their courts.—ED.

The unimportant reign of Rupert of Bavaria brings us, after ten years, to Sigismund, brother of Wenzel, king of Hungary and elector of Brandenburg in his own right. Two events of considerable importance mark this period, the Council of Constance (1414) and the Hussite war. We pass over an expedition to Italy (1431), which once more proved the impotence of the German emperors in that country; we shall take up later the great schism of the West, the Council of Constance, and Sigismund's efforts to restore peace to the Church; one of the acts of the Council of Constance was of great moment to Germany, namely, the execution of John Huss.

He was a Bohemian and a man of great learning, who, having become acquainted with the doctrines which Wycliffe had preached in England a few years earlier, adopted them, a fact which did not keep him from becoming rector of the University of Prague, confessor to the queen, and a very popular man throughout the country. When excommunicated by the Pope for one of his writings, he appealed to the Council of Constance, repaired thither with an imperial safe-conduct which was not regarded, and he was condemned to the stake (1415); his disciple, Jerome of Prague, underwent the same punishment.

All Bohemia rose in rebellion on hearing the news. One of the nobles, John Ziska, led the insurrection. He never suffered defeat. He took Prague, threw the senators of the city out of the palace windows, *ex more majorum*, and went through Bohemia, burning the churches and slaying the monks. The funeral pile of John Huss had kindled a terrible war. Sigismund sent forth all the forces of the empire in vain against the Hussites, and in vain the Pope caused a crusade to be preached. Armies of 80,000 men fled before them without daring to await their approach. Though Ziska became blind he was none the less terrible on that account. The features of the country and the position of the enemy were explained to him, he then gave the necessary orders, and victory followed. The Council of Basel put an end to the savage strife by granting the Hussites some of the religious privileges that they demanded; among others the privilege of receiving the sacrament in both kinds; thence the name of Utraquist which is used to distinguish them.

The house of Luxemburg became extinct on the death

of Sigismund, and his son-in-law Albert then established the house of Austria upon the imperial throne, where it remained until the throne was destroyed. Albert died in 1439, in a war against the Turks, and his posthumous son Ladislaw inherited only Bohemia and Hungary. But an Austrian prince, Frederick III., of the Styrian branch of the family, succeeded him a year later on the imperial throne, the last Emperor who went to Rome to be crowned (1452).

The House of Austria regains the imperial crown, but with no powers attached (1438).

The reason why the electors were willing to do, in 1438 and 1440, what they had refused to do in 1308, was that now they had nothing to fear from the Emperor on the subject of the usurpations which they had made; and that while they saw that there was no longer any danger for them in giving Charlemagne's crown to the house of Austria, they felt that it would be more to the advantage of Germany, threatened as it was by the Turks, that the head of the empire should reside at Vienna, where the Ottomans' arrival was expected, rather than at the other end of the German territory; in fact, what they gave now in bestowing the crown, was nothing but a title. To judge by appearances the empire of Germany was the most powerful of the European states, as well as the largest in extent. The Emperor proudly assumed his superiority over all other sovereigns, and claimed to be the only one invested with the right of conferring the royal title. An immense population recognized his title, and the pompous language of his government recalled the antique forms of the monarchy of Diocletian and Theodosius. But in reality there was no imperial authority, and the empire, in spite of its extent and the number of its inhabitants, was incapable of exerting any serious influence outside of its own limits.

The head of the Empire, as emperor, had neither revenues, military forces, nor judiciary power, except in certain cases, and his right of veto on the decisions of the diet was too often illusory. This assembly consisted of all the chiefs or representatives of the states of Germany, and was divided into three colleges according to the rank of the various members: first, the college of electors; second, the college of princes; third, the college of cities. It deliberated and decided upon questions of peace and war, whether domestic or foreign, made regulations, statutes, or laws applicable

to the whole empire, and left the Emperor the sole duty of having them executed, the means to accomplish which were never given him. He had, virtually, but one useful prerogative, that of disposing of the vacant fiefs.

Thus the authority of the prince was almost canceled in the empire by the authority of the diet, and in each state taken separately, by the particular prerogatives of the electors, the princes, or the towns, who had possessed themselves of the regalian rights. The imperial domain no longer existed ; everywhere it had been invaded and occupied by the nobility. Finally, as the crown was elective, each new sovereign was obliged to give a new sanction to these aristocratic privileges.

Not only was there no central power in Germany, but there was also great difference in the constitutions of the five or six hundred states which composed the empire. Thus the three ecclesiastical electorates of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne, and the four lay electorates of Bohemia, the Palatinate, Saxony, and Brandenburg were veritable kingdoms ; the principalities were little monarchies ; the towns, small republics. The result was that all the different forms of government jostled one another, so to speak, in the chaos which styled itself the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

Germany was as much divided as Italy, and as devoid of common life ; consequently she was also as weak, and, like the transalpine peninsula, she became in modern times the battlefield of Europe, the booty or the prey of the ambitious.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE SPANISH, SCANDINAVIAN, AND SLAVIC STATES.

Spain from 1252 to 1453.—The crusade suspended.—The Scandinavian States, Denmark, Sweden and Norway : their secondary rôle after the time of the Norsemen.—Slavic States : power of Poland ; weakness of Russia.—Peoples of the Danube Valley : the Hungarians.—The Greek Empire.—The Ottoman Turks and the Mongols of Timour.

WE have brought the Spanish crusade down to the time of the great victories won by Aragon, Portugal and Castile, in the middle of the thirteenth century, when the two former reached a point which they never surpassed and the latter hemmed in the remnant of the Mussulmanic power in its last refuge, the kingdom of Grenada. It seemed then as if only a feeble effort were needed to drive the humiliated conquerors back to the sea and to Africa. But bracing themselves against the Alpujarras, they kept a firm hold for two centuries and a half longer ; another fact in their favor was that only one kingdom, Castile, remained interested in their fall, because it alone now bordered on their straitened frontiers and because that kingdom had ceased to have chiefs who were worthy of their trust.

In 1252, Alfonso X. was reigning in Castile. Instead of looking in Grenada for a new crown, which would have been a valuable addition to the one he already wore, he sought one from Germany, which could be nothing but a useless burden to him. The results to which this foolish claim led were the same as in the case of the king of England, Henry III., whose brother also wished to be emperor, namely, enormous expenditures and discontent among his subjects. Nothing could be more untractable than the Castilian aristocracy ; at its head were the rival houses of Castro, Lara, and Haro, who, in their mutual hatred, often went so far as to seek assistance from the Moors. When

threatened by an insurrection, the king did the same and called upon the Merinides for help ; the nation proclaimed him deposed and put his second son in his place, Don Sancho, a good soldier (1282). Alfonso X. nevertheless bore the name of the Wise ; he had a considerable knowledge of astronomy and published the code of laws called *Las Siete Partidas* (in six parts). He had introduced there the right of succession, which was in force in the feudal States but not in Spain. In virtue of this right the throne reverted to the son of Ferdinand de la Cerda, eldest son of Alfonso X., who died before his father ; Don Sancho availed himself of the old law and claimed succession to the throne. He succeeded in carrying his point, with the aid of the nation, in 1284. This gave rise to some hostilities with the king of France, Philip III., the uncle of the young deposed princes.

The stormy minorities of Ferdinand IV. and Alfonso XI. brought fresh trouble upon Castile. The latter, however, is celebrated for his great victory at Rio Salado over a Merinide invasion (1340), and for the capture of Algiers. He was succeeded by Peter the Cruel, whose bloody reign came to a fitting end in a fratricidal quarrel : Henry II., of Transtamara, his natural brother, disputed the throne with him and asked for help from the king of France. Charles V. granted it, on the pretext of avenging the death of a French princess, Blanche of Bourbon, who, on the day after her marriage with Peter, had been thrown into prison and then assassinated. It is well known that the real object of the King of France was to send Du Guesclin's adventurers, who were in his way, off somewhere to meet their death. This assistance gave the advantage to Transtamara, who was crowned ; but Peter, drawing from the same arsenal a like army, called in the aid of the Black Prince with other highwaymen. Du Guesclin was conquered and taken at Najara. When set at liberty again he gathered another army and brought victory again to Transtamara at Montiel. Peter entered the tent of the French general to negotiate with him and with his brother. But Henry, when he saw him, struck him in the face ; then followed a hand-to-hand fight, and the two brothers, the two crowned heads, rolled on the ground together. Peter was above. Du Guesclin pulled him by the leg and gave Transtamara a chance to draw his dagger and stab him. Frightful affairs went on in

Spain in 1369. A little earlier (1360), Portugal had been appalled by the tragic end of Inez de Castro, the rage of Dom Pedro, his revenge, the sad obsequies related by Camoëns; the king exhuming, after five years in the tomb, the body of her whom he called his wife, and proclaiming her queen, placing upon her head the royal crown and forcing the court to come and kiss the hand of the corpse. A fruitless war with Portugal filled the reign of John I., son and successor of Henry II.

Henry III., who followed, was a sickly prince and a minor, but firm and resolute in character (1390). He was much struck by the abasement of the royal authority. One day his steward informed him that he had nothing to give him for dinner and that the merchants would give no more credit; he sent his cloak to be sold, dined on a bit of goat's flesh, and went to a sumptuous feast given by the archbishop of Toledo to all the *grandees*; he saw them, and heard them boasting of their wealth. The next day he called them together in his palace and appeared in their midst, sword in hand; he seated himself, leaving them standing, and asked, with a terrible frown: "How many kings of Castile have you known?" One replied that he had seen three, another four, another five, according to their ages. "Three, four, five kings? Why do you tell me that? I, young as I am, I have seen, in fact I see twenty kings. Yes, indeed, you are all kings, to the misfortune of the kingdom and to my shame! But you shall be so no longer. . . ." And soldiers rushed into the room. The nobles begged for mercy; he pardoned them, but in the cortes he had it decided that grants of land made by his predecessors at the expense of the royal domains were revoked, and that the nobles should be taxed.

Henry III. died too young to have time to arrest the downward progress of the royal power, and it continued to decline through the reign of John II., who loaded his favorite, Alvaro de Luna, with misplaced powers, and was soon obliged, by rebellion among his subjects, to have him executed (1453). The royal power fell still lower under his successor, Henry IV. But then, as if it had finally touched bottom, it suddenly rose again and began a new era under Isabella and Ferdinand the Catholic.

Aragon had been less disturbed by domestic difficulties and more by foreign affairs. As early as 1213 Peter II.

had interfered in the war with the Albigenses; with how little success we already know. At the end of the century Peter III. accepted Sicily's offer of her throne after the Sicilian Vespers. James II. relinquished his claims to it in the treaty of Anagni, but the Sicilians insisted upon giving it in 1297 to a prince of his family. Aragon spent most of the fourteenth century in the acquisition of Sardinia, which the Pope had ceded to her, and in interminable wars with the Genoese on that account. Aragon was finally victorious and her domination over the western part of the Mediterranean was assured.

In 1410 the glorious house of Barcelona became extinct; all the crowns that had belonged to her passed over to a prince of Castile, Ferdinand, called the Just, who had lately refused a throne offered him which he thought should belong to his nephew. He left two sons, Alfonso V. and John II.; the former was adopted by Jane, queen of Naples, and successfully disputed that kingdom with the second house of Anjou; the younger son, by his marriage, united Navarre and Aragon, and, in order to maintain the union to his own advantage, he poisoned his son, Don Carlos de Viane. The union, however, proved merely temporary; Navarre, on his death, passed to the house of Foix, later to that of Albret, whose heiress married a Bourbon. It was another son of that despicable man, namely Ferdinand the Catholic, who, by his marriage with Isabella of Castile, in 1469, brought about the union of Spain and the most glorious period of its history.

Before leaving Castile and Aragon a few words must be said about the remarkable institutions of those two countries. The feudal system did not have the strength there that it had on the continent. Nevertheless, Aragon was much more feudal than Castile, doubtless because the Carolingian domination had extended over the Marches of Barcelona.

The constitution of Castile was a result of its own history, which was a continual warfare with the Moors. When the enemy drew near, everybody was allowed the honor of defending his religion and his country. That resulted in a sort of equality between the highest and lowest classes, which latter were never lowered to the condition of villeinage as in feudal countries. They disputed the ground foot by foot, valley by valley: and it was necessary that each step in advance should be maintained by a permanent

settlement. As they advanced, the nobles covered the country with castles (*castille*), and colonies were transported to the conquered cities with the charge of defending them. The lords in their castles and the citizens in their towns were almost independent and left to themselves ; there was some inconvenience in this liberty, but it also had its advantages. In the year 1020 Alfonso V., confirmed the franchises of the town of Leon and gave it a code, intended to regulate the administration of its magistrates. Other charters were distributed in the same century, among many other towns ; generally the charters gave the towns a large extent of territory with the right of choosing their judges and their municipal magistrates. The king had but one officer (*regidor*) in the communes, charged with the general oversight, but who, in fact, in the time of Alfonso XI., assumed a much greater power. There were three classes in Castile ; the *ricos hombres*, an aristocracy of great proprietors ; the *caballeros* or *hidalgos*, the smaller nobility exempted from payment of taxes on condition of cavalry service, and the *pecheros* or taxpayers, forming the population of the cities. From 1169 on, deputies from cities were admitted to the *cortes*, the parliament of the nation ; in 1315, at the cortes of Burgos, there were 192 deputies, representing more than 90 towns ; but later the number of such towns fell to 18. The cortes had extended powers and showed that they possessed the traditional Spanish pride. In 1393, after voting a tax in favor of Henry III., they added that, if he should give orders to raise another tax without their authorization, "his orders should be obeyed but not executed," which gives a vivid impression of the Castilian character, respectful but inflexible. We see that the cortes were necessary to the levying of taxes ; it is hard to determine what part they had in the legislative power. The *hermandades* (fraternities), leagues formed by and among the towns, were another means of holding the royal authority in check.

In Aragon, the *ricos hombres* were real feudal lords ; they received baronies or "honors" from the king, which involved military services and which they were to divide by subinfeudation. Below them were the *mesnadaïres*, also immediate vassals, but whose fiefs had not the title of baronies ; then the *infanzones*, simple knights or gentlemen ; then the common people, citizens in the towns, villeins in the country. The villeins had at first been treated with

extreme severity, but later their life was easier. The cortes of Aragon comprised four orders called *brazos* (arms) : the prelates and commanders of military orders, the barons or *ricos hombres*, the equestrian order or *infanzones*, and the deputies of the towns. But the kingdom of Aragon lacked unity : Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia had all their separate cortes. The "privilege of union" wrested from Alfonso III. in 1287 declared : First, that the cortes should be called together every year at Saragossa ; Second, that if the king used violence toward any member of the union without being authorized by the sentence of the justiciary, the others should be released from their obedience. The great justiciary or *justiza*, to which the king himself was amenable, and which kept a firm and respected guard over the liberty of the country, was the most remarkable of the Aragonese institutions. The audacity of the formula of their oath to the King is well known : "We, who individually are worth as much as thou, and who together are worth more than thou, we will obey thee, if thou art faithful to the conditions imposed upon thee ; if not, not."

Barcelona, alone among all the Spanish towns, had early attained to great prosperity through its maritime commerce.

While Castile and Aragon entered more or less into the European spirit, Portugal, far off in the remote parts of Europe, opened up new paths for herself. John I., a bastard of the house of Burgundy, which had just died out in the direct line (1383), assured Portugal's independence of the claims of Castile, by the great victory of Aljubarotta (1385) ; to commemorate the event, he built on the battlefield the convent of Batalha, one of the most magnificent edifices in Portugal. A crusade was no longer possible for them on the Peninsula, as Castile barred the way to the Moors, so he conceived the idea of turning the attention of his subjects to Africa. In 1415, he took Ceuta. His youngest son Henry, Duke of Viseu, imbibed a love of travel from that expedition. On his return, he settled in the village of Sagres, in Cape St. Vincent, called mariners about him, skillful geographers of foreign lands and founded a naval academy. For his motto he adopted the French phrase : *Talent de bien faire* [will to do good, as it then meant], and put it gloriously into practice. As grand-master of the order of Christ, he appropriated its revenues for his maritime enterprises. In 1419, two of his navigators were thrown by

a tempest on the island of Porto Santo, one of the Madeira islands ; soon after, Zarco re-discovered another one, covered with wood, and called Madeira, on that account. The woods were set on fire and burned continuously for nine years. In the soil thus fertilized, Prince Henry had vines from Cyprus, or Crete, planted, and sugar-canes from Sicily. Pope Martin V., to encourage such discoveries, granted to Henry the right of conquest and sovereignty from the Canaries to the Indies, with plenary indulgence for all who perished on the expeditions. The zeal redoubled and was further encouraged by the success of Gil Eannes who crossed in 1434 Cape Bojador, famous for its fierce currents. An African company was formed at Lagos and obtained a franchise. Cape Blanco and Cape Verd (1445) were rounded, and the Azores discovered ; gold-dust from Africa and negroes, in which there began to be a trade, roused on the continent the powerful springs of human activity, namely, curiosity and cupidity. The Portuguese were already on the way to the Cape of Good Hope ; before the end of the century, the route to India by sea was discovered, and a new world added to the old.

France, England, Spain, Italy, and Germany, that is to say, the center, the west, and the south of Europe, did not make up the whole world of the Middle Ages. There were states in the north and the east, already important and determined to become more so, but whose separate existence and slower development kept them almost outside the course of events and ideas of the times.

Scandinavian States ; Denmark, Sweden, and Norway : of minor importance since the Norsemen.

In those remote regions, on the other side of the then known world, the light of Christianity and civilization faded away, and the line was reached where the barbarians, pagans, and Mohammedans began to make their appearance on the borders between Europe and Asia.

That great belt of land, as much surpassing Europe in extent as it was surpassed by Europe in civilization, included various groups of peoples. To the north were the Scandinavian states (Denmark, Sweden, and Norway) ; to the east, the Slav states (Poland and Russia), which bordered on the Tartar-Mongols, situated still more to the east and reaching down into the heart of Asia ; to the south, the Hungarians, or Magyars, and the Roumanians ; and to the southwest, the Ottoman-Turks, forming one group with the Greek

empire, their natural enemy and future prey, just as two men wrestling are locked together and seem like a single body.

During the first part of the Middle Ages, the outside world knew nothing of the two Scandinavian peninsulas except through the pirates, whom they sent out to the east and west on the two seas that washed their shores. By crossing the North Sea, the Norsemen had reached France, England, Iceland, Greenland, and even America; by the Baltic, they had reached Russia. When the Scandinavians had been shut off from distant conquest by the settlements there, they begun to live in their own country and to become civilized. The conversion of Denmark to Christianity, begun in the ninth century, consummated and sanctioned in the eleventh century by Cnut the Great, who also reigned over England, and the conversion of Norway accomplished in the tenth century, and of Sweden, at the beginning of the eleventh, made those countries members of the great Catholic unity. Scandinavian warriors took part in the crusades.

The glory of Denmark was revived by the two brothers, Cnut VI. (1182) and Waldemar the Victorious (1202), who, by the subjection of the Wends, on the right bank of the Elbe, gained the title of King of the Wends in addition to those of King of the Danes, Duke of Jutland, and Lord of Nordalbingia; Hamburg, Lübeck, Mecklenburg, Esthonia, and Holstein were subject to Waldemar for the moment. He is also known as a legislator; many of his ordinances can be found in the Code of Scania. He also had the Code of Jutland drawn up in 1240. There began to be a taste for letters in the country and a desire for culture, and the University of Paris drew many students from Denmark.

A century of strife followed Waldemar's great reign. Denmark, under Waldemar III., lost Esthonia, which was conquered by the Teutonic Knights; and it lost the commerce of the Baltic, which was seized by the Hanseatic League and exclusively reserved to it by the treaty of Stralsund (1370). During that period, however, the country had increased in prosperity, the cities had acquired importance and had gained admittance to the national representation, which from that time comprised three orders (1250). Margaret, the famous daughter of Waldemar III., united Denmark with the two other Scandinavian states.

Sweden led a troubled existence due to the election sys-

tem which was often employed in the choice of a king, and to the rivalry between the Göta or Goths, and the Svea or Swedes. Under Swerker, Christianity had made sufficient progress to receive the beginning of an organization from the cardinal legate, Nicholas Breakspear. Eric the Saint, his successor, introduced Christianity into Finland, which he conquered, founding thus the town of Abo.

The family of St. Eric died out in 1250. Birger, the jarl, head of the Folkungar family, was made regent for his son Waldemar, to whom the nobles awarded the crown. Birger was a remarkable ruler; he founded or greatly strengthened Stockholm, to take the place of the old capital, Sigtuna, suppressed private warfare and judicial contests, encouraged commerce, and raised the position of women. "The old men and the young wept for him," says the chronicle, "and the women, whose rights he had restored and confirmed, prayed for his soul."

Magnus Ladulas, or the Barnlock, was implacable toward bandits; thence his surname. He found support in the clergy, who authorized him to levy taxes on ecclesiastical property, and who, in the parliament at Stockholm (1282), gave the crown ownership in the lakes, rivers, mines, and forests. He put these revenues to a noble use, and called the architect Stephen Bonneuil from France, to build a cathedral at Upsal, on the model of that at Paris.

But his successors allowed the royal authority to decline and let the different parties get the upper hand. Magnus II., the Effeminate, however, united Sweden and Norway, by right of succession; but he was not capable of keeping the two kingdoms, and the senate gave them to his sons Eric and Hakon, Sweden to the former, Norway to the latter. When Eric died, the Swedes proclaimed Albert of Mecklenburg king. But the Swedes were annoyed by the crowd of Germans whom he attracted to his court, and by his surrender of the island of Gotland to the king of Denmark; they appealed to the daughter of the king of Denmark, the wife of the king of Norway.

Norway had led a more troubled existence, even, than Sweden. The royal office, elective at first, did not become hereditary until 1263, under Magnus VI. He and his predecessor Hakon IV. gave the royal authority a short period of strength. Their reigns are marked by the encouragement they gave to commerce, the seaports they deepened,

and the wise laws they established. After them their dynasty continued to decline in power until Swedish princes came to reign in Norway, Magnus VII. and Hakon VI., who married Margaret of Denmark, and had by her a son named Olaf. When Waldemar III., Margaret's father, died, the Danes elected Olaf to be their king, under the guardianship of his mother. When Hakon VI. died, the Norwegians made the same election, and Margaret, as regent, ruled the two kingdoms with great ability, supported by the clergy. The Swedes, who were discontented with Albert of Mecklenburg, called upon her for help; she defeated Albert at Falkøping (1389,) and extended her authority over the three kingdoms, and this happy termination was confirmed by the Union of Calmar (1397). It was stipulated that the three kingdoms of the north should form a permanent union, should be governed by the same sovereign, and should conclude a defensive alliance, each, however, retaining its own laws, constitution, and legislature. The succession to the common throne was determined in detail.

Though this act seemed to augur great power to the Scandinavian states, it had but a temporary effect. After Margaret's death (1412), and under Eric the Pomeranian, the union was first broken by the rebellion of Schleswig and Holstein, and later was entirely dissolved on the death of his successor Christopher the Bavarian (1448). The Swedes then seceded and made Charles Cnutson their king, under the name of Charles VIII. Denmark and Norway, which had kept together, chose Christian I. from the house of Oldenburg, who in 1459 brought Schleswig and Holstein back under the dominion of Denmark.

The history of the Slavic states, lying between the Baltic and the North Sea, is a closed book to us until the ninth century. The Poles were then to be found on the banks of the Vistula. Piast, their legendary first duke, founded the dynasty which has born his name and which reigned in Poland until 1370, and in Silesia until 1675. The Poles were converted to Christianity in the tenth century; the Emperor Otto I. of Germany sent a bishop to Posen. Otto III. later installed an archbishop at Gnesen, and gave him for suffragans the bishops of Cracow, Kolberg, and Breslau. As Poland owned, at that time, the sovereignty of the German emperor, she was often implicated in the affairs of

Slavic States.
Poland's power.
Russia's weakness.

Germany, and generally supported the emperors in their wars. But Boleslav I., Chrobry or the Intrepid (992) assumed the title of king, and from that moment Poland aspired to complete independence.

She was a powerful nation under Boleslav III., the Victorious (1102-1138), who conquered the Pomeranians and forced them to embrace Christianity. The division of his states between his sons brought back the old strife. Silesia severed her connection with Poland and became an independent duchy. The Knights of the German Order, called to assist Poland against the Prussians, were not slow in showing themselves her enemies; they took away all chance of growth on the shores of the Baltic, and wrested from her, in 1343, the final cession of Pomerelia and the rich city of Dantzig. Nevertheless, even then she retrieved herself. Vladislav IV. (I) Loketek, by uniting the duchies of Posen and Kalisck, and by definitely taking the title of king, which was borne by all his successors, gave the country and the government the unity and strength which they lacked. Casimir III., the Great, (1333) diverted Polish activity from the north and the west where it did not seem to be successful, toward the east, where he took away from the Russians, Red Russia, Podolia, and Wolhynia; the Polish frontier then reached the Dnieper.

The success and the wise laws of Casimir opened an era of prosperity to Poland; but Casimir had no children and the direct line of the Piasts ended with him: In order to elect his nephew Lewis of Hungary he was obliged to allow the Polish nobility to impose conditions on the new king, by which they arrogated many prerogatives, among them exemption from taxation. That was the origin of the *Pacta conventa*. Lewis also left no children and though he had named his son-in-law, Sigismund of Luxemburg, his successor, the nobles refused to recognize him, in order that, by frequent use, they might confirm their right of election. They offered the crown to the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Jagello, on condition of his marrying Hedwig, the daughter of the late king, and becoming Christian, both he and his whole nation (1386). From a territorial point of view, it was a good choice, as Poland's extent was thereby doubled, and, in fact, from that time her supremacy over surrounding nations was undisputed. The Teutonic Knights had conquered Samogitia, bought Esthonia and now reigned

over all the country from the Oder to the Gulf of Finland. The situation changed when Poland and Lithuania came under the control of one master. Jagello defeated them at Tannenberg in 1410; and in 1436 they were obliged to surrender Samogitia and Sudavia; thirty years later, by the treaty of Thorn (1466) that great Teutonic power was shut up within the narrow limits of eastern Prussia.

But however victorious the founder of the glorious dynasty of the Jagellos might be, he was none the less dependent on the Polish nobility even by the very fact of his accession. He was obliged to consult with them in order to secure the throne to his son and to levy taxes: it was, in fact, during his reign that the *nuncios*, deputies of the nobility, came into being, and the *dietines*, which were continually intruding upon the government, a band of brave but ungovernable factions and turbulent nobles who were always in arms, and bore too close a resemblance, even in their deliberative assemblies, to a Tartar horde from the steppes of Asia.

We pass now to Russia: its humble beginnings we have already described,—how a troop of Norse pirates, led by Rurik, put themselves in 862 at the service of the powerful commercial republic of Novgorod, on the shores of Lake Ilmen, and seized the town they were meant to defend. If Rurik's descendants did not keep the city in their possession, they at least founded principalities which were the cornerstone of Russia's greatness. Spreading from one place to another, these bold pirates descended the Dnieper in their boats and went to Constantinople in search of lucrative service or adventure.

On the road they took Kieff, a stronghold on the Dnieper, and made it their capital. In the following century their relations with Constantinople, which were at times friendly and at times hostile, led to their conversion to Christianity. Under Vladimir I. (980-1015) and under Yaroslaff I. (1019-1051), the grand duchy of Kieff had considerable power. But Yaroslaff divided it between his sons and caused a decline in its influence. In the twelfth century, the supremacy passed from the grand duchy of Kieff to the grand duchy of Vladimir, without raising Russia from the weak condition into which she had been brought by division. As the law of primogeniture did not exist in Russia, and was not introduced into the family of the Czars until the six-

teenth century, the principalities were continually being divided.

Another great calamity befell them, namely, the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century, and it threatened the complete overthrow of their power, which for four centuries had been unsuccessfully struggling to gain a firm footing. We have seen that the Mongols took Moscow in 1237, overthrew the grand duchy of Kieff, and made Vladimir tributary, and that from Russia they turned to the conquest of Poland, Silesia, Moravia, and Hungary, of which countries they did not take possession, while Russia remained for two centuries under the yoke of the Tartars of the Golden Horde. They were obliged to pay tribute, and the least infraction of this rule cost the grand dukes their lives, who, on their accession, were made to seek confirmation of their title from the Khan. One of them, however, attempted resistance, and profiting by the discord prevailing in the Golden Horde, he conquered the Tartars on the Don and received therefrom the surname of Donskoi (1380); but his success was of a transient nature; Russia again fell under the yoke and did not obtain release until comparatively recent times, at the hands of Ivan III. (1462–1505). After 1328 the capital of Russia was at Moscow, the real heart of the country. Novgorod, Kieff, and Vladimir had successively been used as the residence of the great princes.

As the basin of the beautiful river Danube had been the high road for the invasions passing from the east to the west, the different armies had come into collision there, and there the different nationalities had mingled, from the Black Sea to the mountains of Austria. Men of every race were to be seen there. A succession of races had followed the Gallic emigrants found there by Alexander, and the Dacians fought by Trajan, first Roman colonists, from all the provinces and especially from Italy, then Goths, Asiatic barbarians, Huns, Avars, Bulgarians, Petchenegs, Khazares, Cumans, Hungarians and Magyars, and finally the Slavs.

It has already been seen how the Hungarians established themselves in the valley of the middle Danube, and advanced as far as the Atlantic; how the defeat they sustained at Augsburg in 956 shut them up in the country which has remained their inheritance. In the year 1000 the title of king was assumed by Duke Vaik, who afterwards became

Peoples of the
Danube valley;
Hungarians.

famous under the name of St. Stephen, and the Pope, Silvester II., sent him the *angelical crown*. The history of this crown is long and much disputed. The Hungarians made it an object of almost superstitious worship, very much as they, more than any other people, made the coronation of their king an act indispensable to the legality of his power. Some of them believe that it was a crown of the Greek Emperor Heraclius, which fell into the hands of the Avars in 619; that Pippin, the son of Charlemagne, by conquest gained possession of it together with the treasures of the Avars, and gave it to the Pope as his part of the booty; that Silvester II. but gave it back to the new heir of the Avars. Others, seeing on it the heads of Byzantine emperors and Greek inscriptions, suppose that it was made at Constantinople for St. Stephen. It is the palladium and the talisman, as it were, of Hungary. A king who has not worn it on the occasion of his coronation is not in reality a king of the Magyars.*

St. Stephen made palatinates or counties take the place of the former division into eight tribes. Justice was administered in these by the *ispans*, who also exercised military power, under the superintendence of the Nandor-Ispan or Palatine of Hungary, a kind of mayor of the palace, who had a widespread authority. Each county sent two or three deputies to the assembly of estates. The towns were not represented because they were few in number and not occupied by the conquerors. One hundred and eight families had followed Arpad into Hungary. Each one had received a share of the spoils which remained free of taxation—the descendants of those families formed the nobility. Below them in rank were the greater and the lesser vassals of the king, bound to render military service in return for their fiefs; below them were the German colonists, forming privileged communes; lower still the free peasants; finally the serfs and the slaves.

The code of laws of St. Stephen shows us the manner of life among this people: its foundation is the *wergeld* or *compositio*, and the price of blood was paid in what was and still is the great wealth of the country, in cows.—The pen-

* Von Giesebrecht (*Deutsche Kaiserzeit*, vol. i., p. 740, note) says that this crown is composed of two parts—the upper probably that sent by Pope Silvester to Stephen, the lower of Byzantine origin, apparently sent in the year 1075 by the Emperor Michael Ducas to King Geisa.—ED.

alty for wife murder was five cows ; ten, if the accused was of noble blood, fifty, if he was a count. The murder of a free man cost a serf one hundred and ten cows ; a first offense in theft cost him his nose or five cows ; a second offense, his ears ; a third, his life.

In the middle of the eleventh century the powerful emperor of Germany, Henry III., after a victory, restored to the throne a king they had banished, Peter, whom the Hungarians branded with the nickname of the German. Henry recovered for Germany the territory to the west of the Leitha and annexed it to the Eastmark (Austria), and obliged Peter to hold his kingdom in fief of the empire. But the nation rebelled at such an act of treason. Peter's eyes were put out, he was thrown into prison, where he died, and the hated bond of vassalage was broken.

Ladislav I., the St. Louis of Hungary, extended the limits of his country in two directions : to the east he conquered the Cumans who had come out from Wallachia and established them on the banks of the Theiss ; moreover, he forced the Petchenegs of Transylvania to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Magyar kings ; to the southwest, he conquered a great state. After the overthrow of Avar domination by the Carolingian Franks, certain Bohemian Slavs, called Croats, that is to say, mountaineers, had invaded that part of ancient Pannonia lying on the banks of the Save, and Liburnia, on the shores of the Adriatic, countries which derived from them their names of Croatia and Slavonia. In those ages Croatia was a powerful kingdom, which ruled from the Drave to Ragusa, and in the time of Gregory VII. owned itself a vassal and a tributary of the Holy See.

This was the kingdom conquered by Ladislav in 1088. The claim still advanced by the Hungarians to this country on the ground of its being an integral part of the kingdom of Hungary, dates from that conquest which gave the Magyar chief the right of adding to their title, the title of king of Croatia and of Dalmatia.

Under Geisa II., who reigned from 1141 to 1161, Transylvania, which had been laid waste by many incursions, was repopulated by Saxon and Frisian colonists, whom he induced to settle there by granting them great privileges. They built seven towns on as many hills ; thence Transylvania's German name of *Siebenbürgen*, the seven towns. *Hermanstadt*, named for an inhabitant of *Nüremberg*, was

their capital. Even in our times the Saxon villages of Transylvania may be known by the cleanliness of their houses and streets, by the fine condition of their cultivated fields, and by the moral or pious sentiments which they often inscribe above their doors.

Andrew II. (1205-1235), the leader of a fifth and fruitless crusade, is the author of part of the many evils which Hungary has had to undergo. He gave his people a constitution which organized a state of anarchy by decreeing in his Golden Bull (1222) that if the king should violate the privileges of the nobility, they should be permitted to resist him by force, and such resistance should not be treated as rebellion.

In 1301, the race of Arpad in the male line died out. Boniface VIII., considering Hungary a fief of the Holy See, declared that the crown ought to pass to a prince of the House of Anjou at Naples, to Charles Robert, who was a descendant of Arpad in the female line. A French dynasty took its place upon the throne of St. Stephen. The most illustrious and almost the sole representative of this line was Louis the Great (1342-1382), who twice conquered Naples, but only to revenge his brother, and not with the intention of retaining the kingdom; gained many victories over the princes of Servia, Bosnia, Moldavia, and Bulgaria, who acknowledged his sovereignty; was chosen king of Poland on the death of Casimir the Great, and finally, to close the list with an act which is still of great importance, while all his conquests were of short duration, he planted the famous vineyards of Tokai.

Louis's rule extended from the mouths of the Cattaro to the mouth of the Vistula, and from Austria to the Black Sea. It was a great dominion, but he had no son; and it fell to pieces after his death. His daughter Mary had married a German prince, Sigismund by name, and they together occupied the throne of Hungary. It was this prince who led the disastrous crusade of Nicopoli against the Turks in 1396, and was elected Emperor of Germany in 1410. Unfortunately, like Louis, Sigismund had no son, and by the marriage of his daughter to Albert of Austria, Hungary was for the first time, in 1437, put into the possession of the house of Hapsburg. Albert reigned but two years. The queen, after his death, gave birth to a son, Ladislaus (Ladislaw) the Posthumous, who was recognized as king by all the na-

tion. But ambassadors had already gone to offer the hand of the royal widow to Vladislav, king of Poland. That prince, proclaimed king by one faction and by the other regarded as regent for the young king, perished at the disastrous battle of Varna in 1444. We have now come into the very thick of the Ottoman invasions and the exploits of John Hunyadi, who was made regent for young Ladislaus ; what we have further to say of Hungary will be in connection with the history of the Turks.

The Latin Empire which the fourth crusade had set up at Constantinople had not lasted more than half a century.

Founded in 1204, it was overthrown in 1261 by the fifth emperor of Nicea, Michael Paleologus, whose dynasty remained upon the throne until the year 1453. But the restoration of the Greek princes did not give new life to the empire. The Hungarians were masters of the left banks of the Danube, the Servians and Bulgarians of the right ; the Turks held nine-tenths of Asia Minor ; and Charles of Anjou, from his kingdom of Naples, threatened to raise again the Latin standard in the capital. Michael in his terror tried to avert the storm by winning the Pope over to his cause. His deputies went to the council of Lyons and made a profession of orthodox faith which deceived nobody. The Sicilian Vespers and the death of Charles of Anjou relieved him from the danger he most feared. His successor, Andronicus II., saw a much more formidable danger before him, namely, the advance of the Ottoman Turks. He called for the assistance of Catalan mercenaries, who conquered the Mussulmans, but made Constantinople tremble for her safety. Andronicus got rid of their chieftain by having him assassinated ; he was not able to restrain 1500 of those adventurers from seizing Gallipolis, and proclaiming themselves "the army of the Franks reigning in Thrace and Macedonia." For five years the empire was incapable of defending itself against such enemies as these. Then came civil war ; Andronicus II. was imprisoned in a convent by his grandson, Andronicus III. (1332), who, in spite of that bold beginning, showed himself to be indolent by nature and much more interested in theological quarrels than in resisting the Turks and Bulgarians, who were forcing their way into the empire ; he left the care of fighting them to John Canta-

Greek Empire, Ottoman Turks, and Mongols of Timour.

cuzenus. When he died his wife wished to banish the successful and formidable general. Cantacuzenus assumed the purple, made an alliance with the Turks, and a civil war followed, which exhausted the last remaining forces of the empire. Cantacuzenus, assisted to victory by the Osmanlis, at first divided his authority with his ward John Paleologus, son of Andronicus III. Then he confined him in a monastery; but he soon saw his allies taking up their abode in Gallipoli, a position which gave them the entrance to Europe. Later the Genevans brought Paleologus back to Constantinople, and sent Cantacuzenus, in his turn, into a convent (1357). The further history of the empire is but a century's slow agony. This pause before its final dissolution was not caused by a vigorous struggle for existence on the part of the empire, but by the fact that the Turks had forgotten Constantinople in their eagerness to reach the banks of the Danube.

A short account of the Turks is necessary here.

Osman, a Turcoman chief of Kharism, appeared, toward the year 1269, in Asia Minor, where the destruction of the Seldjuk kingdom enabled him peacefully to extend his power. He was one of the emirs who had revolted and had overthrown, in 1294, the last sultan of Iconium. In 1325 he took Broussa in Bythinia, but there were no indications that this little tribe was to become a formidable force. When Osman died in the following year, his estate was found to consist of a spoon, a salt-cellar, a ceremonial robe, a new turban, some horses, a few yokes of oxen, and a herd of sheep: it was a fair example of the heritage left by a Turcoman chieftain.

His son Orkhan captured Nicomedia and Nicia; all Bythinia and soon after Mysia with its capital, Pergamus, were subject to him. The Osmanlis then stretched along the beautiful shores which were washed by the Bosphorus, the Propontis and the Hellespont. On the opposite bank they saw the splendor of the many towns ruled by the cross of Constantine and their eyes continually brooded upon the great and rich city of Constantinople. One night, say the Turkish historians, Soliman, son of Orkhan, was seated in the midst of the ruins of Cyzicus watching by the light of the moon the sparkling waters of the sea of Marmora, which led to the object of their great desire. It seemed to him that the shadows thrown by the colossal ruins of the de-

stroyed city lengthened out before him, like a bridge across the sea, and at the same time mysterious voices reminded him that the empire of the world had been promised to his race. "This is a sign from God," he said. When day broke, he caused two rafts to be built, on which he embarked with 39 men. One of the Greek emperors had recently asked his assistance in opposing a rival, and Soliman, at the head of 10,000 horsemen, had gone through all Thrace and Bulgaria ravaging as he went. On his return he had noticed how poorly guarded were the Greek fortresses on the straits. He surprised one of them with his 39 men. Shortly after an earthquake put into his hands the best fortification of the region, Gallipoli, whence the frightened inhabitants made their escape, flying what they believed to be the wrath of heaven. The wrath of heaven did indeed visit their city, but it came in the guise of the Turks. From that day they had gained a footing in Europe (1356).

Orkhan was then 70 years old, and could not take advantage of the deplorable divisions of a people who seemed ready to deliver themselves into his hands. Soliman preceded him to the tomb, killed by a fall from his horse, but he bequeathed his ambition and ardor to his brother Amurath (Murad). Orkhan had begun the creation of the formidable body of Janizaries and the political and judiciary organization of his provinces. In each he had placed a governor or pacha, on whom the power of the cadis established in the towns depended.

Amurath completed the organization of the Janizaries. This formidable body of infantry was recruited, for the most part, from robust Christian children, who had been taken prisoners or stolen from their parents, and who were instructed in the Mussulmanic law in a way to inspire them with ardent fanaticism, and who were then subjected to the most severe discipline. Amurath, no doubt, had in mind, when he was organizing them, the military orders of the Christians, for he associated his new soldiers with a religious brotherhood founded by Hadji-Begtasch and sent them to that holy personage to receive a name. When they appeared before him, the saint put the sleeve of his garment upon one of their chiefs and cried: "Let them be called *Yeni cheri* (new soldiers); let their bearing be always steadfast, their hands always victorious, their sword always sharp, and their lance always over the heads of their enemies, and

wherever they may go, may they always return with happiness in their faces." The sheikh or chief of the Begtaschi was a colonel in a regiment of the Janizaries, and eight dervishes lived in their barracks, praying night and day for the safety of the Ottoman Porte and for the success of the arms of the warrior family of Hadji-Begtasch. In order to convince them of the Sultan's solicitude for their well-being, their officers called themselves inspector of the soup, chief cook, etc., and their council held its meetings around the cauldron of the regiment. When the inhabitants of Constantinople saw the Janizaries bringing their saucepans to the squares, they knew it to be the signal for some great event; the death of a vizier or a sultan was near at hand, or a great war against the Christians was to commence.

The Janizaries formed the infantry, the spahis the regular cavalry, of the Ottoman army. To all were consigned grants of land, a kind of military fiefs. They did not, however, constitute a feudal system, as they were never hereditary. Some Christians, the Woinak, in consideration of exemption from all tribute, were charged with the duty of taking care of the horses and transports in time of war. A multitude of irregular troops were added to the regular troops, called the *Asab* or foot-soldiers, the *Akindji* or horsemen. This strong military organization promised success, and the promise was fulfilled.

Soliman had opened the gates of Europe to the Turks. Under Amurath, they rushed in, but before they attacked Constantinople directly, they turned to her surroundings. Amurath took Adrianople (1360) and made it his residence, though he had in the same year taken Ancyra, in the heart of Asia Minor. But when he pitched his tent in the midst of implacable enemies, he made it necessary for the existence of his people that they should continue the conquest of the country, and by taking his stand in the second town of importance in Thrace he forced them sooner or later to capture the first in rank.

John Paleologus, Emperor of Constantinople, to avert the danger, returned to his allegiance to the Holy See. He himself went to Rome, and the union of the two churches was solemnly proclaimed (1369). Fine promises had been made him there. The Pope could not keep them, and the unfortunate emperor exhausted his last resources upon this journey. When he tried to return to the East, he was

retained at Venice by his creditors, and his son, Manuel, was obliged to sell all he possessed in order to gain the release of his father. Meantime a hermit of Savoy had brought over a few crusaders in Venetian ships, and had recaptured Gallipoli for a brief space (1366); others, with the king of Cyprus, had devastated Alexandria. These were merely the doings of filibusters and not a serious war. The Turkish authority was not shaken for an instant, and Paleologus decided to pay tribute to the Sultan, to become his vassal, and follow him in his wars; he followed him, at least, in those which Amurath waged with the Seldjuk emirs of Asia Minor, most of whom were obliged to submit to him.

Beyond the Balkans, in the great valley of the Danube, dwelt a number of brave Christian peoples who found much more to fear in their new neighbors than they had in the decrepit Greeks of Constantinople. Many of them united with each other as early as the year 1363, to crush the Turks, and went in search of them to the banks of the Maritza, not far from Adrianople. Their defeat secured the establishment of the Ottomans in Thrace. Amurath returned war with war. Froissart relates that he sent ambassadors to the Prince of Servia, leading a mule loaded with a bag of millet. "As many grains of corn as are in this bag," said they, "so many are the warriors of our Sultan." The prince did not reply, but opened the bag, spread the corn on the ground, and let the birds in the lower court eat it. At the end of a few minutes, nothing remained. "Thus," said he, "thus will your people disappear, and you see that there is not enough." If the chronicler, or rather the king of Armenia, who told him this story, is to be believed, a Turkish army of 60,000 men was almost annihilated by the Servians.

Amurath, however, took Sophia, the principal town of Bulgaria (1382), and in 1389 he fought the famous battle of the Field of the Blackbirds, with the princes of Servia and Bosnia, on the great plain of Kassovia, which is watered by the upper Drina. He was victorious, but a Servian named Milosch Kobilovich, who had been accused of treason, wished to avenge his people and himself; he made his way to the Sultan's presence, by representing himself as a deserter, and plunged a dagger into his breast. The prince of Servia, taken prisoner during the action, and all his

principal officers, were killed before the eyes of the expiring padischah. The Turks have called Amurath Khodovendikar—the laborer of God. He was succeeded by his son Bajazet Ilderim, or the Thunderbolt.

The new Sultan's first act was the murder of his brother, and his first combats were expeditions into Asia Minor, to complete the subjugation of the lesser Turkish princes and the conquest of the last Greek towns of that region. He was called back in 1396 by great danger threatened on the Danube. This time it was in very truth, a crusade. Sigismund, king of Hungary, was its leader; a host of French knights took part; at their head was John the Fearless, son of the Duke of Burgundy. This brilliant body of chivalry showed the same presumptuous rashness at Nicopoli that they had shown at Crecy and Poitiers. They were all killed. The conquerors penetrated as far as the Save, and entered Thessaly and the Morea, where they captured Argos (1397). Fear of them began to spread in the mountains of Austria and beyond the Adriatic.

While the Turks were gaining these victories, Constantinople lived in constant fear and tried to avert the wrath of the Sultan by abject submission. John Paleologus paid him a tribute of 30,000 gold crowns and with a body of 12,000 men assisted him in conquering the Greek towns of Asia Minor. In 1391, he built two towers near one of the city gates. Bajazet ordered him to demolish them if he did not wish his son Manuel, who was then in his service, to have his eyes put out. He obeyed. This same Manuel, when his father died, escaped from the court of the Sultan, to return to Constantinople. Bajazet immediately blockaded the city and the blockade lasted seven years, until the Turks were allowed to have a mosque and a cadi in the very city. In 1400, Manuel besought Europe to make another effort. He went to Paris and to London, displaying all the miseries of the great title he bore, even begging money to support his life. He counted himself happy to obtain a pension of 30,000 crowns from France. The last moment of the Greek empire seemed to have come, when more efficient help arrived from an unsuspected quarter.

Tamerlain (Timur, surnamed Lenk or the Lame) was descended from Jenghiz-Khan in a female line; his father, the chief of the tribe, owned a little province near Samarcand. The empire of Jenghiz had been broken up into a

multitude of little principalities, whose chiefs were constantly at war with one another. Timur joined in these quarrels, showed great valor and gained great renown. In 1370, he was strong enough to overthrow the Khan of Samarcand. Two years later, he began his conquests. He first conquered Kharism (or western Turkestan, to the south of Lake Aral) and the kingdom of Kashgar (Chinese Turkestan or lesser Bokhara); then the neighboring provinces of Persia; in 1385 he went around the Caspian Sea at the south, took Tauris, Kars, and Tiflis, and conquered some of the mountaineers of the Caucasus and of Armenia. In 1387 he entered Ispahan, where he put 70,000 persons to the sword. At Sebsvar in Khorassan he had already massacred the whole population, except 2000 men, who were later piled one upon the other with mortar and brick to serve as foundation for several towers which he wished to build. Later, before he arrived at Delhi, being embarrassed by the existence of 100,000 captives, he had them put to death. He amused himself in building at the city gates pyramids of twenty or thirty thousand heads. Attila and his Huns were left far behind.

In 1390, he undertook to overthrow the empire of the Golden Horde in southern Russia. He gained at least one great battle near the Volga; two years later, he conquered what remained of Persia, entered Bagdad, Bassora and Mosul, and being again provoked by the Khan of Kiptchak, he crossed the Caucasus by the defile of Derbent, leading 400,000 warriors, and made a victorious passage through the country as far as the neighborhood of Moscow. A lack of forage and the severity of the climate forced him to retreat. He had not overthrown the dominion of the Golden Horde, but he had weakened it and so had prepared the way for the liberation of the Russian nation.

In 1398 he was to be found at the other extremity of his empire and of Asia. He was then sixty-two years old; neither age nor fatigue had any power over him; he dreamed of the conquest of the Indies. His tired emirs asked for rest; he read them the Koran, which imposes an eternal combat with idolators, and he rushed down upon the banks of the Indus and the Ganges, at the head of 92,000 horsemen and innumerable infantry, spreading terror on every side. Delhi was sacked in a horrible manner, and the princes of Hindostan were overcome. One year later, this terrible traveler,

who might be said to wear out victory and death in their attempts to follow him, was in Georgia at the foot of the Caucasus. There the trembling deputies from the Greek Emperor and certain Seldjuk princes despoiled by Bajazet, came to find him. The two powerful monarchs who made all Europe and Asia tremble before them, exchanged a few haughty letters, preludes to a terrible war. Before the war broke out, Timur had time to conquer the Sultan of Egypt, and to burn Aleppo, Damascus, and Bagdad. After taking this last city, he built, for a trophy as it were, an obelisk of the heads of 90,000 men (1401). At Aleppo he built of the same material towers 10 cubits in height and 20 cubits in circumference.

On the sixteenth of June in the following year, Bajazet and Timur met with 400,000 Turks and 800,000 Mongols, on the plains of Ancyra; two barbarous nations, two powers for evil which brought nothing but destruction in their train. The Ottomans were defeated, their sultan taken, and Asia Minor fell into the hands of the conquerors, who pushed their way as far as Smyrna, carried it by assault, and did not stop until they came to the deep waters of the Archipelago. The land was theirs, but infidels held the seas. They went in search of other lands to conquer. Taking a survey of Asia from one end to the other, Timur could find but one empire still standing and worthy of his efforts, and that was China. He was leading his countless hordes against that country, when finally, March 19, 1405, death stopped the indefatigable old man who has come down to us as the most terrible personification in history of the evil spirit of conquest. After his death his empire was divided and disappeared.

Bajazet had survived his defeat by only a year, notwithstanding the consideration shown him by Timur; but his empire did not follow him in his fall. Ten years, only, were passed in agitation and confusion, during which period Bajazet's sons were disputing his heritage; in 1413 Mohammed I. was secured in sole possession of his father's power.

In 1421, his son Amurath II. succeeded him; he had to contest the throne with an impostor or pretender whom the Greek emperor brought forward as Bajazet's eldest son, who had disappeared at the battle of Ancyra. The pretender was defeated, taken, and hung on one of the towers of Adrianople. To revenge himself upon the Greeks Amu-

rath besieged their capital ; they defended themselves with the weapons to which weakness resorts, perfidy and cunning. Amurath was called away to Asia, by the revolt of his brother Mustapha. It was not necessary for him to fight. Mustapha, sold by the traitor who had urged him to revolt, was hung on a fig-tree, in the neighborhood of Nicea. But once again Constantinople was saved. Amurath seemed to forget it. He attacked the Venetians, the masters of Thessalonica, of Negropont and Candia, and the lesser princes who had divided Greece among themselves. In 1430 he took Thessalonica by assault, and the following year he caused his authority to be recognized at Janina and at Croia, the capital of Albania, whose prince, John Castriot, gave his son George as hostage for his fidelity.

After many combats in Dalmatia, in Servia, in Wallachia, and even in Transylvania, the Hungarians felt the necessity of making a great effort to repulse the Ottoman domination which was coming upon them from three sides at once, along the Adriatic, by the Danube, and across the Carpathian mountains. A Transylvanian nobleman named John Hunyadi was the hero of this war. The White Knight of Wallachia, as he is called by Commines, destroyed, in the year 1442, 20,000 Turks near Hermanstadt, and some time after he defeated with 15,000 men an army ten times as numerous. He was again victorious at Nissa in Servia, captured Sophia in Bulgaria, and paying the ravages of the Turks in kind, he laid waste the right bank of the Danube.

Meanwhile, the Greek emperor, in order to gain the support of Catholic Europe, had again offered to subscribe to the union of the two churches. But, said a Byzantine historian, if at the moment when the Turks were masters of a half of Constantinople, an angel coming down from heaven had said to the rest of the inhabitants, "Agree to the union and I will drive out your enemies," they would have replied : "Rather Mohammed than the Pope." The union accepted by the emperor was accordingly refused by the bishops. It had the effect, however, of instigating a new crusade, which Ladislaw, king of Poland and regent of Hungary, accompanied by a papal legate, conducted as far as Bulgaria.

Amurath became uneasy and asked for peace. It was concluded for ten years. He took his oath upon the Koran and Ladislaw upon the Gospels. But the legate was indignant that a treaty should be made with an infidel, and it

was broken, notwithstanding Hunyadi's efforts to the contrary. The crusaders marched upon Varna, across Bulgaria, counting upon a Christian fleet in the Hellespont to keep Amurath from summoning his forces from Asia. The Genoans were bribed to lend him their vessels. Before the action began, Amurath caused the treaty which the Christians were violating to be carried through the ranks on the point of a spear. Ladislaw was killed, the legate perished in the flight, and Hunyadi saved but a small remnant of the army.

Amurath did not pursue the fugitives. He did not try to attack the great mass of all the Christian nations, whose weight he felt, even though he had been victorious over them. Following a policy which does him credit, he turned his attention to the little powers which were in his way to the south of the Danube ; in 1446 he conquered almost the whole of the Morea and invaded Epirus. There, in those inaccessible mountains, he found an indomitable race and a man worthy of such a race, George Castriot, whose exploits gained for him the name of the Bey Alexander, Scanderbeg, from the Turks. Amurath had brought him up and had made him his favorite. But he had not been able to erase from the heart of the Christian boy, whom he had made a Mussulman, the memory of his fatherland, of the faith of his ancestors, and of independence. After a victory gained by Hunyadi over the Turks in 1443, Scanderbeg had forced the sultan's secretary, at the dagger's point, to sign him an order obliging the governor of Croïa to deliver that place into his hands. From that day he threw off the friendship of the Turks and became their most terrible enemy. In vain did Amurath overrun Albania with his troops ; Scanderbeg was always at hand, on their flanks, on their rear, above their heads ; always there, and always striking, but always out of reach.

Hunyadi, when proclaimed regent of Hungary, wished to repair the disaster at Varna, and in 1448 marched into Servia. The memory of the same event brought the two armies of the Christians and the Mussulmans together in the valley of Kassovia, where the Turks had been victorious, but where the first Amurath had perished. The second Amurath awaited there the approach of the Christians with his army of 150,000 men. The Hungarian army was almost entirely destroyed ; Hunyadi escaped with the greatest

difficulty. The two following years were spent by the sultan in reducing Albania to submission, but he could not take Croïa nor crush Scanderbeg. Early in the year 1451 he died at Adrianople. He had abdicated twice, and twice the confusion and revolts that immediately followed had forced him to resume his authority.

Mohammed II., who was more impetuous, more impatient of delay, ascended the throne with the resolution of taking Constantinople, and of sacrificing everything to this end. It was his constant thought by day and by night. One morning he called his vizier and said to him : "Look at my couch, look at this disorder ; Constantinople keeps me from closing my eyes. Give me Constantinople." Bajazet had built a fortress on the coast of Asia, where the Bosphorus entered Thrace ; in a few weeks Mohammed built another castle opposite, on the European coast, and the passage was closed to all vessels. A cannon foundry, established at Adrianople under the direction of a Hungarian, manufactured formidable pieces of artillery, amongst others an enormous cannon, which hurled balls of 1200 pounds weight. Two hundred and sixty thousand men surrounded Constantinople, and a fleet was stationed at the entrance to the port, which the besieged had closed with a chain.

The defense of the city consisted of but 7000 men, including 2000 Venetians and Genoans, who were commanded by an able leader, a Genoan, named Justiniani. The Emperor Constantine offered up prayers in a church where a bishop of the Roman communion was officiating ; his court prayed in the others, according to the Greek rites, and a mortal hatred on both sides separated the two parties. The city, however, was still so strong that Mohammed had made little progress, when he bethought himself of an expedient which destroyed the defenses. Constantinople is separated from its two suburbs, Pera and Galata, by its port, the Golden Horn, a little gulf, long and narrow, which runs up into the country beyond Galata. Mohammed built behind that suburb a plank road, which he then had greased. One end of it reached the Bosphorus, the other the head of the gulf. By main strength they hoisted the ships upon this novel road, and the Greeks suddenly were stupefied to see the Ottoman fleet in their very harbor, in the midst of their works of defense. On the 29th of May, at one o'clock in the night, a furious assault began ; at eight o'clock in

the morning half of Constantinople was taken. Justiniani was mortally wounded; Constantine was dead; by his sacrifice he had ennobled the last hours of the Roman empire. The other quarters, having their own separate fortifications, capitulated. The cross was thrown down from St. Sophia and the crescent took its place.

BOOK X.

CIVILIZATION IN THE LAST CENTURIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE CHURCH FROM 1270 TO 1453.

Foreshadowings of a new civilization.—The Papacy from Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII.—The Popes at Avignon (1309–1376); Great Schism of the West (1378–1448).—Wycliffe, John Huss, Gerson; Councils of Pisa (1409), of Constance (1414) and of Basel (1431); Gallican doctrines.

IN following the history of the Middle Ages we have seen how they prepared the way for a political and a social revolution. By means of the former centralization of power was substituted for the local powers, and the will of the king was made supreme over the nobles; by the latter, the serfs were enfranchised, the middle classes were raised, and a beginning was made in the fortunes of the Third Estate.

But modern nations are not only removed from the Middle Ages in their political and social organization, but they are animated by a different spirit, and even at the time we have now reached their religion, literature, and ideas show signs of a coming change of great importance and significance.

A baron clothed in his Milanese armor, and seated upon his Spanish charger, was invincible and invulnerable; now, a little charcoal, saltpetre, and sulphur, mixed together, makes the poorest and the weakest peasant the equal, on the battlefield, of the wealthiest noble or the most hardy horseman. Force and power were leaving their ancient places of abode, and thought was no longer monopolized by the religious orders. In the flourishing period of the Middle Ages, intellectual life was only found among the

clergy ; now it was awakening among the laity. And just as the clergy occupied themselves exclusively with questions relating to heaven, the laity occupied themselves with questions of purely earthly importance. The consequence of this simple change was the subsequent creation of the physical, natural, and economical sciences, which in turn led to new ideas on social matters ; and the man of modern times finally began the true conquest of the earth, his domain, and the conquest of his conscience, which, in most cases, had long been smothered under the weight of ignorance and superstition.

The Church, like everything else in this world, has its history, that is to say, the constant movement and development inseparable from life, for the absence of change is a proof of death.

Papacy from
Gregory VII. to
Boniface VIII.

From the time of Gregory VII. at the end of the eleventh century until the time of Boniface VIII. at the beginning of the fourteenth, the Papacy continually grew in pretensions and in power, both without and within the pale of the Church ; after that period, its power declined.

The doctrines of Gregory VII. in regard to pontifical supremacy bore their fruit after his time, and the extreme boldness of his conduct in his relation with sovereigns became a fundamental doctrine, if we may say so, of the Papacy. Adrian IV. forced the greatest of the German Cæsars, Frederick Barbarossa, to hold his stirrup, and Innocent III. formulated the pontifical doctrines in language that was magnificent but very extraordinary : "As the sun and the moon are hung in the heavens, the greater of these stars to preside over the day, the lesser to preside over the night ; so there are also two powers in the community of the faithful,—the pontifical power, which is first in importance, because it has charge of souls ; the royal power, second in importance, because its charge is merely the body." On the strength of this moral oversight committed to him he interfered in all the contentions between the sovereigns of his time, and hurled his thunderbolts at the heads of all the kings, threatening some of them, striking others. Philip Augustus, John Lackland, Sverri of Norway, who had usurped his crown, and the king of Leon, who had married his cousin, were all excommunicated. The king of Hungary, who had detained a papal legate, was threatened with seeing his son dispossessed of the throne. To escape all

fear of so formidable a power, Peter II., king of Aragon, had himself consecrated a knight by the Pope and acknowledged himself his vassal and tributary. In the quarrel between Philip of Swabia and Otto IV. in Germany, Innocent claimed to have the right to "examine, approve, anoint, consecrate, and crown the emperor elect, if he be worthy; to reject him, if unworthy." This was answered a century later by the Pragmatic Sanction of Frankfort. If pretensions such as these had prevailed, all the kingdoms of Europe would have become fiefs of the Holy See.

In the thirteenth century, the condemnation and deposition of the emperor Frederick II. at the council of Lyons, the release of the Aragonese from their oath to their king Peter, the taking of the kingdom of Naples away from Manfred and the giving it to Charles of Anjou, all bore witness to papal omnipotence.

Boniface VIII. finally, in his bull *Unam sanctam*, surpassed even the language of Innocent III.; for, instead of limiting himself to the recognition of two powers, one of them inferior to the other, he seemed to wish to absorb the former and make it entirely subordinate to the latter. "To the Church belong the two swords, spiritual and temporal; the latter working for the Church, the former through the Church; the one controlled by the priesthood, the other by the kings and barons, but following the will and waiting the permission of the priesthood. The sword must be ruled by the sword, and temporal authority must yield to spiritual power."

These great popes, indeed, had prepared the way for their boundless pretensions; they took care to inscribe them beforehand in the law, and to make them popular with the masses. The collection of decretals published in the time of Gregory IX. in 1234, by Raymond of Pennafort, who brought together the rescripts of the last popes, Alexander III., Innocent III., Honorius III., and which was continued later under Boniface VIII., Clement V., and John XXII., opened a more fertile field in the study of the canon law which was interpreted and commented upon by the canonists; and as, in the interpretation of a law, it is always the sense of the legislator which is sought, the jurisconsults, in the law which they studied and then put in force were most impressed with the spirit of domination of the pontiffs who had dictated it. The right of deposing kings and empe-

rors was written down at full length in the canonical code. In every Christian state the Papacy had advocates to plead the cause of its ambition. It also had its preachers among the mendicant monks, orders which arose at that time.

In virtue of the same principles, the Pope had the power not only of imposing religious laws but also of exempting from them ; he held the power of dispensation in his hand. He also claimed the right of disposing of ecclesiastical benefices, at first of a few ; Honorius III. only demanded that each church should reserve two prebendaries for the Holy See ; later he claimed them all ; and Clement IV., Boniface VIII., and Clement V. introduced the theory that to the Pope, the universal patron, belonged the distribution of all benefices. It will be remembered that England, under Henry III., was, in a way, invaded by Italian priests. The right of disposing of ecclesiastical revenues throughout Christendom followed as a necessary consequence, and, as early as the year 1199 Innocent III. levied a fortieth part of the revenues from the Christian clergy, which he caused to be collected by special agents. His successors renewed and multiplied, on various pretexts, orders of this nature, and it must be borne in mind that in the Middle Ages the clergy possessed a third, perhaps, of Germany and a fifth of England and of France.

The princes were disturbed by the great wealth of the clergy ; many of them felt the danger and took measures to arrest its progress by means of laws which put restrictions on the acquisition by the clergy of landed property, which in their hands became mortmain, that is to say, were withdrawn from circulation and were exempted from public taxes. That was one object, among others, against which the law published in England in 1279, under the title of the *Statute of Mortmain*, was directed.

Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the successful rival of civil jurisdiction, had made the same progress ; not only had the clergy been secured from the action of lay tribunals, but a host of persons had acquired the same privilege by a simple religious vow or by promising to join a crusade, and a host of cases were brought directly before the ecclesiastical courts. The secular power was too indifferent in the matter : St. Louis, Frederick II., Alfonso X. all favored the increasing power of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, doubtless because feudal justice lost more by it than royal justice ;

in England, however, it had been in the twelfth century the object of a bloody conflict between the two powers, but Thomas à Becket had triumphed in death. Now whatever jurisdiction the local clergy and the bishops had obtained the Holy See endeavored to take to itself by means of appeals to the court of Rome, just as it endeavored, by means of the tithes and the fortieths, to absorb a part of the wealth they had acquired.

Accordingly two questions of superlative importance arose at the beginning of the fourteenth century: Was Europe to become a theocracy by the triumph of the spiritual over the temporal power? Was the Church to be an aristocratic hierarchy or an absolute monarchy? In the year 1300, Boniface VIII. would have smiled at the idea of there being a doubt on this point, when, on the great jubilee which he had appointed, he appeared invested with the imperial robes and preceded by the two swords, in the sight of innumerable Christians gathered at Rome, and when all the wealth of Europe was heaped up on the altar of St. Peter. Three years later, however, the face of things had undergone a complete change the temporal power, so often defeated, suddenly triumphed, and it became evident that Europe was not to be a theocracy.

The second question waited two centuries and a half for its solution.

The Papacy, which had soared high above all Europe, fell shattered to earth at Avignon. While trying to invade foreign kingdoms, it was taken prisoner and lost its own kingdom. The Babylonian Captivity, which began in 1309 by the establishment of Clement V. at Avignon, lasted nearly seventy years and included seven successive pontificates. The lofty ambition of preceding centuries was now followed by a worldly, indolent, and effeminate mode of life. Those French popes, the servants of the king of France, as others, later, were servants of the House of Austria, had no will but his and no authority but in his service. Benedict XII. with tears in his eyes replied to the ambassadors of the excommunicated Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, that in his heart he was much inclined to absolve him, but that, if he pronounced the absolution, the king of France would depose him.

Wealth took the place of power as the object of their ambition; the Avignon Papacy began to heap up treasure and

The popes at Avignon (1309-1376); Great Schism of the West (1378-1448).

to levy from the clergy, in concert with the king of France, tithes and taxes which they mutually authorized each other to collect. The reservations and the provisions had already been created ; John XXII. conceived the idea of the annates (the first year's revenues of vacant benefices). The people were irritated by this spectacle ; the greatest discontent was found at Rome, whose people were deserted by their sovereign and now only saw his legates. Public opinion pronounced strongly for the return of the pontiffs to the ancient capital of the Christian world. Gregory XI. was then in possession of the tiara. St. Catherine of Sienna, renowned throughout Italy for her inspired revelations, prevailed upon him to return to Rome, and he went there in 1376. He died in 1378. The sixteen cardinals present in Rome, four Italians, eleven Frenchmen, and one Spaniard, endeavored to find a successor. Doubtless a Frenchman would have been elected, if the people of Rome had not besieged the doors of the conclave in an uproar, crying to the cardinals that they would have a Roman Pope, "or they would make their heads redder than their hats." They elected an Italian, the Archbishop of Bari, under the name of Urban VI.

Hardly were they at liberty again, when the Frenchmen and three of the Italians protested against the forced election and appointed a French Pope, the Cardinal of Geneva, under the name of Clement VII. There were then two Popes, and the Great Schism of the West began, the most deadly wound which the Church had received. Europe divided on the question : England, Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Holland, and nearly all of Italy owned the authority of Urban ; France, Spain, Scotland, Savoy and Lorraine supported the cause of Clement VII.

The division in the Church, the two rival tiaras, the hostility between Avignon and Rome was a most affecting spectacle to Christian eyes. All the foremost men of Christendom were alarmed by an event which struck a fatal blow at the faith of the people. All tried to put an end to the schism ; the University of Paris was distinguished for its zeal and activity in the cause. It held a solemn meeting in 1394 and found three methods for restoring the lost unity. First, that the two competitors should make a voluntary surrender ; second, that arbitrators agreed upon by the two parties should decide the question ; or, third, that there should

be a general council. Nicolas of Clemangis, a celebrated theologian, who made a searching inquiry into the troubles of the Church and of Avignon, presented these conclusions to Charles VI., king of France, who received them favorably in one of his lucid moments ; but his madness returned upon him, and the princes, who again became supreme, forbade the University to interfere in the affairs of the schism. The latter showed a very energetic spirit, closing its courses and discontinuing its public lessons.

Of the three proposed remedies, the first was found, by experience, to be impracticable. Clement VII. died ; his cardinals, in order not to forfeit their claims, hastened to prepare for a new election and chose the Spaniard, Peter of Luna, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII. (1394), and opposed every attempt at conciliation. Twice did France withdraw her obedience, but in vain : "What matters it to me," he coldly said, "St. Peter did not count that kingdom among his provinces." It was in vain that they besieged him in Avignon ; he remained Pope, though confined in the citadel, and later succeeded in escaping. The pontiffs who successively held the See at Rome, Boniface IX., Innocent VI., and Gregory XII., showed the same disposition, and the two adversaries hurled at each other their anathemas.

Their proceedings were extremely imprudent. There had already been many anti-popes, and the Church had not

been shaken by them, because at that time the spirit of obedience was universal ; at the end of the fourteenth century, a different spirit made its appearance, and something like a wind of revolution swept over Europe. There were many indications of the formidable agitation at work in the heart of society ;

in France, the Jacquerie, Marcel, and the Cabochines ; in Flanders, the two Van Arteveldes ; in England, Wat Tyler ; in Italy, Rienzo and the republics. It was certainly fair to suppose that the general movement might reach the Church.

The word reformation, which was to rouse so many echoes and fill Europe with its sound a century later, had already begun to be heard. The heretic Wycliffe did not stand alone, nor the fierce Nicolas of Clemangis ; Gerson himself, a most pious doctor, much respected in the Church, who has been supposed by some to be the author of the *Imitation of Christ*, wrote in very strong language on that subject :

Wycliffe, John
Huss, Gerson ;
Council of Pisa
(1409), of Con-
stance (1414),
and of Basel
(1431) ; Galli-
can doctrines.

“The court of Rome has created a thousand offices by which to make money, but hardly one for the propagation of virtue. From morning till night there is talk of nothing but armies, lands, towns, and money ; rarely, or rather never, do they speak of chastity, charity, justice, fidelity, and a pure life.”

As unity could not be restored by the voluntary yielding of either of the rival popes, the charge of effecting, at the same time, the reunion and the reformation of the Church was put into the hands of a council. It was convoked by the cardinals at Pisa in 1409. The council deposed Benedict and Gregory, and chose Alexander V. But as the two former refused to submit, there were three popes instead of two ; the remedy had increased the evil.

The first question to be solved was, in fact, whether the Pope or the council possessed the superior power. For, if the authority of the Pope was higher than that of the council, what right had the latter to depose the former ? Benedict, Gregory, and afterward Alexander, supported that view of the case, and claimed that the Church was with and of the Pope, and that a council obtained its œcumenical character, not by the number of its members, but by the presence of the pontiff. Gerson replied to that monarchical theory : “The Church universal is the assemblage of all Christians, whether Greeks or barbarians, men or women, nobles or peasants, rich or poor. This Church it is which, according to tradition, can neither err nor offend ; her only head is Jesus Christ, the popes, cardinals, prelates, ecclesiastics, kings, and the people are its members, although of different degrees. . . . There is another Church, called Apostolic, which is apart and enclosed within the Church universal, to wit, the Pope and the clergy ; it is that which is usually called the Roman Church, it is the Church of whom the Pope is regarded as the head, and the other ecclesiastics as members. This Church can err and offend, it can deceive and be deceived and can fall into schism and heresy ; it is but the instrument and the organ of the Church universal, and has no more authority than is given by the Church universal to wield the power which resides in it alone. . . . The Church has the right to depose the popes if they show themselves unworthy of their office or if they are incapable of exercising its functions ; for if, for the public good, a king may be deposed, who holds the kingdom of his ances-

tors by the right of succession, how much more may a Pope be deposed, who holds his title only through the election of the cardinals?” Those are the doctrines of the Gallican church, which Gerson was among the first to formulate, and which were later defended and modified by Bossuet.

But a few minds at once audacious and logical, who were not afraid to overstep the limits of orthodoxy, went even farther than these bold doctrines. It will be remembered that Wycliffe wished, as it were, to overthrow the whole Catholic Church, even attacked its dogmas when he denied the doctrine of the real presence (transubstantiation). John Huss, who did not go so far as that, nevertheless insisted upon three points of vital importance: the appeal to Scripture as the only infallible authority; the necessity of bringing the clergy back to a life of discipline and purity, whether by depriving them of all interference in temporal affairs, or by taking from them the property of which they made a bad use; and finally, the dispensation of spiritual power to the priests by the Holy Spirit, by reason of their inner purity and only in so far as they were qualified to receive it and worthy to use it. These doctrines led straight to Protestantism. John Huss also attacked certain ceremonies: auricular confession, the worship of images, and fasting. Finally, the monks and the Pope with his court were the objects of his most violent diatribes; he wrote two books, the one entitled, *The Abomination of Monks*; the other, *The Members of Antichrist*. The titles give an idea of their contents.

Alexander V. had hastily dissolved the council of Pisa; his successor John XXIII., forced by public opinion and by the Emperor Sigismund, who came to Italy expressly to confer with him on that important subject, convoked another. He wished it to assemble in one of the Lombard cities. Sigismund insisted upon the selection of a German town; Constance was the appointed place (1414).

This great council was attended not only by the bishops, as had always before been the usage, but by abbots, ambassadors of the Christian princes, deputies from the universities, a host of theologians of inferior rank, and even doctors of jurisprudence. The Emperor Sigismund, by his presence, upheld those who were resolved to put an end to the schism, and promised them, in case of need, the support of his

favor and his imperial authority. He presided several times at the sessions.

A host of Italian bishops had assembled there, resolved to secure the victory of the ultramontane ideas. The ecclesiastics from other countries, in order to counteract their advantage in numbers, decided that the vote should not be taken by heads, but by nations, and the council was divided into four nations, each having one vote : Italians, Germans, French, and English. This arrangement gave an advantage to the moderate party. The council was animated by the Gallican spirit and condemned the two extremes ; on the one hand, the absolutism of the Pope and the corruption of the Church ; on the other hand, the puritan reform of John Huss.

The immediate object of the convocation of the council was attained, though it was by long and weary efforts. The fathers appointed Martin V. as true Pope. Of the three false pontiffs, one, Gregory XII., abdicated ; the other two, Benedict XIII. and John XXIII., were removed from office. There was an end to the schism (1417) for a few years.

In the matter of reforms, the council drew a bloody line at the point where it thought they ought to stop. It sent radical reform to the stake with John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the reform which triumphed with Luther a little later, and it attempted to formulate a moderate reform of its own, through the medium of a committee which, however, failed to accomplish anything. Various projects of reform were submitted to the council which, if they could have been carried out, would have seriously limited the papal power and made the local churches more independent. But the different interests represented in the council could not come to an agreement, and it finally dissolved, having decreed only a few measures of reform. The most important of these was that general councils should be summoned hereafter at regular intervals. This would have given the Church a fixed legislative assembly had the popes not known how to avoid compliance with the decree and so to escape this danger to their power. The council also attempted some reforms in the discipline and life of the clergy. But these moderate reforms, which might have led to more thorough ones, were never accomplished. Martin V., on his side, drew up an act, in which he treated the question of reform as he understood it,—that is, he evaded it completely,

and, by sowing discord between the different nations of the council, only too easy a task in the case of France and England, he declared the assembly dissolved, before any real result had been reached (1418).

A short time afterward the same questions of reform made it necessary for Pope Eugenius IV. to convoke another council at Basel (1431). He repented this action and declared it dissolved. The fathers obstinately continued in session and brought forward again all the propositions advanced at Constance, relating to the superior authority of the general councils; they decreed that they were to be convoked periodically, that they could be dissolved only on the consent of two thirds of their members, and that the Pope should be held to appear in person or through his legates. Eugenius IV. transferred the council to Ferrara and then to Florence, where only a portion of the fathers assembled. Those at Basel deposed him and elected the Duke of Savoy Pope under the name of Felix V. Division again appeared in the Church: the council remained in session until 1443; in 1438 Charles VII. brought before them the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, where the very principles of the councils of Constance and Basel and the liberty of the Gallican church were established. The new schism prevailed until the abdication of Felix V. in 1448.

Thus the great authority of the Church, which had ruled all the Europe of the Middle Ages, continued to exist in the midst of convulsion and discord. "This I well know," said Froissart, at the beginning of these deplorable troubles, "that some day people will be astonished at such things, that the Church should become involved in such difficulties and so long be unable to free herself from them. But it was a plague sent by God to warn the clergy and make them consider what a great estate and superfluity they held and managed. But many did not take it into consideration; for they were so blinded by overweening pride that each one wished to be like every one else; and because of that things went badly, and if our faith had not been confirmed by the hand and by the grace of the Holy Spirit, it would have wavered or given way. For those great landed noblemen . . . did nothing but laugh and play at the time of the chronicles I chronicle, the year of grace 1390, whom many of the people wondered at, that such great lords provided neither a remedy nor a plan."

They did try to provide a remedy and a plan of action, but they did not succeed in changing anything. Abuses in the discipline and mode of life increased on the contrary, and as a consequence of having avoided a reform in the fifteenth century, they brought on a revolution in the sixteenth.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE NATIONAL LITERATURES.—THE INVENTIONS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

The Italian and French literatures.—The literatures of the North.—English, German, and Scandinavian.—Spanish and Portuguese literatures. Renaissance of classical learning.—Printing, oil painting, engraving, and gunpowder.

As the Middle Ages advanced to their close, the individuality of the different nations became more and more marked. At first all intellectual life was almost exclusively confined to the religious orders and found its expression in Latin, the language of the Church, and also the universal language. Now thought became secularized and the laity began to think, speak, and write in as many languages as there were nations. Each nation had already its own idiom, which was not only spoken by the masses, but in several cases had been raised to some literary power and dethroned the Latin tongue, which was until then alone reserved for the great object, of the human life.

After the troubadours had been silenced, the Italian language was the one which developed the most rapidly. With an unexampled precocity it had attained its perfection in the midst of the Middle Ages. It owed this privilege to the commerce, industry, and political life which had been developed in Italy much sooner than elsewhere, and which demanded not a learned and dead language, but a living language, adapted to all the details of political life. The Italian language had in this way been developed and enriched; it was the instrument of the lofty and terrible and tender poetry of Dante; Petrarch used it in his graceful verse, and Boccaccio not only in verse but in admirable prose. When it had shown its power in works of such extent and variety it might well be considered as a finished

language. We will not repeat what we have already said in Chapter XXIX., but will return to France, whose literature held the next place to that of Italy.

The French literature did not at first soar as high as the Italian, nor did it immediately attain perfection, but it was the more spontaneous of the two. Dante and Petrarch were inspired by Virgil and acknowledged themselves to be his disciples. But who were the predecessors of Joinville and Froissart? In what way were they influenced by the literature of antiquity?

Joinville left behind him a French prose which was clear, simple, keen, and flexible, and wonderfully adapted to narrative. Froissart employed it in the same way and made it even more perfect. We still admire the graceful style of this narrator and the charming pictures he has left us of the chivalrous society of his times. His coloring is fresh, strong, and natural; his sentiments, delicate, moderate, and as elevated as his style. Froissart's aim in writing the history of his times was to divert rather than to instruct. He only asked for readers from the same rank of society that he described and in the midst of which he passed his life. Not that he was himself a noble, like Joinville and Villehardouin. These latter wrote real memoirs in which they described actions and events in which they themselves had played an important part. Jehan Froissart, born at Valenciennes toward 1337, was only a clerk, the canon and treasurer of the church of Chimay, who from choice spent his life in wandering from castle to castle—pen, not sword, in hand, and in describing actions and events of which he was only a spectator. He was a kind of *trouvère*, who wrote in prose about things that had really happened, and for the rest he was well supplied with subjects by the epoch in which he lived. It was the time of the wars of the English in France. The chivalry of these two countries, the most brilliant in the world, were rivals in valor, luxury, and courtesy. When feats of war were suspended for a time they were immediately succeeded by the feats of the tourney. An extreme activity ruled this society both in peace and war, and they needed an active historian, who should follow them to the field of battle to gaze from afar at the fine blows given and taken, or to the various castles to collect and repeat with embellishments the accounts of all that was going on. Froissart has left us a brilliant and truthful picture of his

times rather than a serious, reflective, and critical, history for which we must wait until the time of Commynes.

We must, however, mention the remarkable change which took place before Commynes. Before the Chronicle of Froissart was actually finished (it extends from 1326 to 1400) learned history had begun to be written. Christine de Pisan, who wrote the history of Charles V., and Alain Chartier, who wrote the history of Charles VII. and *Le Quadriologue-Invectif*, were both learned writers and as well versed in antiquity as was then possible in France, often referring to Seneca, Cicero, Virgil, Orpheus, Musæus, and Homer and much less anxious to describe contemporary affairs with simplicity than to adorn their narrations with imitations of the ancients. With them unconscious humor was superseded by a labored style which lost the charm of naturalness, but which was trying to become settled and to acquire more gravity, symmetry, and elevation. Alain Chartier astonished his contemporaries by his harmonious and well-rounded periods, and he had the same success which was later won by Balzac : a queen of France wished to kiss the lips "from which so many golden words had fallen." Perhaps more stress should be laid on the revolution in French prose, which was inaugurated by Alain Chartier, because this same new character of dignity and seriousness which he was the first to impress upon prose was that which marked it in its golden age of the seventeenth century.

The fine prose of Froissart and Alain Chartier was not generally read. The nobles and the scholars constituted their public. When the fabliaux with their ill-natured tales had superseded the warlike epics, they circulated among the rich and cultivated bourgeoisie, but beyond a few vague legends there was no popular literature at all. The appearance of the *Mysteries*, which collected the people in the new position of spectator and judge around the small platform, the origin of our theatre, was an important event. The first subjects represented on this rough stage were borrowed from religion. The Bible had begun to be translated into the vulgar tongue ; it was also translated to the people by scenic action. The Church herself had opened this path by certain dialogues in the Latin and Romance languages, which were recited by pupils in the gallery of a church, even in the middle of the service. Somewhat later she had substituted regular scenic plays for these dialogues,

plays which were represented in the choir and in which there were grotesque and profane elements, inherited, perhaps, from the follies of paganism. For instance, in the representation of the Passion, or of the flight of the Virgin, Barabbas and the Wandering Jew would appear, or even Balaam's Ass, which was made to bray underneath the nave. There were elements of terror as well as of laughter in these plays. Among the mysteries that have come down to us the one representing the story of the Foolish Virgins is both striking and impressive : when on waking up they are conscious of their irreparable error they cry in despair, "Unhappy wretches that we are, we have slept too long"; and this melancholy cry full of agony resounds eleven times, when suddenly the infernal regions are opened and Christ appears and throws them down into them, saying : "Go, miserable beings ! go, accursed ones ! you are condemned to everlasting punishment and to dwell in the infernal regions."

The clergy allowed the laity to assume the privilege of representing the sacred events : and at first saw nothing at all unsuitable in it, though it was one of the symptoms of the emancipation of the lay society. Fraternities were formed for this object by the bourgeoisie, by master masons, joiners, and locksmiths. The *Confrérie de la Passion* which was authorized in 1402 by letters patent from Charles VI. was installed outside the Saint-Denis gate, in the hospital of the Trinity. This fraternity was to a certain extent dedicated to representing the dramatic cycle of the Passion of Christ, and obtained a great success ; an indefatigable crowd was never weary of coming every Sunday to see and hear and did not go back until nightfall. They saw God himself, the Trinity, the *mysteries* and the *miracles*, sacred things upon which it would seem that no Christian should have been willing to look.

Profane comedy was also developing at the same time with this religious drama, and its critical and satirical character was well designated by its name, *Morality*. The authors of this kind of comedy were the clerks of the Palace of Justice, who were formed into a corporation by Philip the Fair. The Moralities followed the satirical school of the fabliaux, and of the Romance of the Rose. They made a great use of allegory, as is shown by the names of their characters, such as *Well-advised* and *Ill-advised*,

Afraid-to-confess-his-sins, Grand-revels, Thirst and Without-water, etc. These subtleties were, however, less attractive to the crowd than the mysteries, and farces which were more provocative of laughter took their place. About the middle of the fifteenth century the French comic stage possessed its first great work in the celebrated farce of *L'Avocat Patelin*.

Aside from the mysteries, where there was occasionally some poetical expression and much poetical feeling, poetry produced no great works in the French language during the century of social revolution and moral decadence which marks the end of the Middle Ages. Charles of Orleans, however, the captive of Agincourt, has left us some graceful verses, full of delicacy and freshness, which breathe a tender melancholy. There was no inspiration in the combats of this epoch, and the epic poem was replaced by history. The poetry of the age was to be found rather in the mysticism of the human soul, already distressed by the sufferings of doubt; it is found in the echo of the soul's suffering, in the *De Imitatione Christi*, the work of an unknown author, but probably by Thomas à Kempis. The great and immediate popularity of this book shows that it filled a need that was felt by devout souls of being sustained and of renewing their strength by a direct communication with God, avoiding all unworthy intermediaries.

In speaking of the last century of the Middle Ages it is as impossible to separate the history of the languages of France and England as that of their wars, for they constantly intermingled. In consequence of the many conquests suffered by England she was one of the last countries to form an idiom. In France the last invasion took place under Clovis, or at the very latest at the battle of Testry. In England the last did not take place until under William the Conqueror at the end of the eleventh century. The Saxons, the Danes, and the Norman-Franks, each in turn brought their language to England like so many currents, leaving each a different alluvium on the same soil. The original language was the Saxon introduced by the German invaders who conquered the Romanized Celts, after the fall of the Roman domination. It absorbed a few new words as a result of the Danish invasion, and after the establishment of the Normans in Eng-

The literature of the North. The English, Scandinavian, and German.

land was gradually modified under the influence of the Norman-French which they spoke. The Celtic had now almost entirely disappeared; the Saxon formed the body of the language, while there was a strong French element in it, which was the means of combining the Roman with the German element. But this last combination was as slow in coming as was that of the two peoples, and resulted in the supremacy of the language of the conquered. William's successors, their courts and their barons all used the French; and this became the official language and was taught in the schools. The conquerors may have wished their language to be used in order that the last traces of Saxon independence might be effaced, just as the Germans did in Posen, the Russians at Warsaw, and the Austrians at Lemberg. But the Saxons intrenched themselves in their ancient language as they did in their forests: they would not give it up, and the Norman barons suffered from the cutting lines of their ballads as well as from the arrows of Robin Hood and his men.* The wars of the wood were sung in a poetry which breathes forth the freshness of the thickets and the love of independence.

When shawes beene sheene and shradds full fayn
And leeves both large and longe,
Itt is merry, walking in the fayre forrest,
To heare the small birds songe.

In this way begins a ballad which tells us of a meeting between Robin Hood and a Norman baron who did not know him; they challenge each other to a shooting match, and Robin pierces the goal with his arrow.

"Gods blessing on thy heart," sayes Guye,
"Goode fellow, thy shooting is goode,
For an thy hart has good as thy hands,
Thou were better than Robin Hood."
"Tell me thy name, good fellow," quoth Guy,
Vnder the leaves of lyne,
"Nay, by my faith," quoth good Robin,
"Till thou haue told me thine."
"I dwell by dale and downe," quoth Guye.
"And I haue done many a curst turne;
And he that calls me by my right name
Calles me Guye of good Gysborne."

*There is no evidence of any attempt on the part of the Normans to induce the English to abandon the use of their national language. On Robin Hood see above, p. 184, note.—Ed.

“ My dwelling is in the wood,” sayes Robin,
 “ By thee I set right nought ;
 My name is Robin Hood of Barnesdale,
 A fellow thou has long sought.”

He that had neither beene a kithe nor kin
 Might haue seene a full fayre sight :
 To see how together these yeomen went,
 With blades both browne and bright.

To have seene how these yeomen together fought
 Two howers of a summer day ;
 Itt was neither Guy nor Robin Hood
 That fittled them to flye away.

Such were the subjects sung in the Saxon language, and which could be sung in no other.

This antagonism between the two peoples finally began to pass away. At first the Norman barons, in their struggle against the royal power, and later the whole Norman nation, in the struggle with Philip Augustus after the loss of Normandy and still more after the beginning of the Hundred Years' War, drew nearer to the Saxons, treated them better, and gave them a place in the army and the parliaments. The two languages then became intimately connected and formed insensibly a mixed language, the English language, in which the ancient Anglo-Saxon was largely retained. This revolution is curiously noticed by a contemporary writer :

“ For two hundred years children in school against the usage and manner of all other nations are compelled for to leave their own language and for to construe in French. Gentlemen's children are taught to speak French from the time that they are rocked in their cradles, and uplandish men wish to liken themselves to gentlemen and take delight with great business for to speak French. This manner was much used before the great pestilence, and is since somewhat changed. For John Cornwal, a master of grammar, changed the lore in grammar-school, and construction of French into English ; and Richard Pencrych learned that manner teaching of him, and other men of Pencrych ; so that now, the year of our Lord a thousand three hundred fourscore and five, of the second King Richard after the conquest nine, in all the grammar-schools of England children leave French and construe and learn in English.”

This English language was to be the national tongue of

Albion, and though an irregular and composite language, it is as proud and powerful as the spirit of those who use it.

A very important act of Edward III., was the statute in which he decreed in 1362 that every suit preferred before a court of justice should be pleaded, discussed, and the judgment given, in English. This was in a way the official rehabilitation of the proscribed language. It had already produced some literary monuments : as early as the reign of Edward I., Robert, a monk of Gloucester, had composed a chronicle in verse on the story of Geoffroy of Monmouth, and thirty years later another monk, Robert Mannyng, translated another from the French. There had also been numerous translations into verse of French romances versified religious treatises, scriptural paraphrases, and some interesting general and political lyrics, during the first half of the fourteenth century. But the first English writer who can be read with any pleasure is William Langland, the author of the *Vision concerning Piers the Ploughman*, a biting satire on the clergy in which alliteration takes the place of rhyme. He closely preceded one of the most glorious of English poets, Geoffrey Chaucer, the author of *Troilus and Cressida*, the *House of Fame*, and the *Canterbury Tales*. Chaucer, who was born in London about 1328, or, as many believe, about 1340, and was first a page in the family of Prince Lionel then a friend of the Duke of Lancaster, is held to have given a fixed form to the national idiom and to have introduced the best measure for English verse. He translated the *Consolations of Boethius* and the *Romance of the Rose*. He also drew from Boccaccio, and other sources, thus borrowing from the treasury of the literatures which were already formed wealth for that of his own country. Chaucer described his era with much truth and with a lively satirical imagination. In politics and religion he sympathized in many respects with the new doctrines.

About this same time English prose also arose. Wycliffe made use of it in his translation of the Bible, and the English translation of Sir John Maundeville's diverting book of Eastern travels came soon after.

Germany is one of the countries whose language underwent the least change during the Middle Ages. It remained purely Germanic because no invasion ever introduced any new element into it. It is surprising that, on that account, it was not the first to produce a literature. This resulted

from the fact that Germany had not the inspiration which comes from internal activity, because her culture did not begin until long after that of other countries, and because she was continually in close contact with peoples who were the last to awaken to European civilization. The Gothic Bible of Ulfilas (360-380), later a fragment of a translation in High German of the treatise of Isidore, "*De Nativitate Domini*," the translation of the Rules of St. Benedict (720), and so forth, are the only monuments of this language before Charlemagne, and these are hardly literary monuments. This emperor gave a great impulse to study. We have seen that he ordered a collection to be made of the national songs of the Germans. Among them was undoubtedly the famous fragment of the song of Hildebrand, which is anterior to the end of the eighth century. It is written in alliteration, a form of initial rhyme which is still occasionally used. Under the successors of Charlemagne we find among others the song of Louis (Louis III. of France) in which the poet celebrates his victories over the Norsemen in rhymed strophes. Besides this warlike poetry, under Louis the Pious, and by his orders, the religious poetry produced in alliterative Low German a work entitled "*The Harmonies of the Gospels*." There was more or less literary activity under Otto the Great and his successors, but the disorders which broke out under Henry IV. checked its progress, and it was not resumed until after the accession of the Hohenstauffen.

We have previously seen how high a point poetry attained under this brilliant dynasty. In the following period, however (the 14th and 15th centuries), prose began to flourish, while poetry declined. In the midst of the disturbances due to internal discord, the minnesinger were unable to find any secure protection either with the emperors or with the nobles. The cities, which were then very prosperous and enriched by commerce, tried, at least those of the south, to encourage them, but without any great success. Poetry exchanged its lively simplicity for a cold allegory, and was not even able to find any poetical subject; as an example we may take the rhymed chronicle of the Council of Constance. We can hardly discern more than one work of note, namely, the "*Ship of Fools*," by Sebastian Brand. While the meistersinger were making a cold imitation of the poetry of the preceding age and weighing it down with

burdensome rules, the people were preparing a renaissance under the form, since then so popular in Germany, of ballads and chansons which were collected together and printed at the beginning of the sixteenth century. But truly poetical verses, both lofty and noble in their sentiment, were then only to be found in Switzerland, which country was thrilling from its struggle with Austria, and repeated with enthusiasm the fine lines of Veit Weber and of Jean Viol, who sang the battles they had fought. Halb Suter, of Lucerne, also celebrated the victory of Sempach (1386).

The first attempts at German prose took the form of novels and romances, which were still borrowed from the Carolingian cycle and the French romances. It was further developed in the collections of laws which were drawn up to suit the needs of the age, and in the preaching called forth by the movement in religious ideas—particularly in the sermons of the mystic John Tauler, a Dominican and a predecessor worthy of Luther in his skillful use of the German language. The prose language already showed great adaptability to philosophical argumentation, through the possible combinations of words and creation of new words, a dangerous gift and one which has often been abused, which has enriched its vocabulary at the expense of its clearness, the first essential of every language. A few chronicles were written out in the fourteenth century those of Limburg and Alsace, and in the fifteenth century, that of Thuringia, etc. On the whole, German literature in the Middle Ages did not produce anything of marked excellence, if we except the curious Song of the Niebelungen, which ranks, however, far below the Iliad, and which owes its present reputation less to the deliberate judgment of a critical taste than to the interested prejudice of an easily satisfied patriotism.*

The Scandinavian literature, like their language, is an offshoot of the same Germanic stock. The Eddas, a collection of the old songs of the Northern countries and the purest source of German mythology, are the first monuments of the language, before the introduction of Christianity. Among other things we find there a part of the deeds of the German Niebelungen poem. When Christianity was intro-

* This estimate of mediæval German literature would hardly be accepted by the few who are best qualified to judge.—ED.

duced, the South gained an influence over the Northern mind and spread there the chivalrous ideas of France; the new movement inspired the poem of Ragnar Lodbrog, the last song of Hjalmar the Vanquished, and the funeral dirge of Eyvied-Skaldaspiller on Hakon, king of Norway. These were followed by a series of popular songs, *Folkvisor*, which make use of rhyme. "The Victim of the Convent," the "Bloody Nuptials," "St. George," etc., are still read with pleasure in Sweden.

The *Bæmpeviser* of Denmark correspond to the *Folkvisor* of Sweden. They are war songs, or rather historical narrations, borrowed from the memories of the olden time and written in the national language. The greater part, no doubt, were committed to writing a little after the establishment of Christianity in Denmark. A large number were borrowed from France, England, and Germany. Euphemia, queen of Norway (1299-1312), introduced into her country the romances of the cycles of the Round Table and of Charlemagne, and had those passages translated in which any national episodes were involved. One of the most touching passages relates to Queen Aurora (Dagmar), the wife of the king of Denmark, Waldemar the Victorious. The primitive traditions of Denmark still live in the works of an author who, however, wrote in Latin, *Saxo Grammaticus*; he composed, at the end of the twelfth century, a remarkable history of Denmark where he gathered together the old legends. From this source, though indirectly, Shakspeare derived the story of *Hamlet*.

As Spain remained apart from the course of European progress, and as her existence had a character of its own, the sketch of her literature may well be deferred to the last, although from the point of view of its origin, it should rank among the first, among the branches of the Latin stock. The Latin language, established in the peninsula by the Romans and maintained and fixed there by the Christian clergy under the Visigoths, has been its model, almost without exception. Neither the ancient Celtic or Iberian and Punic idioms of the peoples conquered by Rome, nor the language of the conquering Arabs, have modified it to any great extent. The latter neither imposed their religion on the conquered country nor their language. The Arabic tongue spread somewhat, it is true, and Spanish Christians made

Spanish and
Portuguese
Literatures.

use of it in their writings ; the petty kings of the northern part of the peninsula made it the language of their courts ; but it did not take root, and later it was pushed aside with Mohammedanism. The basis of the language of the Spanish Christians was, accordingly, Roman, modified in different ways according to the various localities, and bearing in Catalonia, Navarre, and the island of Majorca a resemblance to the language of Provence, which was not the case with the Castilian form.

The first important prose monument of the Castilian dialect is the Code of the *Siete Partidas*, published in the thirteenth century by Alfonso *el Sabio*, the Wise, where the dignity of the Spanish language is already apparent. Alfonso, who endeavored, without success, to establish political unity in his kingdom, tried to prepare the way for it by unity of language ; Spain also owes to his encouragement scientific and historical works of large influence.

Castilian poetry was different from that of other countries. The people were engaged in incessant combats with the Moors and later in obstinate civil wars, and had not time, as in France, to compose great poems, and interminable romances, on half-fabulous heroes interesting only for their presentation of the national characteristics. But they had their romances, their poems, short, popular, and entirely national, which treated of the Christian heroes of the country, or rather of the hero, for the Cid is in himself the type of the Spanish cavalier, fighting against the Moors. The *Romancero* is a collection of these romances, incoherent enough, which relate without sequence episodes in the life of the Cid, and which belong to different periods.

The oldest among them show a simplicity and roughness which is modified in the later parts ; in these we find not only perfection of style but even refinement of ideas and mythology. Nevertheless they all show the qualities native to the Spanish mind, a harsh and sonorous accent, a martial and enthusiastic spirit, an impetuous and trenchant form of hyperbole, warmth of color, expression emphatic but always noble, sentiments of honor and love, combined with a certain indescribable hardness and sometimes even ferocity.

The *Romancero* of the Cid is a very curious monument of the human mind ; it is the work of a large number of authors, writing on the same theme without concert of action, and whose names, though worthy, are not known to fame. It

is a Spanish Iliad which assuredly, we can speak with certainty in this case, did not have a Homer. The hero alone gives it unity. His first appearance is in a duel with the Count, a fine episode which has been admirably rendered by Corneille: "The Cid remained absorbed in thought, knowing himself to be full young in years to avenge his father, by killing the Count of Lozano. He looked at the formidable band of his powerful enemy, who had a thousand Asturians, partisans of his cause, in the mountains; he considered how, in the cortes of Ferdinand, King of Leon, the Count's vote was the first, his arm the strongest in battle. All that seemed small to him in the presence of so great an injury, the first that had been suffered by the blood of Lala the Bald. From heaven he demanded justice; from earth, he demanded a field; from his aged father, liberty to fight; from honor, courage and a strong arm. He is not disturbed by his youth, for from a child the valiant hidalgo is accustomed to the idea of dying in an affair of honor. . . . He takes the old sword of one of his ancestors: 'You have found a second master,' said he, 'as brave as the first.—Come, let us go to the field, for it is time to give Count Lozano the punishment merited by his infamous words and his hand.'" The Cid avenges his father by killing the father of Ximena, who first entreats the king for his death, then, won by the splendor of his valor, herself asks his hand. "His fidelity to the King Don Sancho; the death of that king assassinated beneath the walls of Zamora; the accession of Don Sancho's brother, Don Alfonso; the Cid's haughty refusal to take the oath of allegiance, so long as the king will not declare himself a stranger to the death of the brother whose crown he takes; the docility of the king, forced to obey so powerful a subject, and to swear, perhaps, to a falsehood in order to obtain in return the oath of the Cid; the persecutions stirred up by that hero; his exile; his victories; his place of retreat among the Moors; his marriage to a second Ximena; his new exploits; the marriage of his daughters and the affront offered them; his vengeance; the glory of his old age; the kings of the East who sent him ambassadors and presents; his death; his body placed in full armor upon his famous horse Babieça, and this lifeless body gaining a last victory, and putting the enemy to flight; such is the course of events in the epic of the Cid."—(Villemain.)

While Castile, the Asturias, and Valencia were singing the glories of the Cid in poems purely national, Aragon and Catalonia, which were more nearly connected with Europe and especially with the South of France, came under the influence of Provence. The *gay science* had taken the place of arms and tournaments in the affections of the princes and nobles : "all seemed to be jugglers" (*jongleurs*). Professors in the art came from Provence, and a solemn embassy was sent to the king of France on the subject. The day of Provençal poetry was as short-lived on the south of the Pyrenees as on the north ; it perished in Aragon, and it was the Castilian school which sent forth the great Spanish poets of later days.

The dramatic genius of the Lope de Vegas and the Calderons, so strange and so bold, already had its forerunner in the well-known Spanish Jew of the fourteenth century, with his odd name, Don Santo Rabby, who in a piece called *The Universal Dance* introduces Death on the scene, who speaks these words : "I am Death, and come inevitably to all who are or are to be in the world. I call each one and I say : 'Alas ! why are you so anxious for this life so short, which tarries but an instant, since there is no giant so strong that he can guard against my bow ? It is right for you to die when I hit you with my cruel arrow.' " The dance begins : and Death points out two beautiful young girls : "Neither their flowers, nor their roses, nor their finery can protect them. If they could, they would be glad to part from me ; but that is not possible, they are my betrothed."

There were many fine monuments of Spanish prose produced in the fourteenth century. *El Conde Lucanor*, a collection of stories related to a sovereign by his minister, to teach him what to do on any difficult occasion, and where we see both the Spanish dignity and the allegorical tendency of the Arabs ; also the chronicle of Ayala, who has given a severely simple and forcible history of a period attended by great bloodshed, the period when two kings of the name of Peter the Cruel reigned in Castile and in Aragon, and when France and England, represented by Du Guesclin and the Black Prince, interfered in the affairs of the Peninsula.

Aragon also had a curious historical monument in the chronicle of Ramon Muntaner, an aged Catalanian who had waged an adventurous warfare in nearly every European

country, as was customary among his compatriots in the thirteenth century, and who, when he had retired to his castle, bethought himself of writing his memoirs, like Villehardouin and Joinville.

The Portuguese language, like the Spanish, is closely related to the Latin language, and it, too, is to a certain extent but a Latin dialect. Doubtless if the whole peninsula had made one state, the Portuguese would have been absorbed and have counted only as a *patois*. Political circumstances, which made Portugal a kingdom, made her language also a separate language. Her poetry, like that of Aragon, owed its origin to the troubadours; Henry of Burgundy, on whom Alfonso VI. bestowed the country of Portugal, brought many of them in his train. The Portuguese spirit already differed from the Spanish spirit in its greater refinement and greater sweetness. The Cid is the national subject of the Spaniards; one might almost say that Inez de Castro holds the same place among the Portuguese; they delighted in developing, until the day when Camoëns forever consecrated it in his verses, the touching story of a lover's fidelity even beyond the tomb. Revery, that delicate flower, opened its petals on the shores of that beautiful country when nightly the sun disappeared in the vast ocean, so full of mystery. Bernard de Ribeiro, a poet of the fifteenth century, tells us of a young girl, dreaming in this way, on a lonely mountain, whence she saw "how the earth vanishes into the waters and how the sea stretches out from shore, to end where no eye shall see it," that sea already plowed by the Portuguese vessels.

The national languages, found on all sides, showed the existence of nations and had already produced distinct literatures; but the intellectual movement of modern times was saved from being isolated by the study of the works of antiquity. It not only overflowed our different literatures with the treasures of the art and science of the ancients, but it gave them a common ground of ideas and inspiration. It paved the way for the intellectual unity of modern times.

The last moment of the Middle Ages is precisely the moment when the ancients were born again, so to speak, and became the object of an impassioned and wisely conducted study. Two great writers, Petrarch and Boccaccio, were very instrumental in this revival. Petrarch gave the word

Revival of classical studies.

for the vigorous research for the remains of classic times, which made the discovery of a manuscript of almost equal importance with the conquest of a city. Poggio Bracciolini, in 1414, discovered in an abandoned tower of the monastery of St. Gall a copy of Quintilian, together with a part of the works of Valerius Flaccus, also Silius Italicus, twelve comedies of Plautus, Lucretius, Columella, Tertullian, Ammianus Marcellinus, etc. A bishop of Lodi discovered Cicero's treatises on Rhetoric. Among the indefatigable seekers for buried treasure, we may also mention Filelfo, Laurentius Valla, Nicolo Nicoli, Leonardo Aretino, etc.

At the same time, professors of Greek came across from Greece herself. Petrarch had studied this language. Boccaccio induced Leontius Pilatus to leave Thessalonica and open a public course of lectures on Homer in Florence. At the end of the fourteenth century, Emmanuel Chrysoloras went to Florence to lecture on Greek literature. He was followed by Bessario, Theodore of Gaza, George of Trebizond, and Gemistius Pletho. Constantinople, even after her capture, sent Lascaris and Musurus to the West. The popes, the kings of Naples, and the Medicis all opened their arms to the learned foreigners.

This zeal was greatest in Italy, but it soon gained possession of the other countries. Charles V. of France had the classics translated, and in 1456 Tifernas went to Paris to give lessons in Greek.

The German universities, founded in the fourteenth century at Prague (1348), at Vienna* (1386), at Erfurt (1392), and after 1400, at Wurtzburg, Leipzig, Ingolstadt, and Rostock, entered eagerly into the movement of classical study under the lead of learned men such as Rudolf Agricola, Conrad Weissel, and John Reuchlin. England kept alive the flame of classical learning in the great schools of Winchester and Eton, founded, the first about 1387, the second in 1440, and there is proof of the fact that, toward the middle of the fifteenth century, Latin versification was already taught there. In Spain, Ayala translated Livy, and John de Mena studied the art of poetry in the works of Ovid, Propertius, Tibullus, and Juvenal.

* The date of Vienna is doubtful. Denifle, *Universitäten*, i, p. 624, concludes that it was founded in 1365 and reorganized in 1384. Heidelberg (1386) and Cologne (1389) should be added.—ED.

The libraries of the Middle Ages were very limited. Charles V. increased St. Louis's library to the number of 900 volumes. The University of Oxford received 600 volumes from the Duke of Gloucester, brother of the king, in 1440; 120 of their number were estimated to be worth 1000 pounds sterling. In 1421, the Elector Palatine bequeathed to the University of Heidelberg his collection comprising 152 volumes. Those were the most important libraries owned by universities and princes, a poor supply indeed. But suddenly three men of Mainz, Furst, Schaeffer, and Gutenberg, invented a mechanical method of endlessly and rapidly reproducing the works which had taken the hand of the copyist a vast amount of time to reproduce one single time. The first idea of this great invention was gained, it has been said, from playing cards. From playing cards advance had been made to vignettes, representing the saints and accompanied by a few explanatory words. A block of wood was used, on which the figures or the letters were cut. The Dutch insist that Coster, of Harlem, was the first to use movable characters; the merit of which has been bestowed upon Gutenberg and his companions by common consent.* Between 1450 and 1455, they printed at Mainz an edition of the Vulgate called the Bible of forty-two lines [called also the Mazarin Bible.] Before the end of the fifteenth century, almost all the classics which had survived destruction had been printed. In 1452, a Florentine goldsmith, named Finiguerra, invented the art of reproducing pictures by engraving upon metal; the discovery of engraving by means of acids soon followed. A little earlier, in 1411, Van Eyck employed, on great pictures upon which he was engaged in Ghent, a siccatif oil which had been known as early as the year 1328, and which, consequently, he did not invent, but which, when it came into general use, revolutionized the art of painting. Before that time they had painted in distemper, in fresco, in gum, in glue, or in the white of eggs; the use of oil in grinding colors was well known, but they did not resort to that process, because they did not know how to dry the

* Consult the article "Typography" in vol. xxiii. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, by J. H. Hessels. His conclusion in favor of the claims of Coster has not been universally accepted.—ED.

Printing, oil
painting, en-
graving, gun-
powder.

paints. After Van Eyck, the world was ready for great painters ; the instrument for their genius was ready to their hand.

The art of war also suffered a complete change by the introduction of gunpowder. It is nearly certain that this discovery was given to Europe by the Saracens. An Arabian author relates, about the year 1249, that powder was used in the machines of war. At the beginning of the fourteenth century cannon, or rather mortars, were invented. Edward III. possibly used them at Crecy ; though they are not mentioned by Froissart, the testimony of Villani, who wrote two years later, appears to be decisive. He attributes the most extraordinary effects to the "bombards" of Edward III.: "It seemed," said he, "as if God thundered with a great destruction of men and horses." They did not know, as yet, how to make practical use of it on the battle-field, and they used it more in sieges and naval battles ; it was used at Chioggia. The French made great improvements in their artillery, which gained them a superiority confirmed by the success of Charles VII. over the English. The invention of the arquebus or "hand cannon" dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Infantry, or the plebeian part of the army, by the use of the pike regained an importance which it had not enjoyed since the time of the Roman. It was owing to their deep ranks of foot-soldiers, armed with pikes, that the Swiss had been enabled to conquer the Austrians and had begun to make themselves formidable enemies. While the pike joined to the arquebus, forming the modern musket, made all men equal on the field of battle, and the effect of the absolute monarchy was to reduce all to equality before the law, the invention of printing prepared the way for general intellectual equality. These were all signs of the new age about to appear.

THE END.

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